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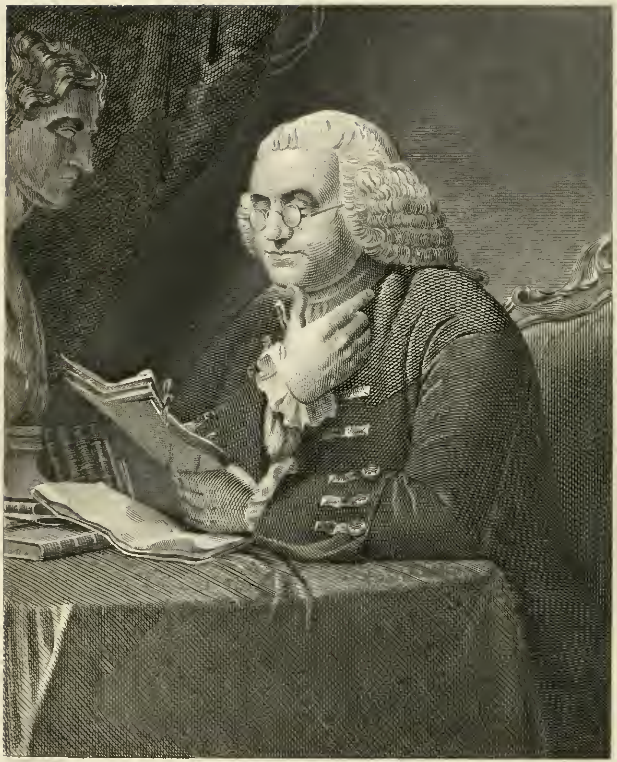

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

THE

Life and Writings

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

PHILADELPHIA

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Published by M'Carty & Davis.

MEMOIRS

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

AND CONTINUED BY HIS GRANDSON AND OTHERS.

WITH

HIS SOCIAL EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE, PHILOSOPHICAL, POLITICAL,
AND MORAL LETTERS AND ESSAYS,

AND HIS

DIPLOMATIC TRANSACTIONS AS AGENT AT LONDON AND MINISTER
PLENIPOTENTIARY AT VERSAILLES.

AUGMENTED BY MUCH MATTER NOT CONTAINED IN ANY FORMER EDITION.

WITH A

POSTLIMINIOUS PREFACE.

BY WILLIAM DUANE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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A POSTLIMINIOUS PREFACE.

This edition of the Memoirs and Writings of Dr. Franklin appears under circumstances favourable to a more general distribution in society than any former edition. Its bulk is reduced to two volumes, the price to that of two volumes of the latest preceding edition of 1818; and the additional matter is augmented equal to the contents of a volume more than was contained in that edition.

In the arrangement of the subjects, this varies a little from any of the former editions, and it becomes requisite to explain the present distribution.

Something appears to be necessary, also, in elucidation of other circumstances which appertain to the writings—to the history of the author—and to the matter now added, as well as to some part of the Memoirs, which it is now too evident have been withheld or suppressed. In proportion as those who were his contemporaries retire, the interests and the enmities signally which characterized his career, lose something of their freshness and their asperity. The world generally has assumed new aspects; but, above all, this new world, in whose political creation the author had so large, so early, so long, and so successful a share. He had frequently expressed a wish, that it were possible for him to revisit this life at the end of a century; but were that possible, the world he so effectually aided in creating, would already far exceed in its success the most sanguine calculations of his proverbial sagacity. The editor of the edition published in London, in 1779, in his preface said—"The times appear not ripe enough for the editor to give expression to the affection, gratitude, and veneration he bears to a writer whom he has so intimately studied: nor is it wanting, as history lies in wait for him, and the judgment of mankind already balances in his favour. Yet he may be excused for stating one opinion; he conceives no man ever made larger or bolder guesses than Dr. Franklin, from the like materials, in politics and philosophy, which, after the scrutiny of events, and the zeal of open hostility, have been more completely verified."

Though the period at which this edition appears approaches to nearly half a century since his demise, the sentiment of the London editor as to the ripeness of public affection, gratitude, and veneration, is not even yet entirely complete. The jealousies of rivals and competitors have ceased; the animosity of partisans of different descriptions has abated; the principles of policy and philosophy which he taught pervade the civilized world; in the minds of those who are interested in human subjection and ignorance, his views and efforts to promote human happiness, and in America particularly, as leading to that universality, was *his sin*—and the enmities so founded survived him many years, and have descended along with prejudices engendered in political and unsocial causes, which the prosperity and success of free governments have not yet entirely neutralized.

History, in its strictest sense, has not yet done justice to Franklin. The editions of his writings which have been hitherto appeared, were not published for his own benefit; several appeared without his privity or consent; and this fact, though at the present time of light moment, has been the source of many misrepresentations and mistakes, and furnished, with other incentives, food for various manifestations of malignity which stand now only as contrasts of the benevolence and liberality of him whom they had been employed to disparage. Some account of the several editions which have at different periods appeared, so far as they have been ascertained, will be pertinent on this occasion. The first edition of Franklin's writings, were compositions of private correspondence, confined at first to philosophical subjects, addressed to Peter Collinson of London. The letters to Mr. Collinson were published in octavo by Cave, London, in 1751, and extended only to 86 pages; the first knowledge of their publication the author obtained by the copy transmitted to him by his London friend; which *identical* copy supplies the data of these remarks.

The curious, new, and original ideas contained in those letters excited unusual notice; a new edition was called for in 1754, and a third in 1766, by which time the additional discussions on philosophical subjects extended to 500 pages octavo. Many of these papers were transferred to the pages of the philosophical transactions of the Royal Society, and, on the appearance of another edition in 1769, embraced further new discussions.

In 1776, there was published in London, a volume in octavo, of about 300 pages, of which the revision and publication have been ascribed to Dr. Fothergill, though not alone; the copy transmitted to the author is before the writer, and is peculiarly interesting from the manuscript notes and corrections, made on the margins and blank spaces of the book by Dr. F. This volume, which will be again referred to in this introduction, consists wholly of pieces that relate to politics, such as the often celebrated "Observations concerning the increase of mankind, peopling of countries," &c., written in 1751. Of the papers noted in the blank leaf, are found the following items of productions, which have not been yet recovered—"Correspondence with Dean Tucker"—"Britain's application to prohibit arms"—"Defence against Wedderburne"—"History of Political Life."

Ten years afterwards—in the critical year 1779—another edition was prepared in London, while the author was minister of the United States at Paris; it was published by Johnson, a bookseller of liberal celebrity at that period: it extended to 674 pages, and was prepared with very great care and an honorable zeal, by Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, who had been a member of the British Parliament. This edition was distributed under five general heads:—I. General Politics II. American Politics before the troubles. III. American Politics during the troubles. IV. Provincial or Colonial Politics. V. Miscellaneous and Political papers, with this epigraph,* remarkable for its significancy, from the then position of the author and the editor, the excited state of mind in England, and the total failure of the British arms.

In 1787, a select octavo volume was published, containing philosophical pieces only.

In 1793, an edition, in two volumes octavo, was published, containing so much of the Memoirs written by himself, as reached to 1731, with a collection of Essays, humorous, moral, and literary.

In 1806, an edition, in three volumes octavo, was published by Johnson, with handsome engraved vignettes, a portrait, and other engravings. The editor is not known, but the preface to that edition excited a sensation which, though it has subsided in some measure, has left painful impressions; and which it will be proper to quote on this occasion, as the facts belong to history. The advertisement which prefaces the edition of 1606, after noticing preceding editions, thus proceeds:

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* Hominum rerumque repertor.—*Virg. Æn.* xii.

"We hoped to have been able to add what would have been equally new and more acceptable, a genuine copy of the life of the author, as written by himself; but in this hope we are disappointed, and we are obliged to be content with a translation already before the public, from a copy in the French language, coming down no farther than 1731, and continued by Dr. Huber, of Philadelphia.

"The character of Dr. Franklin, as a philosopher, a politician, and a moralist, requires no illustration; his writings, from their interesting nature, and the fascinating simplicity of his style, are too highly esteemed for any apology to be necessary for so large a collection of them, unless it should be deemed necessary by the individual to whom Dr. Franklin, in his will, consigned the manuscripts: and to him our apology will consist in a reference to his own extraordinary conduct.

"In bequeathing his papers, it was no doubt the intention of the testator, that the world should have the chance of being benefited by their publication. It was so understood by his grandson, W. T. Franklin, the person in question, who shortly after the death of his great relative, hastened to London, the best mart for literary property, employed an amanuensis for many months in copying, ransacked our public libraries, that nothing might escape, and at length had so far prepared the works of Dr. Franklin for the press, that proposals were made by him to several of our principal booksellers for the sale of them. They were to form three quarto volumes, and were to contain all the writings published and unpublished, with memoirs brought down by himself to 1757, and continued to his death by his legatee. They were to be published in three different languages, and the countries corresponding to those languages, France, Germany, and England, on the same day. The terms asked for the copyright of the English edition were high, amounting to several thousand pounds, which awakened a little demur; but eventually they would no doubt have been obtained. Nothing more, however, was heard of the proposals or the work in this its fair market. The proprietor, it seems, now found a bidder of a different description, in some emissary of the government, whose object it was to prevent the communication to the public of transactions which would reveal mysteries in governmental policy, odious in their nature; and in which it appears they were too successful: the manuscript of those transactions passed from the hands of him to whom they were bequeathed, into those who felt an interest in their suppression, and for what remuneration appears now not likely to be revealed: neither is the precise tenor of the suppressed matter known, as will be perceived in the further progress of this elucidation. These impressions prevailed in England and America for many years, and the silence obstinately maintained from 1806 to 1817, gave additional strength to the prevailing opinion.

"What the manuscript contained that should have excited the jealousy of the government, is not distinctly known; but from the conspicuous part acted by the author in the whole progress of American affairs, for nearly half a century before the revolution, in its progress, and in the diplomacy and war which grew out of it, it is by no means difficult to conceive; and of this there can be no dispute, that from Franklin's character, no disposition of his writings could have been more contrary to his intentions or wishes."

Observations such as these, by the London editor, carry in themselves the evidence of being written by some person intimately conversant with Franklin and his contemporaries, and with the history of the memorable period in which he held a place so pre-eminent. Before proceeding in the regular order proposed for this preface, it may be proper to dispose of the whole of this subject in a connected form, and to exhibit the matter offered in his defence by W. T. Franklin, as well as some facts not before published.

The vicissitudes of the revolution, particularly the occupation of Philadelphia by the British army in 1777, had exposed the papers and the library, which was ample and abundantly curious, and the manuscripts of Dr. Franklin, to dispersion; the family of Dr. F., after the peace, had not been successful in collecting much of the dispersed matter; and to a certainty much is still unrecovered; the fragments of the library which remained in America was most remarkably neglected, and unappreciated; in 1805, the remains of what had been unappropriated by the legatee, were thrown, like lumber, into the hands of a foreign bookseller, to be disposed of among the mass of second-hand books; some few parcels were caught at by curious and studious individuals, and a few transferred with a niggardly and shabby parsimony to some libraries which should have taken means to secure the whole—for there were no books collected by Franklin which had not some peculiar value in relation to universal knowledge.

From fragments then snatched from oblivion, and other sources, not necessary to specify, an improved edition was undertaken in Philadelphia, in 1817, intended to embrace all that had been then collected, or that could be procured through a special application to men who had partaken in the transactions of the preceding half century, in Europe and America. Then it was that Mr. Temple Franklin reappeared in London, with a prospectus for the publication of *the whole* of his grandfather's writings. As the Philadelphia editor possessed much matter which was not in W. T. Franklin's possession, an arrangement was made for a consentaneous publication of all that was possessed by both, at the same time in London and Philadelphia. The London publication was in quarto, with an edition in octavo; that of Philadelphia in six volumes octavo, all of which, with much not published in any former edition, is comprehended in the two volumes which form the present edition.

On the publication in London, W. T. Franklin came forth with a preface, in which, for the first time, the imputations on his good faith were noticed and replied to, which preface also appeared in the Philadelphia edition. It forms a necessary part of the history of Dr. Franklin, and requires to be given in the very terms of the person implicated. It is as follows:

"PREFACE.—*By W. T. Franklin.* An apology for presenting to the republic of letters, the authentic Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin, illustrative of his life and times, written almost entirely with his own hand, would be at once superfluous and disrespectful. If any observation be at all requisite, in the shape of explanation, it must be in answer to the inquiry, why such interesting documents have been so long withheld from the public view? In this the editor has no hesitation in replying, that were he conscious of having neglected a solemn trust, by disobeying a positive injunction; or could he be convinced, that the world had sustained any real injury by the delay of the publication, he certainly should take shame to himself for not having sooner committed to the press what, at an earlier period, would have been much more to his pecuniary advantage. But aware, as he is, of the deference due to the general feeling of admiration for the illustrious dead, he is no less sensible that there are *times* and *seasons* when prudence imposes the restriction of silence in the gratification of the most laudable curiosity.

"It was the lot of this distinguished character, above most men, to move in the prominent parts of his active life, within a sphere agitated to no ordinary degree of heat by the inflammatory passions of political fury; and he had scarcely seated himself in the shade of repose, from the turmoil of public employment, when another revolution burst forth, with far more tremendous violence; during the progress of which his name was adduced by anarchists as a sanction for their practices, and his authority quoted by dreaming theorists in support of their visionary projects. Whether, therefore, the publication of his Memoirs and other papers, amidst such a scene of perturbation, would have been conducive to the desirable ends of peace, may be a matter of question; but at all events the sober and inquisitive part of mankind can have no cause to regret the impression of what might have happened from the perverted talents of designing partisans and infuriated zealots. It may fairly be observed, that the writings of Dr. Franklin are calculated to serve a far more important purpose than that of ministering to the views of party, and keeping alive national dissensions, which, however necessitated by circumstances, ought to cease with the occasion, and yield to the spirit of philanthropy. Even amidst the din of war and the contention of faction, it was the constant aim of this excellent man to promote a conciliatory disposition, and to correct the acerbity of controversy. Though no one could feel more sensibly for the wrongs of his country, or have more enlarged ideas on the subject of general liberty, his powerful efforts to redress the one and extend the other were always connected with the paramount object of social improvement, in the recommendation of those habits which tend most effectually to unite men together in the bonds of amity. Happening, however, himself to live in a turbulent period, and called upon to take a leading part in those scenes which produced a new empire in the western world; much of his later memoirs and correspondence will be found to exhibit his undisguised thoughts upon the public men and occurrences of his day. These sketches, anecdotes, and reflections, will now be read by men of opposite sentiments without awakening painful recollections, or rekindling the dying embers of animosity; while the historian and the moralist may learn from them the secret springs of public events, and the folly of being carried away by political prejudices.

"While, therefore, some contracted minds in different countries may be querulously disposed to censure the delay that has taken place in the publication of these posthumous papers, it is presumed that the more considerate and liberal, on either side of the Atlantic, will approve of the motives which have operated for the procrastination, even though the period has so far exceeded the *nonum prematur annum* assigned by Horace, the oldest and best of critics, for the appearance of a finished performance.

"The editor, in offering this justificatory plea to the public, and taking credit for having exercised so much discretion as to keep these relics in his private custody till the return of halcyon days and a brightened horizon, when their true value might be best appreciated, feels that he has discharged his duty in that manner which the venerable writer himself would have prescribed, could he have anticipated the disorders which have ravaged the most polished and enlightened states since his removal from this scene of pride and weakness; where nations as well as individuals have their periods of infancy and decrepitude, of moral vigour and wild derangement.

"Shortly after Dr. Franklin's death, there were not wanting the usual train of *literary speculators* to exercise their industry in collecting his avowed productions, together with those which public rumour ascribed to his pen. These miscellanies were printed in various forms both in England and America, greatly to the advantage of the publishers; nor did the possessor of the originals avail himself of the general avidity and the celebrity of his ancestor, to deprive those persons of the profits which they continued to reap from repeated editions of papers that had cost them nothing. When, however, they had reason to apprehend, that the genuine Memoirs and other works of Franklin, as written and corrected by himself, would be brought forward in a manner suitable to their importance, and the dignified rank of the author in the political and literary world, invidious reports were sent abroad, and circulated with uncommon diligence, asserting that *all* the literary remains of Dr. Franklin had been purchased at an enormous rate by the British ministry, who (*mirabile dictu!*) it seems were more afraid of this arsenal of paper than of the power of France, with all her numerous resources and auxiliaries. This convenient tale, absurd as it was, found reporters in Europe and in the United States, who bruited it about with so much art, as to make many who were unacquainted with the legatee of the manuscripts believe it to be true, and to lament feelingly, that such inestimable productions should be suppressed, and lost for ever, through the cupidity of the person to whom they were bequeathed. Provoking as the story was, the party whom it most affected, and whose interests it was designed to injure, felt too much of the *conscia mens recti* to do otherwise than to treat the ridiculous invention with contempt, from a persuasion that the refutation of an improbable falsehood is beneath the dignity of truth. He therefore endured the opprobrium without complaint, and even suffered it to be repeated without being goaded into an explanation; contentedly waiting for the time when he might best fulfil his duty and shame his calumniators. That period has at length arrived, and the world will now see whether an enlightened government could be weak enough to be frightened by the posthumous works of a philosopher; or whether a man of integrity, bred under Franklin, bearing his name, and intrusted with his confidence, could be bribed into an act of treachery to his memory."

So far the preface is intended as a defensive reply to the imputations first made in the edition in three volumes, issued by Johnson, in London, in 1806. How far it fulfils the present purpose must be left to the judgment of history. Criticism is not the purpose of this introduction, else a very brief animadversion on the defence might at least show that the motives assigned for the suppression after the visit to London, are not such as would induce or justify a postponement of a publication previously proposed and prepared for at considerable expense; that the political opinions, theories, and discussions in the writings of Dr. Franklin were not in harmony, but in direct variance with the violences of the French revolution; and that they were adapted rather to repress than to afford any incentives in favour of violence or outrage, such as afflicted France in the convulsions which produced so many afflictions to the friends of liberty as well as to the adherents of despotism; that, on the contrary, the moderation and temperate reasoning of Franklin's political writings were rather to be feared by the advocates of legitimacy, than stimulatives to the pensioned apostles of discord and destruction, without reference to any argument founded on the personal circumstances of the legatee; the works, as they appear under his more authentic publication, afford very little matter in addition to what had been collected and published by booksellers in the fair pursuit of their business; nor did the first rumour of the suppression, in the edition of 1806, excite so much or such general attention as the circumstance would seem to call for, in the United States; where the hostility to the memory of Franklin's services, strange but true to tell, had found a body of animosity so ample as to produce a certain measure of exultation rather than of resentment or shame on the appearance of the rumour. In Europe the Edinburgh Review, in noticing the preface to the edition of 1806, did not overlook the alleged suppression; that article was copied into the Boston Monthly Anthology, No. 12, for December, 1806, from which a few short extracts will be pertinent to the present purpose.

"Nothing, we think, can show more clearly the singular want of literary enterprise or activity in the States of America, than that no one has been found in that flourishing republic to collect and publish the works of *their only philosopher*. It is not even creditable to the liberal curiosity of the English public, that there should be no complete edition of the works of Dr. Franklin till 1806; and we should have been altogether unable to account for the imperfect and unsatisfactory manner in which the task has been now performed, if it had not been for the prefatory advertisement, which removes all blame from the editor of that edition, to attach it to a higher quarter."

Here the preface is quoted, and animadverted upon by the reviewer, in which he observes that the whole of Franklin's works were not political and republican, and that a variety of remarks and speculations said to have been left by him might have been permitted to see the light, though his diplomatic operations had been interdicted; and the reviewer thus proceeds:

"The emissary of government, however, probably took care of these things; he was resolved 'to leave no botches in his work;' and to stifle the dreaded revelation, he thought the best way was to strangle all the innocents in the vicinage.

"This self-taught American is the most rational, perhaps, of all philosophers. He never loses sight of common sense in any of his speculations; and when his philosophy does not comport entirely in its fair and vigorous application, it is always regulated and controlled by it in its application and results. No individual, perhaps, ever possessed a juster understanding, or was so seldom obstructed in the use of it by indolence, enthusiasm, or authority.

"Regular education appears to be unfavourable to vigour and originality of understanding. We cannot help fancying that if Franklin had been bred in a college, he would have contented himself in expounding Pindar, and mixing argument with his port in the Common Room; and that if Boston had abounded with men of letters, he would never have ventured to come forth from his printing house, or been driven back to it, at any rate, by the sneers of the critics after the first publication of the Busy Body.

"There are not many among the thorough-bred scholars and philosophers of Europe who can lay claim to distinction in more than one or two departments of science and literature. The uneducated tradesman of America has left writings that call for our attention in natural philosophy—in politics—in political economy, and in general literature and morality. His examination before the House of Commons, in 1766, affords a striking proof of the extent and minuteness of his information, the clearness and force of his extempore composition, and the steadiness and self-possession which enabled him to display those qualities with so much effect upon such an occasion. His letters before the commencement of hostilities are full of grief and anxiety; but no sooner did matters come to extremities, than he appears to have assumed a certain keen and confident cheerfulness, not unmixed with a sprinkling of asperity, and more vindictiveness than became a philosopher.

"Nothing can be more perfectly and beautifully adapted to its object than most of the moral compositions of Dr. Franklin. The tone of familiarity, of good will, and harmless jocularity; the plain and pointed illustrations; the short sentences, made up of short words; and the strong sense, clear information, and obvious conviction of the author himself, make most of his moral exhortations perfect models of popular eloquence, and often the finest specimens of a style which has been too little cultivated in his native country.

"The most remarkable thing, however, in these, and indeed in the whole of his physical speculations, is the unparalleled simplicity and facility with which the reader is conducted from one stage of the inquiry to another. The author never appears for a moment to labour or to be at a loss. The most ingenious and profound explanations are suggested, as if they were the most natural and obvious way of accounting for the phenomena; and the author seems to value himself so little on his most important discoveries, that it is necessary to compare him with others before we can form a just notion of his merits. As he seems to be conscious of no exertion, he feels no partiality for any part of his speculations, and never seeks to raise the reader's ideas of their importance, by any arts of declamation or eloquence. Indeed, the habitual precision of his conceptions, and his invariable practice of referring to specific facts and observations, secured him, in a great measure, both from extravagant conjectures, in which too many naturalists have indulged, and from the zeal and enthusiasm which seems so naturally to be engendered in their defence. He was by no means averse to give scope to his imagination in suggesting a variety of explanations of obscure and unmanageable phenomena; but he never allowed himself to confound these vague and conjectural theories with the solid results of experience and observation. In his meteorological papers, and in his observations upon heat and light, there is a great deal of such bold and original suggestion; but the author evidently sets little value on them, and has no sooner disburdened his mind of the impressions from which they proceeded, than he seems to dismiss them entirely from his consideration, and turns to the legitimate philosophy of experiment with unabated diligence and humility. As an instance of this disposition, we may quote part of a letter to the Abbé Soulavie upon a new theory of the earth, which he proposes and dismisses, without concern or anxiety, in the course of a few sentences; '*though, if the idea had fallen on the brain of an European philosopher, it might have germinated* *into a volume of eloquence*, like Buffon's, or an infinite array of paragraphs and observations like those of Parkinson or Dr. Hutton."

Returning to the subject of the disputed suppression, there are other facts which may perhaps aid in the formation of a reasonable conclusion. Before the materials were prepared for an edition in Philadelphia, in 1815, the editor addressed many of Dr. Franklin's contemporaries, in general or special terms, soliciting any matter adapted to the purpose; among whom was Mr. Jefferson, who often spoke of a suppression in England; an intimation some years before from the late B. F. Bache, that *he* had made three several copies of certain political transactions, which would make some noise whenever published. In consequence, a communication was made through a third person, in substance as follows:—

"Being on my way to Congress, which then sat in New York, I could not but call on my venerable friend:—I found him confined to his bed; he thrust his hand from under the bedclothes—which struck me from its presenting the resemblance rather as an anatomical preparation, of mere bones and skin: he entered into conversation with the vivacity of health; and after we had touched every topic he had thought fit to suggest, I was about to take my leave. 'Stop,' said the doctor, 'I have something to give you; you shall see that I have not been idle, much as I have suffered.' He called one of his grandsons, William, whom he directed to go into the library, and from a shelf described where he would find three folio stitched books, bring him one of them. The book was brought, and he said, 'Take that, it was intended for you.' To avoid interrupting our conversation, I placed the book in my bosom, buttoning my coat over it; and our conversation continued some time: being about to retire, he repeated, 'Take care of that book: it is for you and for posterity.'—I took my leave—it was the last time! Soon after, while I was yet in New York, my venerable friend died. An advertisement appeared in the public prints, calling upon all persons who possessed papers, books, or manuscripts of the deceased to return them to the legatee.

"Apprehending that the manuscript presented to me might be among the objects sought, I inconsiderately, and without taking a copy, sent it to Mr. T. Franklin, who on receiving from the gentleman by whom I sent it, said, 'Hah! this is the very thing I wanted.' Reflecting afterwards on the subject, the importance of the matter, and the expression, 'it was intended for you,' I have never ceased to regret that my eagerness to do justice to the wishes of my venerable friend, by returning the manuscript, had precipitated me to do what appears to have been his purpose to prevent by placing the manuscript in my hands."

Such is the information derived from Mr. Jefferson, which he is known to have repeated to many others of his friends. Conversing with the late Benj. F. Bache, the doctor's grandson, on the subject of the memoirs published by Dr. Steuber, he casually said there were some transactions which were yet to appear, which would excite great attention when Temple should publish his grandfather's papers; he had himself made three copies of a very important writing, one of which he had been told was intended for himself; but, said he, "Temple tells me he possesses them all." Being asked if the subject was proper to be mentioned, he replied, "No! I expected to have had some concern in the publication myself, but he whose right it was to decide has disposed of them otherwise; he considered Temple so ill requited by the government for his laborious services abroad, that as a small compensation, he bestowed the whole on him—his wishes were always sacred with me—my lips are sealed."

Upon the receipt of Mr. Jefferson's statement, the editor of the Philadelphia edition, who had been previously in occasional correspondence with governor Franklin, then residing in London, communicated to him the preceding information, and enclosing a duplicate for Mr. T. Franklin, then in Paris. From the governor a most feeling and manly letter was received; but although at a subsequent period a correspondence on the contemporaneous publication at London and Philadelphia took place, no notice whatever was taken by Mr. T. Franklin of the communication, though made with the most friendly purpose.

"What the suppressed manuscript contained," says the editor of a London edition, "that should have excited the jealousy of the government, we are unable to affirm, but from the conspicuous part acted by the author in the American revolution, and the wars connected with it, it is by no means difficult to guess; and of this we are sure from his character, that no disposition of his writings could have been more contrary to his intentions or wishes."

These observations, indicating an acquaintance with the character and history of Franklin, are such as the circumstances warrant. Indeed, on comparing the facts here developed, and looking to the writings published, the matter offered by W. T. Franklin falls infinitely short of a vindication. The only article in the edition, given by him as complete, which is new or interesting, is the social intercourse and correspondence brought about between Mrs. Howe, the sister of Earl Howe, with the doctor; and in that, nothing is to be found sufficient to induce or require a suppression: it is very interesting indeed, and honourable to all the parties, but involving, in its publication, nothing implicating any one. The contents of the stitched book does not appear, nor is it accounted for in the ostensible vindication; it is suppressed; and unless some future Walpole, Dalrymple, or Doddington shall draw it forth from the British archives, it is not probable that it will ever appear.

In the same edition, published by Johnson, London, the editor notices what he considers as Franklin's probationary political essay, admired for its principles, its boldness, and its success; yet it was the fruit of much previous discipline in composition, and was followed by many others of more comprehensive application. The occasion of its production had been before noticed by Dr. Wm. Smith, in his eulogium pronounced before the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia in these words: "In 1744, a Spanish privateer, having entered the Delaware, ascended as far as Newcastle, to the great terror of the citizens of Philadelphia. On this occasion, Franklin wrote his first political pamphlet, called PLAIN TRUTH, exhorting his fellow-citizens to the bearing of arms; which laid the foundation of those military associations which have ever since followed for the defence of the country." The effect of this pamphlet was prodigious. A public meeting was held in the meeting-house, where Whitfield had preached, and Franklin being called upon for his plan, produced it; twelve hundred signatures were at once obtained, and the author was requested to take the appointment of colonel, which he modestly declined, recommending Mr. Lawrence as better qualified, and the recommendation was adopted.

But although on this occasion he declined military command, he accepted it a few years after. Just before the defeat at Fort du Quesne had reached Philadelphia, some citizens had proposed to raise a subscription for the purpose of exhibiting fireworks on the expected reduction of that place. "It will be time enough," said Franklin, "to prepare for rejoicing when we know we ought to rejoice." The implied prognostication gave offence, but the advices which came upon the heels of the purpose too well justified his sagacity; and he resolved to arouse the people to a new energy. A numerous volunteer association was formed; the assembly appropriated £60,000 to defray the expenses, and the proprietary added £5000 more; the governor invested Franklin with ample military powers, and the rank of colonel; his son, afterwards governor of Jersey, who had been an officer in the previous Canada war, became his aid-de-camp. Though there was no invasion by a foreign enemy, the Indians, at that period, very much harassed the frontier settlers, and in 1755, he marched in command of a detachment to Gnadenhutten, a Moravian settlement, where his faculties were called upon to establish discipline, and protect the frontiers against a crafty enemy. Here we find the future sage unfolding faculties which have not been noticed by any of his biographers, nor ever noted as of moment by himself. The facts are few, and the scene of action very limited, but such as it was, we find him at the moment of his appointment calling upon the resources of his own mind, to supply what previous inexperience and the novelty of his position required. The few facts here referred to are found in his own handwriting.

We find the following notes made immediately upon his appointment to the command:

"Considerations to be taken:

"What number of men?

"Should the post be fortified, and in what manner?

"How long to be continued there?

"Could they not be partly employed in raising their own provisions?

"Could they have some lots of land assigned them for their encouragement?

"What their pay? and from what funds?

"How much the annual expense?

"Is it certain that the late method of giving rewards for apprehending rioters will be effectual?

"To whom does the land belong?"

The commissioners to whom the charge of conducting the affairs with the Indians was intrusted, at this period, were, the well known in Pennsylvania history, Conrad Wifer, with Jonas Seely, and James Reed, Esqs., to whom the following letter was addressed:

B. Franklin to James Reed, Esq.

"Philadelphia, Nov. 2, 1755,—5 o'clock P. M.

"Dear Sir,—I have your letter per Mr. Sea, and one just now by express. I am glad to hear the arms are well got up: they are the best that we could procure. I wish they were better; but they are well fortified, will bear a good charge, and I should imagine they would do good service with swan or buck-shot, if not so fit for single ball. I have been ill these eight days, confined to my room and bed most of the time, but am now getting better. I have however done what I could in sending about to purchase arms, &c. for the supply of the frontiers, and can now spare you fifty more, which I shall send up to-morrow with some flints, lead, swan-shot, and a barrel of gunpowder. The arms will be under your care and Mr. Wiser's, you being gentlemen in commission from the governor. Keep an account whose hands you put them into: let them be prudent, sober, careful men, such as will not rashly hurt our friends with them, and such as will honestly return them when peace shall be happily restored. I sincerely commiserate the distress of your outsettlers. The assembly sit to-morrow, and there is no room to doubt of their hearty endeavours to do every thing necessary for the country's safety. I wish the same disposition may be found in the governor, and I hope it. I have put off my journey to Virginia, and you may depend on my best services for the common welfare, so far as my little influence extends.

"I am your affectionate kinsman and humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN.

"My best respects to Mr. Wiser; 900 arms with ammunition have been sent up by the Committee of Assembly, to different parts of the frontier."

This correspondence shows, that the Indians were not as docile and attached to the white people as is commonly supposed. The settlements were for many years unsafe on the frontier, and so continued down to the revolution.

B. Franklin to Messrs. Wiser, &c.

"EASTON, Dec. 30th, 1775.

"GENTLEMEN—We are just on the point of setting out for Bethlehem, in our way to Reading, where we propose to be (God willing) on Thursday evening. The commissioners are all well, and thank you for the concern you express for their welfare. We hope to have the pleasure of finding you well. No news this way, except that Aaron Dupuis's barn was burnt last week, the Indians still keeping near those parts.

"In haste, gentlemen, your humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN.

"Messrs. Wiser, Seely, and Read.

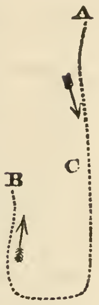
"INSTRUCTIONS.

"Monday morning, 10 o'clock.

"The fifty arms now sent are all furnished with staples for sling straps, that if the governor should order a troop or company of rangers on horseback, the pieces may be slung at the horseman's back.

"If dogs are carried out with any party, they should be large, strong, and fierce; and every dog led in a slip string, to prevent their tiring themselves by running out and in, and discovering the party by barking at squirrels, &c. Only when the party come near thick woods and suspicious places, they should turn out a dog or two to search them. In case of meeting a party of the enemy, the dogs are all then to be turned loose and set on. They will be fresher and finer for having been previously confined, and will confound the enemy a good deal, and be very serviceable. This was the Spanish method of guarding their marches.

"A party on the scout should observe several rules to avoid being tracked and surprised in their encampments at night. This may be done sometimes when they come to a creek or run, by entering the run and travelling up the stream or down the stream, in the water, a mile or two, and then encamp, the stream effacing the track, and the enemy at a loss to know whether the party went up or down. Suppose a party marching from A intends to halt at B, they do not go straight to B and stop there, but pass by at some little distance, and make a turn which brings them thither. Between B and C two or three sentinels are placed to watch the track, and give immediate notice at B, if they perceive any party pass by in pursuit, with an account of the number, &c., which enables the party of B to prepare and attack them if they judge that proper, or gives them time to escape. But I add no more of this kind, recollecting that Mr. Wiser must be much better acquainted with all these things than I am.



"Yours, &c.

"Would it not be better for the people in each district, township, or neighbourhood, to collect their families, stock, grain, and fodder, in some proper place in the neighbourhood, and make a stockaded enclosure, and remain there during the winter. I say, would not this be better than leaving every thing to be destroyed by the Indians, and coming down into the thicker settlements to beg for subsistence?

"You are to dispose of the arms for the best defence of the people, where they are most wanted, and with the governor's approbation. Half-past 12 P. M."

B. Franklin to Samuel Rhoads.

"Fort Allen, Jan. 26, 1756.

"Dear Friend—I am extremely obliged by your kind concern expressed for my safety and welfare. We marched hither with the greatest caution, through some passes in the mountains that were very dangerous, if the enemy had opposed, and we had been careless. Hitherto God has blessed and preserved us. We have built one pretty strong fort, and by the end of next week, or in ten days, hope to finish two more, one on each side of this, and at fifteen miles distance. These, I suppose, will complete the projected line from Delaware to the Susquehanna. I then purpose, God willing, to return homewards, and enjoy the pleasures I promise myself, of finding my friends well. Till then adieu.

Yours affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

"My love to all the Wrights."

These prefatory notices are intended to elucidate the history and unfold the character of the American patriarch, as well as to bring new facts into view, and to combat prejudices which have prevailed in a most extraordinary manner, not only against his philosophical but his moral reputation; they are necessarily desultory, and without disregarding the order of time, are still governed more by subject than date. The controversies which arose between the proprietary government and the assembly, in the colonial period, had involved Franklin in the censure which opposing parties always bestow on each other; there his moderation and good temper had always neutralized; where, as may be seen in the appendix to his History of Pennsylvania, his talents and reputation caused him to be sent as agent of Pennsylvania near the British court. His conduct in England is exemplified throughout by sagacity, intelligence, and prudence, blended with courage of a rare kind; the confidence of the Earl of Chatham counterpoised the hostility of the court; but his refusal of the place of under-secretary of state for the colonies, by showing that he was incorruptible, made him an object of abhorrence. No other evidence need be referred to, than the conduct of Wedderburne, on his appearance before the privy council, on the affair of the celebrated letters, see vol. I. p. 87 of this edition.

The constancy and courage of a man was never more steadfast than that of Dr. Franklin on this occasion. The malignity of Wedderburne sought to fix a stigma by resorting to a classical allusion, and attempting to transfer it to the man whose virtue had excited ministerial hatred. Though the allusion is well understood by men of erudition, it cannot be amiss, on this occasion, to give a concise explanation of it. Pliny, b. xviii. c. 3. reports an Athenian custom of branding slaves convicted of certain offences on the forehead; or if for theft, on the hand with which the theft was committed; those thus marked, as Pliny expresses it, were *inscripti trium literarum*—the man of three letters, referring to the three initial letters, I T L, impressed on the culprit. Besides the malignity of Wedderburne's invective, the inapplicability of the wretched pun made the cause of the government ridiculous in the eyes of all liberal men. The triumph of the republic was not necessary to counteract the malice; and time has testified to the uprightness of the American agent. It was known to the writer of this article in 1798, that those letters had been placed in the hands of the American agent by Dr. Williamson, who died a few years since at New York, and disclosed the fact before his death.

The mission of Dr. Franklin to the court of France gave extreme mortification to the British ministers. Whether the attempts made to poison him by a present of wine, or the attempt to seduce him into a meeting at one of the churches, was the act of the ministers, or of some assassins, who sought the assassination under expectations of reward, cannot now be ascertained, nor indeed is it necessary; and the facts are noticed here only as they appear to have been in the same spirit which operated on the court of St. James's to retard negotiations, merely because Dr. Franklin, the *trium literarum homo*, must have been the negotiator. This difficulty was attempted to be explained away by the ministers, who alleged that there was no person in Europe accredited by full powers to conclude a treaty of peace.

On this occasion it was that a man of some celebrity, but who merited much more than has been rendered him, volunteered to clear away this pretext. Thomas Pownall, who had been some time governor of Massachusetts,—who knew America well and Franklin intimately,—had the courage to apprize the ministry that there was a man in Europe ready and willing, and duly authorized to treat for peace. This was done in a memorial, dated at Richmond, Jan. 1, 1782, and contains this striking paragraph:

"Your memorialist, from his experience in the business, from information of the state of things, being convinced that a preliminary negotiation may be commenced; from his knowledge of the persons with whom such matters must be negotiated, as men with whom it was once his duty to act, with whom he has acted, with whom he has negotiated business of the crown, and whom, *however habile and dexterous he found them, he always experienced to be of good faith; as men who have known your memorialist in business, and will have that confidence in him which is necessary to the gestion of affairs.*"

Governor Pownall was not listened to, though no man was better qualified to advise by experience in American affairs and upright disposition. In a memorial which he had previously published concerning America, he predicted the progress, and growth, and grandeur of the United States. "He who has observed the progress of the new world," said Governor Pownall, "will know that this is true, and will have seen many a real philosopher, a politician, and a warrior emerge out of this wilderness, as the seed riseth out of the ground, where the grain lies buried for a season. I hope no one will so misunderstand this, as to take it for a fancy drawing of what may be ; it is a lineal and exact portrait of what actually exists."

In the printed preface to this memorial, the governor has taken care to be more explicit. After discussing the evils of a bad administration, and the benefits which flow from good great men in authority, he says, "It is for that reason I will set Henry IV. of France at the head of the list ; one has heard of a Tully, a Fleury, a Clarendon, a Somers, a De Witt, and a ——— ; and for the good of mankind, one would hope that such men, in all countries where they can act, may never be wanting to continue the list."

On the margin of the printed page in which this passage appears, the space in a ruled line is filled up with the word FRANKLIN, and below in the governor's handwriting, these words :—"I have written in the name which was intended for that space."

Among the moral allegories in this and in former editions, is a parable very much celebrated, and justly, from the force and delicacy of its application : it is that of Abraham and the Stranger. Very soon after the revolution had terminated in a peace, and while yet the resentments of those who had been self-exiled by hostility to the freedom of their country were still fresh and rancorous, several publications of a criminatory and vituperative kind were published in England. Two works of this description, both written by clergymen, appeared ; the first, a memoir of the Life of Dr. Franklin, professing to be a continuation of the memoirs by himself; this was published in French, and distributed in France for political purposes, in which *odium theologicum* was so extravagant as to furnish its own antidote. The second was entitled, "A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, by Jonathan Boucher, M. A." &c., in which the parable against persecution was charged upon the venerable Franklin as a palpable plagiarism ; copied from the Polemical Discourses of Jeremy Taylor, folio 1674, p. 1078. The editor of a recent English epitome of Franklin's memoirs has renewed the story, with an expression of surprise that his grandson should not have rectified the error.

Perhaps the present occasion may be a suitable one to place this matter on its proper foundation. The general source of misapprehension on this topic, arises out of the assumption that Dr. Franklin premeditatedly published this parable as an original composition of his own. Upon this point it would be enough to say, that Dr. Franklin never published any edition of his own productions ; that those editions which appeared at various times were issued by other persons, to whom, when asked, he communicated whatever was sought and within his power ; deriving no emolument whatever from any of them.

In the works of Lord Kaimes, in a chapter on education, he published a version of the parable on persecution. Parson Boucher first alleged that "Franklin claimed it as his own." This allegation is a mere assumption ; there is nothing to verify it, any more than that he who quoted prose or verse from Pope or Dryden, illustrative of some moral principle, must be considered as appropriating the verse as his own. Lord Kaimes simply says, "the following parable against persecution was communicated to me by Dr. Franklin." This doth not substantiate the allegation of a claim to be its author; it was communicated as an illustration of benevolence and toleration, without any other intimation. Lord Kaimes states, simply by whom it was communicated, and so descants on it.

It is very certain that there were two different versions of such a parable, one of the Persian poet Sadi, and written so early as A. D. 1256; and a second, of Jeremy Taylor, published in 1674. That the leading ideas and moral inferences were alike in both, and differed only in their idiomatic construction, is indisputable, and that they both merited the regard and approbation of all good men. The version of the parable in the Bostaan of the Persian poet Sadi, is more oriental and circumlocutory; and not required to be presented here. That of Jeremy Taylor is given with a view to afford the reader an opportunity of judging on the merits of the version, said by Dr. Taylor to have been "found in the Jewish books." The version is as follows: "When Abraham sat at his tent door, according to his custom, waiting to entertain strangers, he espied an old man, stooping and leaning on his staff, weary with age and travel, coming towards him, who was a hundred years of age: he received him kindly and washed his feet, provided supper, caused him to sit down; but observing the old man ate and prayed not, nor begged for a blessing to his meat, he asked him why he did not worship the God of heaven? The old man told him that he worshipped the fire only, and acknowledged no other God. At which answer Abraham grew so jealousy angry, that he thrust the old man out of his tent, and exposed him to all the evils of the night, and an unguarded condition. When the old man was gone, God called to Abraham, and asked where the stranger was? He replied, I thrust him away, because he would not worship thee. God answered him, I have suffered him those hundred years, although he dishonoured me; and couldst thou not endure him one night, when he gave thee no trouble? Upon this, saith the story, Abraham fetched him back again, and gave him hospitable entertainment and wise instruction. Go thou and do likewise, and thy charity will be rewarded by the God of Abraham."

We shall here give the version as published by Lord Kaimes, and shall annex, in another column, a different and much improved version, which we copy from the edition corrected by Dr. Franklin, for the use of Mr. Vaughan. A comparison of Dr. Taylor's version with the first, and the improvements in the scriptural style, arrangement into numbered verses, and the still stronger point and effect given to the moral, will at least amount to this, that if it was a copy, it was a very much improved one, and in every respect better adapted to the nature of a moral apologue than that of Sadi or Dr. Taylor.

Lord Kaimes's version.	*Last version by Dr. Franklin.*
And it came to pass after these things, that Abraham sat in the door of his tent about the going down of the sun, and behold a man bent with age, coming from the way of the wilderness, leaning on his staff. And Abraham arose and met him, and said unto him, Turn in, I pray thee,	1. And it came to pass after these things, that Abraham sat in the door of his tent about the going down of the sun. 2. And behold a man bowed with age, came from the way of the wilderness, leaning on a staff.

and wash thy feet, and tarry all night; and thou shalt rise early in the morning and go on thy way. And the man said, Nay, for I will abide under this tree. But Abraham pressed him greatly; so he turned, and they went into the tent; and Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they did eat. And when Abraham saw that the man blessed not God, he said unto him, Wherefore dost thou not worship the most high God, creator of heaven and earth? And the man answered and said, I do not worship thy God, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made to myself a god, which abideth always in my house, and provideth me with all things. And Abraham's zeal was kindled against the man, and he arose and fell upon him, and drove him forth with blows into the wilderness. And God called upon Abraham, saying, Abraham, where is the stranger? And Abraham answered and said, Lord, he would not worship thee, neither would he call upon thy name; therefore I have driven him out from before my face into the wilderness. And God said, I have borne with him these hundred and ninety and eight years, and nourished him, and clothed him, notwithstanding his rebellion against me; and couldst not thou, who art thyself a sinner, bear with him one night?

3. And Abraham rose and met him, and said, Turn in, I pray thee, and wash thy feet, and tarry all night, and thou shalt arise early in the morning and go on thy way.

4. But the man said, Nay, for I will abide under this tree.

5. And Abraham pressed him greatly; so he turned, and they went into the tent, and Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they did eat.

6. And when Abraham saw that the man blessed not God, he said unto him, Wherefore dost thou not worship the most high God, creator of heaven and earth?

7. And the man answered and said, I do not worship the God thou speakest of, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made to myself a god, which abideth always in my house, and provideth me with all things.

8. And Abraham's zeal was kindled against the man, and he arose and drove him forth with blows into the wilderness.

9. And at midnight God called upon Abraham saying, Abraham, where is the stranger?

10. And Abraham answered and said, Lord, he would not worship thee, neither would he call upon thy name; therefore I have driven him out before my face into the wilderness.

11. And God said, Have I borne with him these hundred ninety and eight years, and clothed him, notwithstanding his rebellion against me; and couldst not thou, that art thyself a sinner, bear with him one night?

12. And Abraham said, Let not the anger of the Lord wax hot against his servant; lo, I have sinned; forgive me, I pray thee.

13. And Abraham arose, and went forth into the wilderness, and sought diligently for the man, and found him, and returned with him to the tent; and when he had entreated him kindly, he sent him away on the morrow with gifts.

14. And God spake unto Abraham, saying, For this thy sin shall thy seed be afflicted four hundred years in a strange land.

15. But for thy repentance will I deliver them; and they shall come forth with power and gladness of heart, and with much substance.

A comparison of these three several versions will show that the transfusion of the first idea, wherever it arose, with Sadi, Jeremy Taylor, or the Jewish books, that in each change the moral purpose was more perspicuously put forth, and besides the greater appropriateness of the language, the subdivision, and the entire addition of the 12th to the 15th verses, much improved, and enforced the excellence of the principle of toleration. In this view, it becomes of little consequence whence the first idea was derived; no one can dispute the superiority of the latter version, and no one can claim it in that form as belonging to any other than Franklin. The moral, however, appears to have been thrown away on the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, who, having been a rector of an episcopal church in Maryland before the Revolution, forsook his country, and was rewarded by the royal bounty with an ecclesiastical living.

Franklin has not been treated with the same virulence by clergymen generally; among his most enduring and faithful friends through all the vicissitudes of fortune, Dr. Joseph Priestley, the founder of the pneumatic system, and Dr. Richard Price, the apostle of civil liberty, maintained their uniform and constant friendship; and many of less note appear to have coveted to be numbered amongst the adherents of a man who had shed so much lustre on his country and the cause of liberty. It may therefore be fit in this place to bestow a few words on the ethics of Franklin.

As Socrates was the first of whom we have knowledge in all antiquity, whose philosophy concentrated all actions, and determined their value by their utility, Franklin appears to have taken the lead in modern times, and was, during many years of his residence in Europe, considered as the founder of modern utilitarianism; and this too was the standard of his religious opinions. It was his practice to avoid disputation or controversy on modes of faith; he censured none, when they did not operate perniciously, and deemed that to be good which produced good. Like Cicero and Sir William Jones, he acquiesced without accepting the dogmas of the prevailing systems, and even conformed in his exterior deportment, and in his family, to the usages of some one or other sect, unbiassed by any. In his youth he became sceptical, but in maturer years perceived that doubt had its extremes as well as credulity; and that as the human faculties are limited, so man cannot penetrate beyond those bounds; that time, space, and the origin, or causes, or what has been called the eternity of things, are all beyond the measure of those faculties; that we judge of all we know by analogy, and where that fails we know nothing. He felt that there was a morality incident to the nature of man, independent of all that is held to be supernatural or miraculous; nature at large and her phenomena, and greatest of all, man himself, the only miracles; that the source of these phenomena was sublime and impenetrable, indicating beneficence and justice, and leading to utility in all things. All religions he considered as human; none having superiority, but as they promoted the greatest good; but the proper business of man in the world of which he forms a part, and the perfection of his nature, was the promotion of universal happiness, by the prevention or mitigation of evil.

This mode of thinking arose either out of a happy temperament, or produced it. Modesty and frankness, with a happy gaiety, were his ordinary characteristics; somewhat reserved, but cheerful abroad, playful and communicative at home; cool in deliberation, dispassionate on all subjects, the most inflexible of men under the persuasion of rectitude and justice.

Among his warmest admirers in Europe were three very uncommon men, of three different nations: Bentham, and Turgot, and Beccaria. Condorcet relates an anecdote of Franklin and Turgot.

When Turgot had determined to make some reforms upon the system of Colbert, and rescue France from the tribute to which she was subjected by a commerce which destroyed the internal industry of France. and where there was no reciprocity, the *Perruquiers* were at that time a privileged corporation, and it was the policy of the time to preserve their privileges, rather than have to pay an immense number of pensions, if their privileges were taken away. Franklin, speaking to Turgot on the financial point, observed: "You have in France an excellent source of revenue, may recruit your army at the same time, and it will cost you nothing; let the public refrain from frizzing and powdering their hair; the money saved will be preferable to a tax, and enable the people to pay those that are indispensable; then the *Perruquiers*, being without a vocation, may be embodied in a military corps, the wages of hair-dressing will be saved, and the hair-powder will be converted into provisions."

In the memoirs written by himself, we find his mind was very early disengaged from the prevailing superstitions of the day. Among the works which fell under his eye, while employed as a printer at Palmer's, in London, was Wollaston's Sketch of the Religion of Nature; and this work it was which led him to try his own mind by a severe and unbiassed scrutiny; in consequence, he composed a short Essay on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain. Of this tract no traces are to be found, though the tenor and title of the work may be very easily conceived upon a review of his moral writings, and especially the notes which he was accustomed to commit in a rough, hasty form, as if in haste, lest they should escape him; of these first thoughts and rude sketches, we have several sheets before us, and among which is the first sketch of an essay on Providence, and the original draft of the first letter which appears in the epistolary correspondence of this edition, which was never before published. If it were practicable to presen a fac simile, it would afford an example of the mode in which a few first rough thoughts may be enlarged by correlative ideas, and by progressive improvements reduced into a complete whole.

Time has done some justice, but not as ample as is due, to the character and services of Franklin. While his reputation spread among civilized nations, and his wisdom and sound discretion contributed, above all other men, to the consummation of his country's character and independence; it is melancholy to have to say, that his merits excited the envy, and often the malice, of men associated with him in the common cause. He had at one period to maintain the credit of his country at the court of Versailles, when some of his colleagues were wantonly intruding individual views on the attention of the court; at the same time he was traduced by a private correspondence with members of Congress, the substance of which found its way into debate, and formed fuel for faction: on two occasions he had deemed it necessary to signify his desire of retiring from his station at Versailles, as, being the object of a constant jealousy, he felt pernicious counteraction of his best efforts; but the good sense of a few wise and able men, such as Charles Thompson, soon counteracted those designs against him in Congress, and the Count de Vergennes, by formally declaring that he could not hold correspondence with more than one plenipotentiary from the United States, put an end to the difficulties which had been thrown in the way of the public interest. A public agent of the south at this period charged Dr. Franklin with being a Yankee!!—another of the north represented the Americans at Paris as satellites revolving round the planet Franklin!—and among the accusations which for a long time carried the greatest force was, that he *obeyed the orders of Congress implicitly.*

One of his colleagues at Paris, a few years ago, reviewing the transactions of that period, in which it was not easy to overlook Franklin, speaks of him in the following article, which, being an effusion conceived in a temper splenetic and resentful, affords, perhaps, the best eulogy that has been offered to the public on his character. It was published in the *Boston Patriot.*

. . . . "Mr. Jefferson has said, that Dr. Franklin was an honour to human nature. And so indeed he was. To all the talents and qualities for the foundation of a great and lasting character, which were held up to the view of the whole world by the University of Oxford, the Royal Society of London, and the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, were added, it is believed, more artificial modes of distinguishing, celebrating, and exaggerating his reputation, than were ever before or since practised in favour of any individual.

"His reputation was more universal than that of Leibnitz or Newton, Frederic the Great or Voltaire, and his character more beloved and esteemed than any or all of them.

"Newton had astonished, perhaps, forty or fifty men in Europe; for not more than that number, probably, at any one time had read him and understood him, by his discoveries and demonstrations; and these being held in admiration in their respective countries, at the head of the philosophers, had spread among scientific people a mysterious wonder at the genius of this, perhaps, the greatest man that ever lived. But his fame was confined to men of letters. The common people knew little, and cared nothing, about such a recluse philosopher. Leibnitz's name was still more confined. Frederic was hated by one half of Europe, as much as Louis XIV. was, and as Napoleon is. Voltaire, whose name was more universal than any of those before mentioned, was considered as a vain profligate wit, and not much esteemed or beloved by anybody, though admired by all who knew his works.

"But Franklin's fame was universal. His name was familiar to government and people; to kings, courtiers, nobility, clergy, and philosophers, as well as plebeians, to such a degree, that there was scarcely a peasant or a citizen, a valet de chambre, coachman, or footman, a lady's chambermaid, or a scullion in the kitchen, who was not familiar with his name, and who did not consider him as a friend of human kind. When they spoke of him, they seemed to think he was to restore the golden age. They seemed enraptured enough to exclaim,

Aspice venturo lætentus ut omnia seculo.

"To develope that complication of causes which conspired to produce so singular a phenomenon, is far beyond my means or forces. Perhaps it can never be done without a complete history of the philosophy and politics of the eighteenth century. Such a work would be one of the most important that ever was written; much more interesting to this and future ages, than the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' splendid and useful as it is. La Harpe promised a history of the philosophy of the eighteenth century; but he died, and left us only a few fragments. Four of the finest writers that Great Britain ever produced, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, Hume, and Gibbon, whose labours were translated into all languages,—and three of the most elegant writers that ever lived in France, whose works were also translated into all languages, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Raynal,—were professed admirers of Mr. Franklin. He was considered as a citizen of the world, a friend to all men, and an enemy to none. His rigorous taciturnity was very favourable to this singular felicity. He conversed only with individuals, and freely only with confidential friends. In company he was totally silent."

This sketch, drawn by one of his colleagues at Paris, is remarkable for the force of its reluctant acknowledgments, and the preposterous effort to account, in a supernatural, or artificial, or some mysterious way, for his celebrity, and the indiscriminate attachment and praise lavished on him by every condition in human society. There would not seem to be a necessity for any other than the simple and obvious causes of this celebrity; he who was "an ornament of human nature," "as indeed he was." One "who possessed all the talents and qualities for the foundation of a great and lasting character," would seem to require no "artificial modes of diffusing, and celebrating his reputation." That it was exaggerated, is in no instance shown; yet the author of the sketch insinuates that "artificial modes were practised, such as were never known before." Who practised them? Franklin never published nor profited by any of his writings, philosophical or political; on the former he seems to have set very little value, and the latter were more profitable to his country than to his purse. The cause is solved by the words of the reluctant eulogist,—"He was considered a citizen of the world, a friend of all men, and an enemy to none." This is the key of this artificial mystery.

It is due to truth not to withhold the fact, that his distinguished labours for his country were not regarded with the justice due by that country to his services. Very soon after his return from that splendid mission, of which he was the animating soul and the superintending intelligence, he experienced that often repeated and too often verified imputation of ingratitude in republics. During the contest, his all-effective influence regulated and drew forth the resources which formed the only treasury of the revolution. That influence blunted the venom of envy; but peace restored, it burst forth with an acrimony which, had not the venerable Charles Thomson consigned his journal to the flames in a moment of mistaken liberality, would have surprised and confounded posterity. The long concealed spirit of jealousy, and the discretion which had silenced the enemies of the revolution, and encouraged hopes of the royal cause even to the moment when peace was proclaimed, now changed its passivity for action, and singled out the patriarch of independence as the object of their vengeance. In monarchies, gratitude is never expected, and the disregard of services is genial to selfish institutions. It becomes the more odious, and the more remarkable, when it appears in the last position of human society where it should not be suffered or tolerated.

The following is an abstract of a summary of his services, which was offered to the notice of Congress by a friend. In England he combatted the stamp act by his public writings, and in his two celebrated examinations before parliament and in the privy council, which it was allowed led to the repeal of that act.

He opposed the duty act, and though he could not prevent its passing, it was modified, at this instance, by the omission of salt, and other articles.

He wrote and published numerous papers in refutation of the ministerial principles of taxation, and their writers; he conducted two secret negotiations for the repeal, and offered payment for the tea destroyed at Boston, in the event of their repeal.

He rendered himself obnoxious by his zeal for his country, for which he was insulted before the privy council, and dismissed from the direction of the post office, estimated at 7500 dollars a year.

The king's governors were ordered not to sign any warrant for his salaries.

Returning home, he devoted himself to the cause of independence. He was chairman of the committee of safety, and invented the chevaux de frize for the defence of the Delaware.

He, in 1775, associated with Messrs. Hanson and Lynch, at the head-quarters near Boston, arranged the affairs of the union between the northern states and general Washington.

In spring, 1776, he was associated with Messrs. Carrol and Chew in a mission to Canada; the same year he was appointed to France; put all the money he possessed into the hands of Congress (about $3000), and sailed for France, in the midst of war and danger, in the 70th year of his age.

He made no bargain for salary, or appointments, but was told he should have $2500 a year, his expenses paid, and to be assisted by a secretary.

When, in 1764, Pennsylvania sent him to England on the same salary, they allowed him a year's advance for the expenses of his passage. He had no allowance from Congress, was badly accommodated in a vessel, not fit for the northern seas, and which foundered on her return.

He served as commissioner and plenipotentiary at the court of France; and performed services which were not probably duties of his station. No secretary being sent, the business was executed partly before the commissioners left him, and entirely after by himself, with the aid of his grandson, who was allowed never exceeding three hundred pounds a year.

He served as consul for several years; and as special judge in admiralty causes; and issued commissions to privateers, of which the Black Prince alone captured in one year seventy-five sail.

He served as commissary of purchases, receiving and paying bills of exchange, amounting to 2,500,000 livres.

In a letter of Silas Dean to colonel Wm. Duer, of New York, he thus notices the services of Franklin:—"Congress drew bills of exchange upon president Laurens, in Holland, several months before he left America; they drew on Mr. Jay, long before his arrival in Spain; all of which bills were honoured by the doctor. You in America believed that this was done with money received from Spain and Holland; not at all; the drafts were constantly sent to Franklin to be discharged; even the salaries of Mr. Jay, and Mr. Adams, and their suites, were paid by the doctor out of funds which his address obtained from the treasury of France. The agents of particular states were provided with large sums in the same way, out of funds ostensibly obtained for the subsistence of the army. Our ambassadors and agents have cost us, for some time, at least twenty thousand pounds sterling each year; the redemption of prisoners as much more. Congress was several times requested by the doctor not to draw on him for more, but they always continued to draw, often without notice, and were always paid."

It is true, that by his fellow-citizens of Pennsylvania, he was received on his return with gratulations, and they conferred on him the highest trusts they could bestow. It has been before noticed, that, by the editor of the edition of 1779 it was said, "the times appear not ripe enough to give expression to the veneration due to Franklin;" and even now, in the fifty-seventh year of American independence, that justice remains to be suitably done. The secret enmities which were directed against him during the whole time of his eventful mission at Paris have been snatched from the indignation of the history, by the consignment of the private papers of the venerable Charles Thomson to the flames; an error having its motive in virtue, but certainly operating as a denial of positive as well as of retributive justice. Charles Thomson, being rebuked in terms of affection and respect for this sacrifice, excused himself to the writer by expressions to this effect: "The reputation and the actions of Dr. Franklin required no other vindication than the independence of his country; during the whole period of his services at home and abroad, no person knew them better than myself; as to his enemies, it is an act of charity to future generations that they should be consigned to oblivion, were it only to leave the revolution unblemished by their exposure. Men who have held their heads very high would otherwise not appear to very great advantage."

Though honoured in his favourite city and state, Congress never made that remuneration which he had a right to expect; and it will at some day not remote be inquired by the faithful historian, to what causes it should be ascribed that even in his latter years, and after his demise, his descendants should have been proscribed in the very city which he and they had so much honoured and adorned. After the foundation of the federal government, there appeared a manifest tendency to proscribe him and others, who had been eminently conspicuous in the cause of independence; and this spirit extended to the institutions of which he was the author, which deserve some brief remarks here.

There had existed in Pennsylvania a law called the test act, which was intended to counteract the private intrigues and the undisguised hostility which was manifested by the adversaries of the revolution who had not emigrated. The moderation of the people forbade any molestation on account of opinion, and many who were, from education or other causes, partial to the royal cause remained in perfect security while they refrained from actual interference with the cause of liberty. In the moment of the triumphant establishment of independence, the generosity of the friends of liberty held forth an amnesty, and opened to those who had been opposed to the national independence the common rights of freemen. None was more earnest or effectively active in the repeal of the test law than Franklin. With an ingratitude that is unhappily too frequent, the power and influence which had been so long repressed by a perfidious discretion, soon displayed itself; and thenceforward exhibited a character, which never ceased till the generation had nearly passed away, of hostility to the principles of freedom. The repeal of the test law forms a salient point in the politics of the period, which affected all public measures. Those who were thus liberally treated identified themselves with every measure hostile to liberal principles, and became an active and propelling power in one of the parties which grew up on the formation of the federal government. The artifices and the malignity of this class of ungrateful men, gave much of their grossness to party spirit, in the first twelve years of the federal government, and contributed at once to produce and imbitter the melancholy state of society which closed the last century, and by their violence to the overthrow of that party; from which period the state of society is happily contrasted by the social quiet, security, and concord which have been experienced during the subsequent thirty years.

It was said of David Mallet's life of Chancellor Bacon, that "it contained no illustration of the philosophy of the period; and that had he written the life of Marlborough, he might have omitted the tactics of the period with the same propriety." The same characteristic belongs to more than one history of the American revolution, in which Franklin appears not to have held even a secondary place.

Among the transactions which followed the peace, the abrogation of the constitution which had been drawn up by Franklin for Pennsylvania, merits some notice. The same month which is marked by the Declaration of Independence gave birth to the convention which formed the republican constitution of Pennsylvania. Dr. Franklin was the president of that convention. The constitution which it adopted presents his political opinions; a single assembly and a plural executive were in his judgment the proper basis of a government for a free people. Averse from any form which would subject human affairs to the caprice or passions of any individual, he considered a single executive as constituting in effect a monarchy, the natural tendency of which was to despotism. It was completed 28th September, 1776, having a preamble assigning the causes of its formation; its first chapter was a Bill of Rights, embracing all those free principles of action, right, and security which leave no room for the equivocations of unwritten law, and asserting all that was necessary to social security, freedom of action and opinion.

The second chapter contained the plan of a frame of government, wherein the legislative power was assigned to an assembly of responsible delegates, and the executive to a president and council. The assembly to be annually chosen by ballot, and the members to be eligible for only four years out of seven; no members elected by the state to Congress of the United States to sit longer than two years successively, and to be ineligible for three years afterwards. All bills presented at any session to lie over after debate for another session; and to be printed in the interval for public consideration; and by the § 47, a council of censors was constituted to be chosen every seventh year, to sit one year, whose duty it should be to inquire whether the constitution had been administered inviolate; the legislators faithful; the executive performed their duty; in what manner the revenue had been collected and disposed of; and if they should find cause, to call a convention in two years after their session for the revision of the constitution, &c.

This constitution was in operation until after the present constitution of the United States was established. The parties which grew out of the contest on that occasion assumed various names, which as is not uncommon were sometimes deceptive, and displayed in action what was very different from or absolutely opposed to the signification of the title assumed.

It was in the heat of these excitements that the constitution of Pennsylvania furnished by Franklin was assailed; and while the friend of freedom cannot but regret the various modes by which constitutions have been subverted in more recent times, he who is familiar with history will be apt to moderate his surprise at what has happened in other countries, when he learns that even in Pennsylvania, the constitution of Franklin was not terminated by the means and mode provided within itself; but that proceedings characterized by violence put an end to it, and supplied its place by the constitution which still exists.

This abstract of history would be defective, if the causes and consequences were not adverted to. The § 36 of Franklin's constitution is in the following words: "As every freeman, to preserve his independence (if without a sufficient estate), ought to have some profession, calling, trade, or farm, whereby he may honestly subsist, there can be no necessity for, nor use in establishing offices of profit; the usual effects of which are dependance and servility, unbecoming freemen, in the possessors and expectants; faction, contention, corruption, and disorder among the people. But if any man is called into public service, to the prejudice of his private affairs, he has a right to a reasonable compensation."

The discussions which had arisen on the formation of the federal constitution had unfolded unequivocal prepossessions towards monarchical institutions, and the forms of the English government especially. Titular distinctions and the appetite for place, ranks, orders, and degrees—patricians and plebeians—the well-born and the vulgar, were heard of, and menaced a restoration of the vices and follies which had cost so much to overcome and do away. A constitution which required every man to have a profession, calling, or trade, and which at once held forth the incongruity of sinecure offices, could not but be odious to the newly self-incarnated nobility; and the work of Franklin, under which the commonwealth prospered in quiet, was doomed to a like proscription with that of his family. An illustration of the state of society at the period, is pertinent to the historical purpose of this preface. Such were the ridiculous extremes of the passions of the period, that the intolerance of faction, temporarily ascendant in political power, carried its influence into private society. The enjoyment of peace after the recent afflictions of war naturally led the youth of both sexes to social intercourse and innocent felicity. Dancing assemblies were among the seasonable recreations. A grandson of Franklin, who had been educated with peculiar care and affection during his residence in Europe, had returned home with his intellect well cultivated and the polish of the best manners. Modest and unassuming, amiable and unaffected, his deportment during the completion of his education at the university of his native city had acquired for him private esteem and public admiration. Without seeking distinction, he was by common assent considered the model and became the leading director of those innocent and rational assemblies. But that jealous and unquiet spirit which had closed the doors of the presidential levees against the talented and accomplished daughter of Franklin, carried its proscription into the dancing assemblies; and, surprising as the fact may appear at the present day, the grandson was interdicted from those assemblies of which he was the first ornament, upon this significant plea—*that he was a printer!* Such an occurrence would appear from its complex absurdity and extravagance almost incredible; but there still survive too many witnesses of the fact to leave it doubtful.

The constitution of the commonwealth, it may be better conceived from this anecdote, was not adapted to the views and wishes of the then dominating influence. In the flush of success in some points of political contention, and using but abusing the influence of a great name, while in the prosecution of their vengeance against popular government equal and free, they conspired to subvert Franklin's constitution, and to establish another which, by a concentration of official patronage, comparatively greater in the executive than that possessed by the royal prototype of England, they calculated would secure to them the power and the offices of the state for ever; nor did they hesitate to resort to means odious and violent to accomplish their purpose. The existing constitution had provided legal means for its correction and amendment; those were wholly disregarded; and such was the temper of the authors of the transactions, that members of the assembly were forced from their dwellings to give an appearance of sanction by their presence, to an act against which they had protested, for which they refused to vote, and to which their constituents were opposed: to complete their purpose, they excluded from the new constitution every provision for its amendment; a feature which was a favourite in all the constitutions formed contemporaneously and since.

This omission, however, only indicated the hopes and purposes of the authors. They had seen the monarch of England governing an unpaid parliament by patronage and influence. The whole power of appointment was therefore vested in the executive. The judiciary, in the absence of a church establishment, was a power to be made permanent to secure the duration and identity of their domination, and the dependance of the bar. Fortunately for mankind, power is constantly blinded by the excess of its passions; the combination was circumscribed and local, but suffrage was diffusive and all comprehending: the illusion which suggested the calculation of a perpetuation of power in the dominant party, survived scarcely ten years; for the general election of 1779 terminated their career, and transferred that very power to the hands of their democratic adversaries. The chief actors in those irrational transactions have moved off the stage, and their descendants who survive are blended with the community, undistinguished, but enjoying that peace, order, and security which began to bless society only at the moment of their overthrow. The reputation of Franklin has gradually ceased to be assailed, and his posterity in the third degree, by the mere force of their faculties and virtues, have found their way to the chairs of philosophy in their native city, to the scientific branches of the military establishment, and to a reputable rank in the naval institutions, of their country.

These incidents belong to history, they carry a moral which cannot be disregarded, but the generation now upon the tapis have no means but a vague tradition to appreciate how great the obligations they owe to the men of those days, the evils they have escaped, or the afflictions endured and overcome in arriving at the present state of peace, concord, and prosperity.

It would be remiss on this occasion not to notice a recent collection and publication of familiar letters of Dr. Franklin, by Jared Sparks, Esq. of Boston. A few of those letters had appeared in the edition of 1818, but the rest have never before reached the press; they are principally addressed to his relatives, and to Miss Stevenson, to whom letters appear addressed, in the early published editions: miscellaneous fragments form an appendix thereto, taken from some volumes which had been collected by Col. W. Duane, and transferred from his private library to the Philadelphia Atheneum; these will also be found at the close of the second volume of this edition. In the preface to Mr. Sparks's publication, he deplores the loss of "Franklin's letter-book, embracing the entire period of his agency in

England, throughout a space of almost twenty years, ascribable to the treachery or negligence of the person to whom he intrusted them when he went to France." Mr. Sparks animadverting on that injustice to Franklin, of which we took notice in the preceding part of this preface, written before Mr. Sparks's publication appeared, he thus manfully expresses himself:

"Owing to a train of circumstances which, at one time, were not well understood, but now admit of an easy and full explanation, the character of Franklin suffered in the hands of some of his late associates and contemporaries. Suspicions of his political integrity, and even of his private honesty, were scattered among the credulous, and produced impressions on the minds of many of his countrymen, which his brilliant name and great services have as yet hardly effaced. After a laborious inquiry into this matter, with no ordinary means of information and opportunities of research, particularly in regard to his acts as minister plenipotentiary in France, and in negotiating the treaty of peace at the end of the war, I feel authorized to declare, that his conduct admits of unqualified vindication; that so far from open censure or the whispers of suspicion, he deserves the lasting praise and gratitude of his country, for the manly, consistent, undeviating, honourable, and efficient course he pursued, in the face of numerous obstacles and embarrassments, during the whole nine years of his residence in France. His patriotism and fidelity to his trust were equalled only by his unrivalled talents and sagacity."

It may be proper to state the nature of some of those odious imputations, in which personal jealousy and the angry hate of the refugees who had obtained amnesty united in propagating. During the periods of the first and second presidency, it had been *whispered* by certain persons, that Franklin had obtained a million of livres from the court of Versailles, and had appropriated it to his private use. The writer of this preface has frequently heard the calumny unreservedly uttered; and it was not until Thomas Jefferson entered upon the presidential duties, that the authentic means of putting an end to this odious moral assassination could be reached. It appeared that this report had at an early period of the first presidency been made the subject of an official but secret investigation, and Mr. Gouverneur Morris, official agent at Paris, was instructed to trace the subject to its source.

This million unaccounted for, as the libellists said, was found to be that very million which has been a subject of petition for nearly half a century, and which was only decided to be repaid by Congress in 1832–3; Franklin was suspected of receiving and appropriating to his own use. Mr. Gouverneur Morris, by no means an admirer of Dr. Franklin or his philosophy, to his honour, performed his duty with integrity. He found that this million had been advanced by the French court before Franklin had arrived in France; that it was placed to the order of Baron Beaumarchais; and that it was disposed of in supplying military stores, of which the government of the United States had acknowledged the receipt. But what appears most remarkable is, that although this report of the American minister at Paris reposed in the archives of the department of state, the calumny was tolerated until Thomas Jefferson caused it to be exposed, and set the slander to rest for ever.

The letters first ushered to the public by Mr. Sparks unfold further the domestic and social character of Franklin. One of his eulogists has described him as silent in company, and given to converse freely with only one person. The inference intended by this trait of character, is not exactly that which naturally belongs to it. In the habitual innocency and playfulness which he was fond of indulging with his grandchildren, he frequently introduced, in reproof of too light and frequent volubility, this admonition:—"Recollect you have two ears, and two eyes, and only one mouth, which shows you must not speak more than half what you hear, and of half as much as you see."

He entertained a very unfavourable opinion of the ordinary modes and topics of conversation in mixed companies; he did not consider them always the most favourable places for obtaining or communicating knowledge; in mixed companies capacities are generally unequal, and egotism or the desire to show off qualities more superficial than solid too generally predominates; useful topics are rarely thought of, and where gaiety prevails, it is good philosophy to partake and not to disturb it by the interposition of gravity, or serious discussions, which are better adapted to the retired privacy and deliberation of individuals of similar temper and dispositions: he was in his domestic relations habitually cheerful and gay; and though no man possessed a more ready or keen wit, he repressed it abroad; considering vanity as a predominating passion, and too often using an exaggerated freedom with the qualities and failings of neighbours.

In those select societies which sprung up under his guidance in his first maturity, and of which the philosophical society and the city library are existing monuments, he was the actuating spirit. Among his associates of those early days his wit was as interesting as his philosophy was instructive; the questions which he propounded in the Junto extended to every department of practical knowledge, and had for their aim uniformly utility and the promotion of benevolence; in the discussions which arose he had always a principal but an unobtrusive share; he was not dogmatical in any thing; though he spoke frequently, he was never guilty of a long or an incomprehensible speech; and when others flagged, he was always ready to bring his philosophy and his good humour into action. Several sheets of his first thoughts suggested for discussion lie before the writer; with their first terms altered, interlined, improved, augmented, or abridged. From those fragments the following are selected.

"The great secret of succeeding in conversation is to admire little, to hear much; always to distrust your own judgment, and sometimes that of your friends; never to pretend to wit, but to make that of others appear as much as possible; to hearken to whatever is said, and answer to the purpose."

Another extract, though not strictly analogous, is distantly so, and cannot be out of place.

"How shall we judge of the goodness of a writing? or what qualities should a writing on any subject have, to be good and perfect in its kind?

"*Answer.* To be good, it ought to have a tendency to benefit the reader, by improving his virtue or his knowledge.

"The method should be just; that is, it should proceed regularly from things known to things unknown, distinctly, clearly, and without confusion.

"The words used should be the most expressive that the language affords, provided they are the most generally understood.

"Nothing should be expressed in two words that can as well be expressed in one, i. e. no synonymas should be used; but the whole be as short as possible consistent with clearness.

"The words should be so placed as to be agreeable to the ear in reading,

Summarily......it should be smooth,
. . . . . . clear, and
. . . . . . short.

"For the contrary qualities are displeasing."

The early perceptions of Franklin on nearly every subject were far in advance of his contemporaries. His memorable essay on population, and other thoughts on the subject, preceded the Congress of delegates from all the colonies in 1754. The articles agreed upon by that assembly were composed by him; he had penetrated futurity; and there was a certain harmony between the tone of his thoughts and the occurrences of the period which brought about that Congress, which may be historically considered as the first germination of that great revolution which was terminated by the peace of 1783.

Franklin has been, by writers hostile to freedom, considered as one premeditating a revolution, and labouring to fulfil his own prophecy. But persons who imagine this only prove their want of due discrimination. His mind had anticipated posterity, not with a view to augment its acceleration, but,—as he viewed the electric fluid,—among the phenomena of human society. Having sounded the depths of the generations of men, it is probable that he discerned a necessary and inevitable consequence, the future outnumbering of the people of this continent, so as to reverse the tenor of an expression which he uttered after the race of events had outstript his speculations. "A small island in the west of Europe governing the American continent, and subjecting it to a policy incompatible with human freedom, resembles a jolly boat governing the motion of an hundred gun ship;" he perhaps saw the day when the ship would "cut the painter," as it has happened. The sagacity which then outstript his contemporaries, was not a creation, but a discernment of future events; he was no stranger to history, and in the colonies of Spain he could discern enough to induce a generous desire, that his own country should not gradually sink or be sunk, by the relentlessness of power, into a similarly degrading condition.

Indeed the British politicians of 1754 appear to have taken an alarm, and in seeking to arrest the progress of events, suspended the plans then digested, and appear thenceforward to have entered upon a policy more repressive and rigorous. Among the autograph notes before referred to, is the following question proposed to be debated at the Junto.

"If the sovereign power attempts to deprive a subject of his right (or, which is the same thing, what he thinks his right), is it justifiable to resist if he is able?"

This sentiment is much older than the Congress at Albany; and in poor Richard's almanac, for 1751, three years before the Albany meeting, the following article is found under the title *genealogy*.

"It is amusing to compute the number of men and women among the ancients who clubbed their faculties to produce a single modern. As you reckon backward the number augments, in the same ratio as the price of the coat which wa sold for a halfpenny a button continually doubled. Thus,

A nobleman of the present day is the great result, who numbers	1
His father and mother	2
His grandfather and grandmother	4
His great grandfather, and great grandmother	8
4th degree	16
5th	32
6th	64
7th	128
8th	256
9th	512
10th	1024
11th	2048
12th	4096
13th	8192
14th	16384
15th	32768
16th	65536
17th	131072
18th	262144
19th	524288
20th	1048576

"There are twenty-one generations, without taking a plurality of children in any case or intermarriage, and allowing three generations for one hundred years, we are carried back to the era of the Norman Conquest, at which time each nobleman of that race at the present day, to exclude ignoble blood from his veins, ought to have *one million forty-eight thousand five hundred and seventy-six noble ancestors.*

"Carry the reckoning three thousand years farther back, and the number amounts to *five hundred millions*, probably more than exists at one time on the earth—proving pretensions to ancestry to be—*a joke!*"

In a letter to his daughter, Mrs. Sarah Bache, concerning the order of Cincinnati, there is another explication of this subject, given in a very sarcastic style.

The domestic economy of Franklin, has been generally inferred to be sordid and penurious, perhaps from a misapprehension of the economical morality of Poor Richard, which has never been considered by his biographers in the spirit of its author. Those who laboured to find in this production a pretext for disparaging him, have discovered matter of reprobation even in its morality; it has been held forth as inculcating a paltry and niggard economy. Those critics never place themselves in the position he held, nor look at the state of the society to which Poor Richard addressed himself. In the centre of an assemblage of colonies, detached and varying in climates and positions; originating in incongruous elements; with interests not always harmonious, rendered dissonant by foreign policy, and restricted from the exercise of their faculties abroad and at home; forbidden to be industrious, and oppressed wherever the natural instincts in seeking happiness had bounded over unnatural restraints; he saw those instinctive powers of the human character directing enterprise with such powerful success in opposition to law, as to induce policy to relax, and to connive at those very illicit enterprises, because they brought from the sources of the precious metals fruits more rich and ample than those of merely lawful mercantile commerce, and transferred the treasures of Mexico and Peru to the coffers of the English treasury.

The restraints of colonial policy forbade indulgence in luxury of living, or enjoyment; but the propensity to imitate European fashions was even then too prevalent for the pecuniary means of the people. An effort to restrain those propensities, to induce a community of thought in social relations, to inculcate simplicity of manners, as alone adapted to the state of society in which policy, in violation of nature, had placed them, were the objects of Poor Richard. Perhaps, indeed, he may have anticipated an event, which was to arrive at some uncertain and remote day, when the liberty of posterity might have to depend on a frugal and hardy yeomanry; and however remote such a crisis might then appear to be, that steps could not be taken too early to avert such fatal effeminacy as had marked the decline of Italy and Spain. To accomplish such provident purposes Poor Richard was happily adapted; the success was signal as the conception was original; the production was indeed more admired for its simplicity and ingenuity, than as a deep moral design; but the moral effects have been realized, and still retain their influence with the pleasure of recollection.

In his domestic economy he has been generally supposed to be penurious and niggardly, and that the household of the philosopher was regulated by sordid maxims. No mistake could be greater; in every stage of his progress he was regulated by what he possessed, not by what he might possess. He was severe in avoiding debt, and equally so against whatever was wasteful; among his maxims at home, was "Share where it is needful, but waste nothing." Mrs. Franklin differed from those opinions of others concerning her husband, and frequently deemed it necessary to suggest lessons of prudence to the very master of prudence; she sometimes complained of unnecessary purchases and hard bargains—"Debby," said the doctor, "is not the dam full? Would you wish it to overflow and go to waste? More than enough is too much: let us share what we can spare, as Poor Richard says."

W. D.

This loose preface was deemed necessary, were it for no other end than to point out errors, and afford hints to some future biographer, should one arise, whose benevolence and disinterestedness of purpose may be in sympathy with the American sage.

The arrangement of the whole of former editions, with very large additions, are embraced in these two volumes.

The first volume embraces the autobiography and continuation, with political and some philosophical subjects; for the ready access to any of which, an alphabetical index of principal matters is prefixed to the first volume.

The second volume is preceded by a table of contents, which designates every separate subject contained therein.

MEMOIRS

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

To William Franklin, Esq., Governor of New Jersey.

Twyford,* 1771.

Dear Son,—I have ever had a pleasure in obtaining any little anecdotes of my ancestors. You may remember the enquiries I made among the remains of my relations, when you were with me in England, and the journey I undertook for that purpose. Imagining it may be equally agreeable to you to learn the circumstances of *my* life, many of which you are unacquainted with, and expecting the enjoyment of a few weeks' uninterrupted leisure, I sit down to write them. Besides, there are some other inducements that excite me to this undertaking. From the poverty and obscurity in which I was born, and in which I passed my earliest years, I have raised myself to a state of affluence and some degree of celebrity in the world. As constant good fortune has accompanied me even to an advanced period of life, my posterity will perhaps be desirous of learning the means, which I employed, and which, thanks to Providence, so well succeeded with me. They may also deem them fit to be imitated, should any of them find themselves in similar circumstances. —This good fortune, when I reflect on it, which is frequently the case, has induced me sometimes to say, that if it were left to my choice, I should have no objection to go over the same life from its beginning to the end: requesting only the advantage authors have, of correcting in a second edition the faults of the first. So would I also wish to change some incidents of it for others more favourable. Notwithstanding, if this condition was denied, I should still accept the offer of re-commencing the same life. But as this repetition is not to be expected, that which resembles most living one's life over again, seems to be to recall all the circumstances of it; and to render this remembrance more durable to record them in writing. In thus employing myself I shall yield to the inclination so natural to old men, of talking of themselves and their own actions; and I shall indulge it without being tiresome to those, who, from respect to my age, might conceive themselves obliged to listen to me, since they will be always free to read me or not. And lastly, (I may as well confess it, as the denial of it would be believed by nobody,) I shall perhaps not a little gratify my own *vanity*. Indeed, I never heard or saw the introductory words "*Without vanity* I may say," &c., but some vain thing immediately followed. Most people dislike vanity in others, whatever share they have of it themselves, but I give it fair quarter, wherever I meet with it, being persuaded that it is often productive of good. to the possessor, and to others who are within his sphere of action: and therefore, in many cases, it would not be altogether absurd, if a man were to thank God for his vanity among the other comforts of life.

And now I speak of thanking God, I desire with all humility to acknowledge that I attribute the mentioned happiness of my past life to his divine providence, which led me to the means I used, and gave the success. My belief of this induces me to *hope*, though I must not *presume*, that the same goodness will still be exercised towards me, in continuing that happiness or enabling me to bear a fatal reverse, which I may experience as others have done; the complexion of my future fortune being known to him only, in whose power it is to bless us, even in our afflictions.

Some notes, one of my uncles (who had the same curiosity in collecting family anecdotes) once put into my hands, furnished me with several particulars relative to our ancestors. From these notes I learnt that they lived in the same village, Ecton in Northamptonshire on a freehold of about thirty acres, for at least three hundred years, and how much longer could not be ascertained.*

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* The seat of Dr. Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph.

This small estate would not have sufficed for their maintenance without the business of a smith, which had continued in the family down to my uncle's time, the eldest son being always brought up to that employment; a custom which he and my father followed with regard to their eldest sons. When I searched the registers at *Ecton*, I found an account of their marriages and burials from the year 1555 only, as the registers kept did not commence previous thereto. I however learnt from it, that I was the youngest son of the youngest son for five generations back. My grandfather Thomas, who was born 1598, lived at Ecton, till he was too old to continue his business, when he retired to Banbury in Oxfordshire, to the house of his son John, with whom my father served an apprenticeship. There my uncle died and lies buried. We saw his grave stone in 1758. His eldest son Thomas lived in the house at Ecton, and left it with the land to his only daughter, who with her husband, one Fisher of Wellingborough, sold it to Mr. Isted, now lord of the manor there. My grandfather had four sons, who grew up: viz. Thomas, John, Benjamin, and Josiah. Being at a distance from my papers, I will give you what account I can of them from memory: and if my papers are not lost in my absence, you will find among them many more particulars.†

Thomas, my eldest uncle, was bred a smith under his father, but being ingenious, and encouraged in learning (as all my brothers were) by an esquire Palmer, then the principal inhabitant of that parish, he qualified himself for the bar, and became a considerable man in the county; was chief mover of all public-spirited enterprizes for the county or town of Northampton, as well as of his own village, of which many instances were related of him: and he was much taken notice of, and patronized by lord Halifax. He died in 1702, the 6th of January; four years to a day before I was born. The recital which some elderly persons made to us of his character, I remember, struck you as something extraordinary, from its similarity with what you knew of me. "Had he died," said you, "four

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* Perhaps from the time, when the name of FRANKLIN, which before was the name of an order of people, was assumed by them for a *surname*, when others took surnames all over the kingdom.

As a proof that FRANKLIN was anciently the common name of an order or rank in England, see Judge Fortescue, *De laudibus Legum Angliæ*, written about the year 1412, in which is the following passage, to show that good juries might easily be formed in any part of England.

"Regio etiam illa, ita respersa refertaque est *possessoribus terrarum* et agrorum, quod in ea, villula tam parva reperiri non poterit, in qua non est *miles*, *armiger*, vel pater-familias, qualis ibidem *Frankleri* vulgariter nuncupatur, magnis ditatus possessionibus, nec non libere tenentes et alii *valecti* plurimi, suis patrimoniis sufficientes ad faciendum juratam, in forma prænotata

"Moreover, the same country is so filled and replenished with landed menne, that therein so small a thorpe cannot be found wherein dweleth not a knight, an esquire, or such a householder, as is there commonly called a *Franklin*, enriched with great possessions; and also other freeholders and many yeomen able for their livelihoodes to make a jury in form aforementioned."—(*Old Translation.*)

Chaucer too calls his country gentleman, a *Franklin*; and after describing his good housekeeping, thus characterises him:

"This worthy Franklin bore a purse of silk,
Fix'd to his girdle, white as morning milk.
Knight of the Shire, first Justice at th' Assize,
To help the poor, the doubtful to advise.
In all employments, generous, just, he proved;
Renown'd for courtesy, by all beloved.

† *Copy of an original letter, found among Dr. Franklin's papers, from Josiah to B. Franklin.*

LOVING SON,—As to the original of our name there is various opinions; some say that it came from a sort of title of which a book, that you bought when here, gives a lively account. Some think we are of a French extract, which was formerly called Franks; some of a free line; a line free from that vassalage which was common to subjects in days of old; some from a bird of long red legs. Your uncle Benjamin made inquiry of one skilled in heraldry, who told him there is two coats of armour, one belonging to the Franklins of the north, and one to the Franklins of the west. However, our circumstances have been such as that it hath hardly been worth while to concern ourselves much about these things, any further than to tickle the fancy a little.

The first that I can give account of, is my great grand father, as it was a custom in those days among young men too many times to goe to seek their fortune, and in his travels he went upon liking to a taylor; but he kept such a stingy house, that he left him and travelled farther, and came to a smith's house, and coming on a fasting day, being in popish times, he did not like there the first day; the next morning the servant was called up at five in the morning, but after a little time came a good toast and good beer, and he found good housekeeping there; he served and learned the trade of a smith.

In queen Mary's days, either his wife, or my grandmother, by father's side, informed my father that they kept their bible fastened under the top of a joint-stool that they might turn up the book and read in the bible, that when any body came to the dore they turned up the stool for fear of the aparitor, for if it was discovered, they would be in hazard of their lives. My grandfather was a smith also, and settled at Eton in Northamptonshire, and he was imprisoned a year and a day on suspicion of his being the author of some poetry that touched the character of some great man. He had only one son and one daughter; my grandfather's name was Henry, my father's name was Thomas, my mother's name was Jane. My father was born at Ecton or Eton, Northamptonshire, on the 18th of October, 1598; married to Miss Jane White, niece to Coll White, of Banbury, and died in the 84th year of his age. There was nine children of us who were happy in our parents, who took great care by their instructions and pious example to breed us up in a religious way. My eldest brother had but one child, which was married to one Mr Fisher, at Wallingborough, in Northamptonshire. The town was lately burnt down, and whether she was a sufferer or not I cannot tell, or whether she be living or not. Her father dyed worth fifteen hundred pounds, but what her circumstances are now I know not. She hath no child. If you by the freedom of your office, makes it more likely to convey a letter to her, it would be acceptable to me. There is also children of brother John and sister Morris, but I hear nothing from them, and they write not to me, so that I know not where to find them. I have been again to about seeing .... but have mist of being informed. We received yours, and are glad to hear poor Jammy is recovered so well. Son John received the letter, but is so busy just now that he cannot write you an answer, but will do the best he can. Now with hearty love to, and prayer for you all I rest your affectionate father. *Boston*, *May* 26, 1739.

JOSIAH FRANKLIN

years later, on the same day, one might have supposed a transmigration." John, my next uncle, was bred a dyer, I believe of wool. Benjamin was bred a silk dyer, serving an apprenticeship in London. He was an ingenious man. I remember, when I was a boy, he came to my father's in Boston, and resided in the house with us for several years. There was always a particular affection between my father and him, and I was his godson. He lived to a great age. He left behind him two quarto volumes of manuscript, of his own poetry, consisting of fugitive pieces addressed to his friends. He had invented a short hand of his own, which he taught me, but not having practised it, I have now forgotten it. He was very pious, and an assiduous attendant at the sermons of the best preachers, which he reduced to writing according to his method, and had thus collected several volumes of them. He was also a good deal of a politician; too much so, perhaps, for his station. There fell lately into my hands in London, a collection he made of all the principal political pamphlets relating to public affairs, from the year 1641 to 1717; many of the volumes are wanting, as appears by their numbering, but there still remain eight volumes in folio, and twenty in quarto and in octavo. A dealer in old books had met with them, and knowing me by name, having bought books of him, he brought them to me. It would appear that my uncle must have left them here, when he went to America, which was about fifty years ago. I found several of his notes in the margins. His grandson, Samuel Franklin, is still living in Boston.

Our humble family early embraced the reformed religion. Our forefathers continued Protestants through the reign of Mary, when they were sometimes in danger of persecution, on account of their zeal against popery. They had an English bible, and to conceal it, and place it in safety, it was fastened open with tapes under and within the cover of a joint stool. When my great grandfather wished to read it to his family, he placed the joint stool on his knees, and then turned over the leaves under the tapes. One of the children stood at the door to give notice if he saw the apparitor coming, who was an officer of the spiritual court. In that case the stool was turned down again upon its feet, when the bible remained concealed under it as before. This anecdote I had from uncle Benjamin. The family continued all of the church of England, till about the end of Charles II. reign, when some of the ministers that had been outed for their nonconformity, holding conventicles in Northamptonshire, my uncle Benjamin and my father Josiah adhered to them, and so continued all their lives: the rest of the family remained with the episcopal church.

My father married young, and carried his wife with three children to New England, about 1682. The conventicles being at that time forbidden by law, and frequently disturbed in their meetings, some considerable men of his acquaintance determined to go to that country, and he was prevailed with to accompany them thither, where they expected to enjoy the exercise of their religion with freedom. By the same wife my father had four children more born there, and by a second wife ten others—in all seventeen; of which I remember to have seen thirteen sitting together at his table, who all grew up to years of maturity, and were married; I was the youngest son and the youngest of all except two daughters. I was born in Boston in New England. My mother, the second wife of my father, was Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first settlers of New England; of whom honourable mention is made by Cotton Mather, in his ecclesiastical history of that country, entitled *Magnalia Christi Americana*, as "a goodly and learned Englishman," if I remember the words rightly. I was informed he wrote several small occasional works, but only one of them was printed, which I remember to have seen several years since. It was written in 1675. It was in familiar verse, according to the taste of the times and people; and addressed to the government there. It asserts the liberty of conscience, in behalf of the Anabaptists, the Quakers, and other sectarians, that had been persecuted. He attributes to this persecution the Indian wars, and other calamities that had befallen the country; regarding them as so many judgments of God, to punish so heinous an offence, so contrary to charity. This piece appeared to me as written with manly freedom and a pleasing simplicity. The six last lines I remember, but have forgotten the preceding ones of the stanza; the purpose of them was, that his censures proceeded from good will, and therefore he would be known to be the author.

> "Because to be a libeller (said he)
> I hate it with my heart;
> From *Sherburne** town, where now I dwell,
> My name I do put here;
> Without offence, your real friend,—
> It is Peter Folgier."

My elder brothers were all put apprentices to different trades. I was put to the grammar school at eight years of age, my father intending to devote me as the tythe of his sons, to the service of the church. My early readiness in learning to read, (which must have been very early, and I do not remember when I could not read,) and the opinion of all my friends, that I should certainly make a good scholar, encouraged him in this purpose of his. My uncle Benjamin, too, approved of it, and proposed to give me his short-hand volumes of sermons to set up with, if I would learn short-hand.

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* Sherburne in the island of Nantucket.

I continued however at the grammar school rather less than a year, though in that time I had risen gradually from the middle of the class of that year, to be at the head of the same class, and was removed into the next class, whence I was to be placed in the third at the end of the year. But my father, burthened with a numerous family, was unable, without inconvenience, to support the expense of a college education; considering, moreover, as he said to one of his friends in my presence, the little encouragement that line of life afforded to those educated for it, he gave up his first intentions, took me from the grammar school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic, kept by a then famous man, Mr. George Brownwell. He was a skilful master and successful in his profession, employing the mildest and most encouraging methods. Under him I learnt to write a good hand pretty soon, but failed entirely in arithmetic. At ten years old, I was taken to help my father in his business of a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler, a business to which he was not bred, but had assumed on his arrival in New England, because he found that his dying trade, being in little request, would not maintain his family. Accordingly, I was employed in cutting the wick for the candles, filling the moulds for cast candles, attending the shop, going of errands, &c.

I disliked the trade, and had a strong inclination to go to sea, but my father declared against it; but residing near the water, I was much in it and on it. I learnt to swim well, and to manage boats; and when embarked with other boys, I was commonly allowed to govern, especially in any case of difficulty; and upon other occasions, I was generally the leader among the boys, and sometimes led them into scrapes, of which I will mention an instance. as it shows an early projecting public spirit, though not then justly conducted.

There was a salt marsh which bounded part of the mill-pond, on the edge of which at high water we used to stand to fish for minnows; by much trampling we had made it a mere quagmire. My proposal was to build a wharf there for us to stand upon, and I shewed my comrades a large heap of stones, which were intended for a new house near the marsh, and which would very well suit our purpose. Accordingly, in the evening when the workmen were gone home, I assembled a number of my playfellows, and we worked diligently like so many emmets, sometimes two or three to a stone, till we had brought them all to make our little wharf. The next morning the workmen were surprised, on missing the stones which formed our wharf; inquiry was made after the authors of this transfer; we were covered, complained of, and corrected by our fathers; and though I demonstrated the utility of our work, mine convinced me that, *that which was not truly honest could not be truly useful.*

I suppose you may like to know what kind of a man my father was. He had an excellent constitution, was of a middle stature, well set, and very strong: he could draw prettily, was a little skilled in music; his voice was sonorous and agreeable, so that when he played on his violin and sung withal, as he was accustomed to do after the business of the day was over, it was extremely agreeable to hear. He had some knowledge of mechanics, and on occasion was very handy with other tradesmen's tools; but his great excellence was his sound understanding and solid judgment in prudential matters, both in private and public affairs. It is true he was never employed in the latter, the numerous family he had to educate, and the strictness of his circumstances keeping him close to his trade: but I remember well his being frequently visited by leading men, who consulted him for his opinion in public affairs, and those of the church he belonged to, and who shewed great respect for his judgment and advice: he was also much consulted by private persons about their affairs, when any difficulty occurred; and frequently chosen an arbitrator between contending parties. At his table he liked to have, as often as he could, some sensible friend or neighbour to converse with, and always took care to start some ingenious or useful topic for discourse, which might tend to improve the minds of his children. By this means he turned our attention to what was good, just, and prudent, in the conduct of life; and little or no notice was ever taken of what related to the victuals on the table, whether it was well or ill dressed, in or out of season, of good or bad flavour, preferable or inferior to this or that other thing of the kind, so that I was brought up in such a perfect inattention to those matters, as to be quite indifferent as to what kind of food was set before me. Indeed I am so unobservant of it, that to this day I can scarce tell a few hours after dinner of what dishes it consisted. This has been a great convenience to me in travelling, where my companions have been sometimes very unhappy for want of a suitable gratification of their more delicate because better instructed tastes and appetites.

My mother had likewise an excellent constitution: she suckled all her ten children. I never knew either my father or mother to have any sickness but that of which they died—he at 89 and she at 85 years of age. They lie buried together at Boston, where I some years since placed a marble over their grave, with this inscription:

Josiah Franklin,
and
Abiah, his wife,
lie here interred.
They lived lovingly together in wedlock
fifty-five years.
And without an estate, or any gainful employment,
By constant labour and honest industry,
maintained a large family comfortably,
and brought up thirteen children and seven grand-
children respectably.
From this instance, reader,
Be encouraged to diligence in thy calling
And distrust not Providence.
He was a pious and prudent man;
She a discreet and virtuous woman.
Their youngest son,
In filial regard to their memory,
Places this stone.
J. F. born 1655, died 1744, Ætas 89.
A. F. —— 1667, —— 1752, —— 85.

By my rambling digressions, I perceive myself to be grown old. I used to write more methodically. But one does not dress for private company as for a public ball. Perhaps it is only negligence.

To return: I continued thus employed in my father's business for two years, that is till I was twelve years old; and my brother John, who was bred to that business, having left my father, married and set up for himself at Rhode Island, there was every appearance that I was destined to supply his place, and become a tallow-chandler. But my dislike to the trade continuing, my father had apprehensions, that if he did not put me to one more agreeable, I should break loose and go to sea, as my brother Josiah had done to his great vexation. In consequence he took me to walk with him, and see joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, &c., at their work, that he might observe my inclination, and endeavour to fix it on some trade or profession that would keep me on land. It has ever since been a pleasure to me to see good workmen handle their tools; and it has been often useful to me to have learnt so much by it as to be able to do some trifling jobs in the house, when a workman was not at hand, and to construct little machines for my experiments, at the moment when the intention of making them was warm in my mind. My father determined at last for the cutlers' trade, and placed me for some days on trial with Samuel, son to my uncle Benjamin, who was bred to that trade in London, and had just established himself in Boston. But the sum he exacted as a fee for my apprenticeship displeased my father, and I was taken home again. From my infancy I was passionately fond of reading, and all the money that came into my hands was laid out in the purchasing of books. I was very fond of voyages. My first acquisition was *Bunyan's* works in separate little volumes. I afterwards sold them to enable me to buy *R. Burton's Historical Collections*; they were small chapmen's books, and cheap, 40 volumes in all. My father's little library consisted chiefly of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read. I have often regretted, that at a time when I had such a thirst for knowledge, more proper books had not fallen into my way, since it was resolved I should not be bred to divinity; there was among them Plutarch's lives, which I read abundantly, and I still think that time spent to great advantage. There was also a book of *De Foe's*, called an *Essay on Projects*, and another of *Dr. Mather's*, called an *Essay to do good*, which perhaps gave me a turn of thinking that had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life.

This bookish inclination at length determined my father to make me a printer, though he had already one son (James) of that profession. In 1717 my brother James returned from England with a press and letters to set up his business in Boston. I liked it much better than that of my father, but still had an hankering for the sea. To prevent the apprehended effect of such an inclination, my father was impatient to have me bound to my brother. I stood out some time, but at last was persuaded, and signed the indentures when I was yet but twelve years old. I was to serve as an apprentice till I was twenty-one years of age, only I was to be allowed journeyman's wages during the last year. In a little time I made a great progress in the business, and became a useful hand to my brother. I now had access to better books. An acquaintance with the apprentices of booksellers, enabled me sometimes to borrow a small one, which I was careful to return soon and clean. Often I sat up in my chamber the greatest part of the night, when the book was borrowed in the evening to be returned in the morning, lest it should be found missing. After some time a merchant, an ingenious, sensible man, Mr. Matthew Adams, who had a pretty collection of books, frequented our printing office, took notice of me, and invited me to see his library, and very kindly proposed to lend me such books as I chose to read. I now took a strong inclination for poetry, and wrote some little pieces; my brother supposing it might turn to account, encouraged me, and induced me to compose two occasional ballads. One was called the *Light-house tragedy*, and contained an account of the shipwreck of captain Worthilake, with his two daughters: the other was a sailor's song, on the taking of the famous *Teach* (or Blackbeard) the pirate. They were wretched stuff in street ballad style; and when they were printed, my brother sent me about the town to sell them.—The first sold prodigiously, the event being recent, and having made a great noise. This success flattered my vanity, but my father discouraged me, by criticising my performances, and telling me verse makers were generally beggars. Thus I escaped being a poet, and probably a very bad one: but as prose writing has been of great use to me in the course of my life, and was a principal means of my advancement, I shall tell you how in such a situation, I acquired what little ability I may be supposed to have in that way.

There was another bookish lad in the town, John Collins by name, with whom I was intimately acquainted. We sometimes disputed, and very fond we were of argument, and very desirous of confuting one another, which disputatious turn, by the way, is apt to become a very bad habit, making people often extremely disagreeable in company, by the contradiction that is necessary to bring it into practice; and thence besides souring and spoiling the conversation, it is productive of disgusts and perhaps enmities with those who may have occasion for friendship. I had caught this by reading my father's books of disputes on religion. Persons of good sense, I have since observed, seldom fall into it, except lawyers, university men, and generally men of all sorts who have been bred at Edinburg. A question was once some how or other started, between Collins and me, on the propriety of educating the female sex in learning, and their abilities for study. He was of opinion that it was improper, and that they were naturally unequal to it. I took the contrary side, perhaps for dispute sake. He was naturally more eloquent, having a greater plenty of words; and sometimes, as I thought, I was vanquished more by his fluency than by the strength of his reasons. As we parted without settling the point, and were not to see one another again for some time, I sat down to put my arguments in writing, which I copied fair and sent to him. He answered, and I replied. Three or four letters on a side had passed, when my father happened to find my papers and read them. Without entering into the subject in dispute, he took occasion to talk to me about my manner of writing; observed that, though I had the advantage of my antagonist in correct spelling and pointing, (which he attributed to the printing house,) I fell far short in elegance of expression, in method, and perspicuity, of which he convinced me by several instances. I saw the justice of his remarks, and thence grew more attentive to my manner of writing, and determined to endeavour to improve my style.

About this time I met with an odd volume of the Spectator. I had never before seen any of them. I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing excellent, and wished if possible to imitate it. With that view I took some of the papers, and making short hints of the sentiments in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and then without looking at the book, tried to complete the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length and as fully as it had been expressed before in any suitable words that should occur to me. Then I compared my Spectator with an original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them. But I found I wanted a stock of words, or a readiness in recollecting and using them, which I thought I should have acquired before that time, if I had gone on making verses; since the continual search for words of the same import, but of different lengths, to suit the measure, or of different sounds for the rhyme, would have laid me under a constant necessity of searching for variety, and also have tended to fix that variety in my mind, and make me master of it. Therefore I took some of the tales in the Spectator, and turned them into verse: and after a time, when I had pretty well forgotten the prose, turned them back again. I also sometimes jumbled my collection of hints into confusion, and after some weeks endeavoured to reduce them into the best order, before I began to form the full sentences and complete the subject. This was to teach me method in the arrangement of the thoughts. By comparing my work with the original, I discovered many faults and corrected them; but I sometimes had the pleasure to fancy, that in particulars of small consequence I had been fortunate enough to improve the method or the language, and this encouraged me to think, that I might in time come to be a tolerable English writer, of which I was extremely ambitious. The time I allotted for writing exercises and for reading, was at night or before work began in the morning, or on Sunday, when I contrived to be in the printing house, avoiding as much as I could the constant attendance at public worship, which my father used to exact from me when I was under his care, and which I still continued to consider as a duty, though I could not afford time to practise it.

When about sixteen years of age, I happened to meet with another book, written by one Tryon, recommending a vegetable diet. I determined to go into it. My brother being yet unmarried, did not keep house, but boarded himself and his apprentices in another family. My refusing to eat flesh occasioned an inconvenience, and I was frequently chid for my singularity. I made myself acquainted with Tryon's manner of preparing some of his dishes, such as boiling potatoes or rice, making hasty pudding, and a few others, and then proposed to my brother, if he would give me weekly, half the money he paid for my board, I would board myself. He instantly agreed to it, and I presently found that I could save half what he paid me.

This was an additional fund for buying of books. But I had another advantage in it.—My brother and the rest going from the printing office to their meals, I remained there alone; and despatching presently my light repast, which was often no more than a biscuit, or a slice of bread and a handful of raisins, a tart from the pastry cook's, and a glass of water, had the rest of the time till their return for study, in which I made the greater progress, from that greater clearness of head and quick apprehension, which generally attends temperance in eating and drinking.

Now it was, that being on some occasion made ashamed of my ignorance in figures, which I had twice failed learning when at school, I took *Cocker's* book on arithmetic, and went through the whole by myself with the greatest ease. I also read *Sellers* and *Sturny's* book on navigation, which made me acquainted with the little geometry it contained; but I never proceeded far in that science. I read about this time *Locke on the Human Understanding*, and the *Art of Thinking* by Messrs. du Port Royal.

While I was intent on improving my language, I met with an English grammar, (I think it was Greenwood's,) having at the end of it two little sketches, on the arts of rhetoric and logic, the latter finishing with a dispute in the Socratic method; and soon after I procured Xenophon's *Memorable things of Socrates*, wherein there are many examples of the same method. I was charmed by it, adopted it, dropt my abrupt contradiction and positive argumentation, and put on the humble inquirer; and being then, from reading *Shaftsbury* and *Collins*, made a doubter, as I already was in many points of our religious doctrines, I found this method the safest for myself and very embarrassing to those against whom I used it; therefore I took delight in it, practised it continually, and grew very artful and expert in drawing people, even of superior knowledge, into concessions, the consequences of which they did not foresee; entangling them in difficulties, out of which they could not extricate themselves, and so obtaining victories, that neither myself nor my cause always deserved. I continued this method some few years, but gradually left it, retaining only the habit of expressing myself in terms of modest diffidence; never using, when I advanced any thing that may possibly be disputed, the word *certainly—undoubtedly*—or any other that gave the air of positiveness to an opinion; but rather say I *conceive*, or *apprehend* a thing to be so and so, it *appears to me;* or I should not think it is so, for such and such reasons; or I *imagine it to be so;* or *it is so, if I am not mistaken.* This habit I believe has been of great advantage to me, when I have had occasion to inculcate my opinions, and persuade men into measures that I have been from time to time engaged in promoting; and as the chief ends of conversation are to *inform*, or to be *informed*, to *please* or to *persuade*, I wish well meaning and sensible men would not lessen their power of doing good by a positive, assuming manner that seldom fails to disgust, tends to create opposition, and to defeat most of those purposes for which speech was given to us.

In fact if you wish to instruct others, a positive and dogmatical manner in advancing your sentiments may occasion opposition and prevent a candid attention. If you desire improvement from others, you should not at the same time express yourself fixed in your present opinions; modest and sensible men who do not love disputations will leave you undisturbed in the possession of your errors. In adopting such a manner, you can seldom expect to please your hearers, or obtain the concurrence you desire. Pope judiciously observes,

> Men must be taught as if you taught them not,
> And things unknown proposed as things forgot.

He also recommends it to us,

> To speak, tho' sure, with seeming diffidence.

And he might have joined with this line, that which he has coupled with another I think less properly.

> For want of modesty is want of sense,

If you ask, why less properly, I must repeat the lines,

> Immodest words admit of no defence,
> For want of modesty is want of sense.

Now is not the *want of sense* (where a man is so unfortunate as to want it) some apology for his *want of modesty?* and would not the lines stand more justly thus?

> Immodest words admit but *this defence*,
> That *want of modesty* is want of sense.

This, however, I should submit to better judgments.

My brother had in 1720 or 21, began to print a newspaper. It was the second that appeared in America, and was called the *New England Courant*. The only one before it, was the *Boston News Letter*. I remember his being dissuaded by some of his friends from the undertaking, as not likely to succeed, one newspaper being, in their judgment, enough for America. At this time (1771) there are not less than *five-and-twenty*.* He went on however with the undertaking; I was employed to carry the papers to the customers, after having worked in composing the types and printing off the sheets. He had some ingenious men among his friends, who amused themselves by writing little pieces for this paper, which gained it credit, and made it more in demand, and these gentlemen often visited us.

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* The number in 1817, exceeds 400.

Hearing their conversations and their accounts of the approbation their papers were received with, I was excited to try my hand among them: but being still a boy, and suspecting that my brother would object to printing any thing of mine in his paper, if he knew it to be mine, I contrived to disguise my hand, and writing an anonymous paper, I put it at night under the door of the printing house.—It was found in the morning, and communicated to his writing friends, when they called in as usual. They read it, commented on it in my hearing, and I had the exquisite pleasure of finding it had met with their approbation, and that in their different guesses at the author, none were named but men of some character among us for learning and ingenuity. I suppose that I was rather lucky in my judges, and they were not really so very good as I then believed them to be.

Encouraged however by this attempt, I wrote and sent in the same way to the press several other pieces, that were equally approved; and I kept my secret till all my fund of sense for such performances was exhausted, and then discovered it, when I began to be considered with a little more attention by my brother's acquaintance. However, that did not quite please him, as he thought it tended to make me too vain. This might be one occasion of the differences we began to have about this time. Though a brother, he considered himself as my master, and me as his apprentice, and accordingly expected the same services from me as he would from another, while I thought he degraded me too much in some he required of me, who from a brother required more indulgence. Our disputes were often brought before our father, and I fancy I was either generally in the right or else a better pleader, because the judgment was generally in my favour. But my brother was passionate and had often beaten me, which I took extremely amiss; and thinking my apprenticeship very tedious, I was continually wishing for some opportunity of shortening it, which at length offered in a manner unexpected.

Perhaps the harsh and tyrannical treatment of me, might be a means of impressing me with the aversion to arbitrary power, that has stuck to me through my whole life.

One of the pieces in our newspaper on some political point, which I have now forgotten, gave offence to the assembly. He was taken up, censured, and imprisoned for a month, by the speaker's warrant, I suppose because he would not discover the author. I too was taken up and examined before the council; but though I did not give them any satisfaction, they contented themselves with admonishing me and dismissed me, considering me perhaps as an apprentice, who was bound to keep his master's secrets.

During my brother's confinement, which I resented a good deal notwithstanding our differences, I had the management of the paper; and I made bold to give our rulers some rubs in it, which my brother took very kindly, while others began to consider me in an unfavourable light, as a youth that had a turn for libelling and satire. My brother's discharge was accompanied with an order (and a very odd one) that "James Franklin should no longer print the newspaper called the New England Courant."

On a consultation held in our printing office amongst his friends, what he should do in this conjuncture, it was proposed to elude the order, by changing the name of the paper; but my brother seeing inconveniences in this, come to a conclusion, as a better way, to let the paper in future be printed in the name of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: and in order to avoid the censure of the assembly that might fall on him, as still printing it by his apprentice, he contrived and consented that my old indenture should be returned to me, with a discharge on the back of it, to show in case of necessity; and, in order to secure to him the benefit of my service, I should sign new indentures for the remainder of my time, which was to be kept private. A very flimsy scheme it was; however, it was immediately executed, and the paper was printed accordingly under my name for several months. At length a fresh difference arising between my brother and me, I took upon me to assert my freedom, presuming that he would not venture to produce the new indentures. It was not fair in me to take this advantage, and this I therefore reckon as one of the first errata of my life; but the unfairness of it weighed little with me, when under the impression of resentment for the blows his passion too often urged him to bestow upon me; though he was otherwise not an illnatured man: perhaps I was too saucy and provoking.

When he found I would leave him, he took care to prevent my getting employment in any other printing house in town, by going round and speaking to every master, who accordingly refused to give me work. I then thought of going to New-York, as the nearest place where there was a printer; and I was rather inclined to leave Boston, when I reflected that I had already made myself a little obnoxious to the governing party, and from the arbitrary proceedings of the assembly in my brother's case, it was likely I might, if I staid, soon bring myself into scrapes; and further, that my indiscreet disputations about religion began to make me pointed at with horror, by good people, as an infidel or atheist. I concluded therefore to remove to New York; but my father now siding with my brother, I was sensible that if I attempted to go openly, means would be used to prevent me. My friend Collins therefore undertook to manage my flight. He agreed with the captain of a New York sloop to take me, under pretence of my being a young man of his acquaintance that had an intrigue with a girl of bad character, whose parents would compel me to marry her; and that I could neither appear or come away publicly. I sold my books to raise a little money, was taken on board the sloop privately, had a fair wind, and in three days found myself at New York, near three hundred miles from my home, at the age of seventeen, without the least recommendation, or knowledge of any person in the place, and very little money in my pocket.

The inclination I had felt for the sea was by this time done away, or I might now have gratified it. But having another profession, and conceiving myself a pretty good workman, I offered my services to a printer of the place, old Mr. W. Bradford, who had been the first printer in Pennsylvania, but had removed thence, in consequence of a quarrel with the governor, general Keith. He could give me no employment, having little to do, and hands enough already. But he said, "My "son, at Philadelphia, has lately lost his prin"cipal hand, Aquilla Rose, by death; if you "go thither, I believe he may employ you." Philadelphia was one hundred miles farther; I set out, however, in a boat for Amboy, leaving my chest and things to follow me round by sea. In crossing the bay we met with a squall that tore our rotten sails to pieces, prevented our getting into the kill, and drove us upon Long Island. In our way, a drunken Dutchman, who was a passenger too, fell overboard; when he was sinking, I reached through the water to his shock pate, and drew him up, so that we got him in again. His ducking sobered him a little and he went to sleep, taking first out of his pocket a book which he desired I would dry for him. It proved to be my old favourite author, *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress*, in Dutch, finely printed on good paper, copper cuts, a dress better than I had ever seen it wear in its own language. I have since found that it has been translated into most of the languages of Europe, and suppose it has been more generally read than any other book, except perhaps the Bible. Honest John was the first that I know of, who mixed narration and dialogue; a method of writing very engaging to the reader, who, in the most interesting parts finds himself, as it were, admitted into the company and present at the conversation. *De Foe* has imitated him successfully in his Robinson Crusoe, in his Moll Flanders, and other pieces; and *Richardson* has done the same in his Pamela, &c.

On approaching the island, we found it was in a place where there could be no landing, there being a great surf on the stony beach. So we dropt anchor, and swung out our cable towards the shore. Some people came down to the shore, and hallooed to us, as we did to them, but the wind was so high, and the surf so loud, that we could not understand each other. There were some small boats near the shore, and we made signs, and called to them to fetch us; but they either did not comprehend us, or it was impracticable, so they went off. Night approaching, we had no remedy but to have patience till the wind abated, and in the mean time the boatmen and myself concluded to sleep if we could; and so we crowded into the hatches, where we joined the Dutchman, who was still wet, and the spray breaking over the head of our boat, leaked through to us, so that we were soon almost as wet as he. In this manner we lay all night with very little rest; but the wind abating the next day, we made a shift to reach Amboy before night; having been thirty hours on the water, without victuals, or any drink but a bottle of filthy rum; the water we sailed on being salt.

In the evening I found myself very feverish, and went to bed; but having read somewhere that cold water drank plentifully was good for a fever, I followed the prescription, and sweat plentifully most of the night: my fever left me, and in the morning crossing the ferry, I proceeded on my journey on foot, having fifty miles to Burlington, where I was told I should find boats that would carry me the rest of the way to Philadelphia.

It rained very hard all the day, I was thoroughly soaked, and by noon a good deal tired, so I stopt at a poor inn, where I stayed all night; beginning now to wish I had never left home. I made so miserable a figure too, that I found by the questions asked me, I was suspected to be some runaway indentured servant, and in danger of being taken up on that suspicion. However, I proceeded next day, and got in the evening to an inn within eight or ten miles of Burlington, kept by one Dr. Brown. He entered into conversation with me, while I took some refreshment, and finding I had read a little, became very obliging and friendly. Our acquaintance continued all the rest of his life. He had been, I imagine, an ambulatory quack doctor, for there was no town in England, or any country in Europe, of which he could not give a very particular account. He had some letters, and was ingenious, but he was an infidel, and wickedly undertook some years after to turn the Bible into doggrel verse, as Cotton had formerly done with Virgil. By this means he set many facts in a ridiculous light, and might have done mischief with weak minds, if his work had been published; but it never was. At his house I lay that night, and arrived the next morning at Burlington; but had the mortification to find, that the regular boats had gone a little before, and no other expected to go before Tuesday, this being Saturday. Wherefore I returned to an old woman in the town, of whom I had bought some gingerbread to eat on the water, and asked her advice; she proposed to lodge me, till a passage by some other boat occurred. I accepted her offer, being much fatigued by travelling on foot. Understanding I was a printer, she would have had me remain in that town and follow my business; being ignorant what stock was necessary to begin with. She was very hospitable, gave me a dinner of ox cheek with a great good-will, accepting only of a pot of ale in return; and I thought myself fixed till Tuesday should come. However, walking in the evening by the side of the river, a boat came by which I found was going towards Philadelphia with several people in her. They took me in, and as there was no wind, we rowed all the way; and about midnight, not having yet seen the city, some of the company were confident we must have passed it, and would row no further: the others knew not where we were, so we put towards the shore, got into a creek, landed near an old fence, with the rails of which we made a fire, the night being cold, in October, and there we remained till daylight. Then one of the company knew the place to be Cooper's creek, a little above Philadelphia, which we saw as soon as we got out of the creek, and arrived there about eight or nine o'clock, on the Sunday morning, and landed at Market-street wharf.

I have been the more particular in this description of my journey, and shall be so of my first entry into that city, that you may in your mind compare such unlikely beginnings, with the figure I have since made there. I was in my working dress, my best clothes coming round by sea. I was dirty, from my being so long in the boat; my pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings, and I knew no one, nor where to look for lodging. Fatigued with walking, rowing, and the want of sleep, I was very hungry; and my whole stock of cash consisted in a single dollar, and about a shilling in copper coin, which I gave to the boatmen for my passage. At first they refused it, on account of my having rowed, but I insisted on their taking it. Man is sometimes more generous when he has little money, than when he has plenty; perhaps to prevent his being thought to have but little. I walked towards the top of the street, gazing about, still in Market-street, where I met a boy with bread. I had often made a meal of dry bread, and enquiring where he had bought it, I went immediately to the baker's he directed me to. I asked for biscuits, meaning such as we had at Boston: that sort, it seems, was not made in Philadelphia. I then asked for a three-penny loaf, and was told they had none. Not knowing the different prices, nor the names of the different sorts of bread, I told him to give me three-penny worth of any sort. He gave me accordingly three great puffy rolls. I was surprised at the quantity, but took it, and having no room in my pockets, walked off with a roll under each arm, and eating the other. Thus I went up Market street as far as Fourth-street, passing by the door of Mr. Read, my future wife's father; when she, standing at the door, saw me, and thought I made, as I certainly did, a most awkward, ridiculous appearance. Then I turned and went down Chestnut-street and part of Walnut-street, eating my roll all the way, and coming round found myself again at Market-street wharf, near the boat I came in, to which I went for a draught of the river water; and, being filled with one of my rolls, gave the other two to a woman and her child that came down the river in the boat with us, and were waiting to go farther. Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street, which by this time had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way: I joined them; and thereby was led into the great meeting house of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and after looking round awhile, and hearing nothing said, being very drowsy, through labour and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when some one was kind enough to rouse me. This therefore was the first house I was in, or slept in, in Philadelphia.

I then walked down towards the river, and looking in the faces of every one, I met a young Quaker man whose countenance pleased me, and accosting him, requested he would tell me where a stranger could get a lodging. We were then near the sign of the Three Mariners. "Here," said he, "is a house where they receive strangers, but it is not a reputable one; if thou wilt walk with me, I'll shew thee a better one;" and he conducted me to the Crooked Billet in Water-street.—There I got a dinner; and while I was eating, several questions were asked me; as from my youth and appearance I was suspected of being a runaway. After dinner my host having shown me to a bed, I lay myself on it, without undressing, and slept till six in the evening, when I was called to supper. I went to bed again very early, and slept very soundly till next morning. Then I dressed myself as neat as I could, and went to Andrew Bradford, the printer's. I found in the shop the old man his father, whom I had seen at New York, and who, travelling on horseback, had got to Philadelphia before me. He introduced me to his son, who received me civilly, gave me a breakfast, but told me he did not at present want a hand, being lately supplied with one: but there was another printer in town lately set up, one Keimer, who perhaps might employ me; if not, I should be welcome to lodge at his house, and he would give me a little work to do now and then till fuller business should offer.

The old gentleman said he would go with me to the new printer; and when we found him, "Neighbour," said Bradford, "I have brought to see you, a young man of your business; perhaps you may want such a one." He asked me a few questions, put a composing stick in my hand to see how I worked, and then said he would employ me soon, though he had just then nothing for me to do; and taking old Bradford, whom he had never seen before, to be one of the town's people that had a good will for him, entered into a conversation on his present undertaking and prospects; while Bradford, (not discovering that he was the other printer's father,) on Keimer's saying he expected soon to get the greatest part of the business into his own hands; drew him on by artful questions, and starting little doubts, to explain all his views, what influence he relied on, and in what manner he intended to proceed. I, who stood by and heard all, saw immediately, that one was a crafty old sophister, and the other a true novice. Bradford left me with Keimer, who was greatly surprised when I told him who the old man was.

The printing house, I found, consisted of an old damaged press and a small worn-out fount of English types which he was using himself, composing an elegy on Aquilla Rose, before mentioned; an ingenious young man, of excellent character, much respected in the town, secretary to the assembly, and a pretty poet. Keimer made verses too, but very indifferently. He could not be said to *write* them, for his method was to *compose* them in the types directly out of his head; there being no copy, but one pair of cases, and the elegy probably requiring all the letter, no one could help him. I endeavoured to put his press (which he had not yet used, and of which he understood nothing) into order to be worked with; and promising to come and print off his elegy as soon as he should have got it ready, I returned to Bradford's, who gave me a little job to do for the present, and there I lodged and dieted. A few days after Keimer sent for me to print off the elegy. And now he had got another pair of cases, and a pamphlet to reprint on which he set me to work.

These two printers I found poorly qualified for their business. Bradford had not been bred to it, and was very illiterate; and Keimer, though something of a scholar, was a mere compositor, knowing nothing of presswork. He had been one of the French prophets, and could act their enthusiastic agitations. At this time he did not profess any particular religion, but something of all on occasion; was very ignorant of the world, and had, as I afterwards found, a good deal of the knave in his composition. He did not like my lodging at Bradford's while I worked with him. He had a house indeed, but without furniture, so he could not lodge me; but he got me a lodging at Mr. Read's, before-mentioned, who was the owner of his house; and my chest of clothes being come by this time, I made rather a more respectable appearance in the eyes of Miss Read, than I had done when she first happened to see me eating my roll in the street.

I began now to have some acquaintance among the young people of the town, that were lovers of reading, with whom I spent my evenings very pleasantly; and gained money by my industry and frugality. I lived very contented, and forgot Boston as much as I could, and did not wish it should be known where I resided, except to my friend Collins, who was in the secret and kept it faithfully. At length, however, an incident happened, that occasioned my return home much sooner than I had intended. I had a brother-in-law, Robert Holmes, master of a sloop that traded between Boston and Delaware. He being at New Castle, forty miles below Philadelphia, and hearing of me, wrote me a letter, mentioning the grief of my relations and friends in Boston, at my abrupt departure, assuring me of their good will to me, and that every thing would be accommodated to my mind if I would return; to which he intreated me earnestly. I wrote an answer to his letter, thanked him for his advice, but stated my reasons for quitting Boston, so fully and in such a light, as to convince him, that I was not so much in the wrong as he had apprehended.

Sir William Keith, governor of the province, was then at New Castle, and captain Holmes happening to be in company with him, when my letter came to hand, spoke to him of me, and shewed him the letter. The governor read it, and seemed surprised when he was told my age. He said I appeared a young man of promising parts, and therefore should be encouraged: the printers at Philadelphia were wretched ones, and if I would set up there, he made no doubt I should succeed; for his part he would procure me the public business, and do me every other service in his power. This my brother-in-law Holmes afterwards told me in Boston, but I knew as yet nothing of it; when one day Keimer and I being at work together near the window, we saw the governor and another gentleman, (who proved to be col. French of New Castle, in the province of Delaware) finely dressed, come directly across the street to our house, and heard them at the door. Keimer ran down immediately, thinking it a visit to him; but the governor inquired for me, came up, and with a condescension and politeness I had been quite unused to, made me many compliments, desired to be acquainted with me; blamed me kindly for not having made myself known to him, when I first came to the place, and would have me away with him to the tavern, where he was going with colonel French to taste, as he said, some excellent Madeira. I was not a little surprised, and Keimer stared with astonishment. I went however with the governor and colonel French to a tavern the corner of Third-street, and over the Madeira he proposed my setting up my business. He stated the probabilities of my success, and both he and colonel French assured me I should have their interest and influence to obtain for me the public business of both governments. And as I expressed doubts that my father would assist me in it, sir William said he would give me a letter to him, in which he would set forth the advantages, and he did not doubt he should determine him to comply. So it was concluded I should return to Boston by the first vessel, with the governor's letter to my father. In the mean time it was to be kept a secret, and I went on working with Keimer as usual. The governor sent for me now and then to dine with him, which I considered a great honour, more particularly as he conversed with me in the most affable, familiar, and friendly manner.

About the end of April, 1724, a little vessel offered for Boston. I took leave of Keimer, as going to see my friends. The governor gave me an ample letter, saying many flattering things of me to my father, and strongly recommending the project of my setting up at Philadelphia, as a thing that would make my fortune. We struck on a shoal in going down the bay, and sprung a leak; we had a blustering time at sea, and were obliged to pump almost continually, at which I took my turn. We arrived safe, however, at Boston, in about a fortnight. I had been absent seven months, and my friends had heard nothing of me; for my brother Holmes was not yet returned, and had not written about me. My unexpected appearance surprised the family; all were, however, very glad to see me, and made me welcome, except my brother: I went to see him at his printing-house. I was better dressed than ever while in his service, having a genteel new suit from head to foot, a watch, and my pockets lined with near five pounds sterling in silver. He received me not very frankly, looked me all over, and turned to his work again. The journeymen were inquisitive where I had been, what sort of a country it was, and how I liked it. I praised it much, and the happy life I led in it, expressing strongly my intention of returning to it: and one of them asking what kind of money we had there, I produced an handful of silver, and spread it before them, which was a kind of *raree-show* they had not been used to, paper being the money of Boston. Then I took an opportunity of letting them see my watch; and lastly (my brother still grum and sullen) gave them a dollar to drink and took my leave. This visit of mine offended him extremely. For when my mother sometime after spoke to him of a reconciliation, and of her wish to see us on good terms together, and that we might live for the future as brothers; he said I had insulted him in such a manner before his people, that he could never forget or forgive it. In this, however, he was mistaken.

My father received the governor's letter with some surprise; but said little of it to me for some time. Captain Holmes returning, he shewed it to him, and asked him if he knew sir William Keith, and what kind of a man he was; adding, that he must be of small discretion, to think of setting a youth up in business who wanted three years to arrive at man's estate. Holmes said what he could in favour of the project, but my father was decidedly against it, and at last gave a flat denial. He wrote a civil letter to sir William, thanking him for the patronage he had so kindly offered me, and declining to assist me as yet in setting up, I being, in his opinion, too young to be trusted with the management of an undertaking so important, and for which the preparation required a considerable expenditure.

My old companion Collins, who was a clerk in the Post Office, pleased with the account I gave him of my new country, determined to go thither also; and while I waited for my father's determination, he set out before me by land to Rhode-Island, leaving his books, which were a pretty collection in mathematics and natural philosophy, to come with mine and me to New York, where he proposed to wait for me.

My father, though he did not approve sir William's proposition, was yet pleased that I had been able to obtain so advantageous a character from a person of such note where I had resided; and that I had been so industrious and careful as to equip myself so handsomely in so short a time; therefore, seeing no prospect of an accommodation between my brother and me, he gave his consent to my returning again to Philadelphia, advised me to behave respectfully to the people there, endeavour to obtain the general esteem, and avoid lampooning and libelling, to which he thought I had too much inclination; telling me, that by steady industry and prudent parsimony, I might save enough by the time I was one-and-twenty, to set me up; and that if I came near the matter he would help me out with the rest. This was all I could obtain except some small gifts as tokens of his and my mother's love, when I embarked again for New York, now with their approbation and their blessing.—The sloop putting in at Newport, Rhode Island, I visited my brother John, who had been married and settled there some years. He received me very affectionately, for he always loved me. A friend of his, one Vernon, having some money due him in Pennsylvania, (about thirty-five pounds currency,) desired I would recover it for him, and keep it till I had his directions what to employ it in. Accordingly he gave me an order to receive it. This business afterwards occasioned me a good deal of uneasiness.

At Newport we took in a number of passengers, amongst which were two young women travelling together, and a sensible matron-like quaker lady, with her servants. I had shewn an obliging disposition to render her some little services, which probably impressed her with sentiments of good will towards me; for, when she witnessed the daily growing familiarity between the young women and myself, which they appeared to encourage, she took me aside, and said, "Young man, I am concerned for thee, as thou hast no friend with thee, and seem'st not to know much of the world, or of the snares youth is exposed to: depend upon it these are very bad women, I can see it by all their actions; and if thou art not upon thy guard, they will draw thee into some danger: they are strangers to thee, and I advise thee, in a friendly concern for thy welfare, to have no acquaintance with them." As I seemed at first not to think so ill of them as she did, she mentioned some things she had observed and heard that had escaped my notice, but now convinced me she was right. I thanked her for her kind advice, and promised to follow it. When we arrived at New York, they told me where they lived, and invited me to come and see them, but I avoided it, and it was well I did; for the next day the captain missed a silver spoon and some other things that had been taken out of his cabin, and knowing that these were a couple of strumpets, he got a warrant to search their lodgings, found the stolen goods, and had the thieves punished.—So, though we had escaped a sunken rock, which we scraped upon in the passage, I thought this escape of rather more importance to me.

At New York I found my friend Collins, who had arrived there some time before me. We had been intimate from children, and had read the same books together: but he had the advantage of more time for reading and studying, and a wonderful genius for mathematical learning, in which he far outstript me. While I lived in Boston, most of my hours of leisure for conversation were spent with him, and he continued a sober as well as industrious lad; was much respected for his learning by several of the clergy and other gentlemen, and seemed to promise making a good figure in life. But during my absence he had acquired a habit of drinking of brandy, and I found by his own account, as well as that of others, that he had been drunk every day since his arrival at New York, and behaved himself in a very extravagant manner. He had gamed too, and lost his money, so that I was obliged to discharge his lodgings, and defray his expenses on the road, and at Philadelphia; which proved a great burden to me. The then govenor of New York, Burnet, (son of bishop Burnet,) hearing from the captain, that one of the passengers had a great many books on board, desired him to bring me to see him. I waited on him, and should have taken Collins with me had he been sober. The governor received me with great civility, shewed me his library, which was a considerable one, and we had a good deal of conversation relative to books and authors. This was the second governor who had done me the honour to take notice of me; and for a poor boy like me, was very pleasing. We proceeded to Philadelphia, I received in the way Vernon's money, without which we could hardly have finished our journey. Collins wished to be employed in some counting house; but whether they discovered his dram drinking by his breath or by his behaviour, though he had some recommendations, he met with no success in any application, and continued lodging and boarding at the same house with me, and at my expense. Knowing that I had that money of Vernon's, he was continually borrowing of me, still promising repayment, as soon as he should be in business. At length he had got so much of it, that I was distressed to think what I should do, in case of being called on to remit it. His drinking continued, about which we sometimes quarrelled: for when a little intoxicated, he was very irritable. Once, in a boat on the Delaware with some other young men, he refused to row in his turn: "I will be rowed home," said he. "We will not row you," said I. "You must," said he, or stay all night on the water, just as you please." The others said, "Let us row, what signifies it!" But my mind being soured with his other conduct, I continued to refuse. So he swore he would make me row, or throw me overboard; and coming along stepping on the thwarts towards me, when he came up and struck at me, I clapt my hand under his thighs, and rising, pitched him head foremost into the river. I knew he was a good swimmer, and so was under little concern about him; but before he could get round to lay hold of the boat, we had with a few strokes pulled her out of his reach, and whenever he drew near the boat, we asked him if he would row, striking a few strokes to slide her away from him. He was ready to stifle with vexation, and obstinately would not promise to row. Finding him at last beginning to tire, we drew him into the boat, and brought him home dripping wet. We hardly exchanged a civil word after this adventure. At length a West India captain, who had a commission to procure a preceptor for the sons of a gentleman at Barbadoes, met with him, and proposed to carry him thither to fill that situation. He accepted, and promised to remit me what he owed me out of the first money he should receive; but I never heard of him after. The violation of my trust, respecting Vernon's money, was one of the first great errata of my life; and this shewed that my father was not much out in his judgment, when he considered me as too young to manage business. But sir William, on reading his letter, said he was too prudent, that there was a great difference in persons; and discretion did not always accompany years, nor was youth always without it. "But since he will not set you up, I will do it myself. Give me an inventory of the things necessary to be had from England, and I will send for them. You shall repay me when you are able; I am resolved to have a good printer here, and I am sure you must succeed." This was spoken with such an appearance of cordiality, that I had not the least doubt of his meaning what he said. I had hitherto kept the proposition of my setting up a secret in Philadelphia, and I still kept it. Had it been known that I depended on the governor, probably some friend that knew him better, would have advised me not to rely on him; as I afterwards heard it as his known character, to be liberal of promises which he never meant to keep; yet, unsolicited as he was by me, how could I think his generous offers insincere? I believed him one of the best men in the world.

I presented him an inventory of a little printing house, amounting by my computation to about one hundred pounds sterling. He liked it, but asked me if my being on the spot in England to choose the types, and see that every thing was good of the kind, might not be of some advantage; "then," said he, "when there you may make acquaintance, and establish correspondences in the bookselling and stationary way." I agreed, that this might be advantageous. "Then," said he, "get yourself ready to go with Annis;" which was the annual ship, and the only one at that time usually passing between London and Philadelphia. But as it would be some months before Annis sailed, I continued working with Keimer, fretting extremely about the money Collins had got from me, and in great apprehensions of being called upon for it by Vernon; this however did not happen for some years after.

I believe I have omitted mentioning, that in my first voyage from Boston to Philadelphia, being becalmed off Block Island, our crew employed themselves in catching cod, and hauled up a great number. Till then I had stuck to my resolution to eat nothing that had had life; and on this occasion I considered, according to my master Tryon, the taking every fish, as a kind of unprovoked murder, since none of them had nor could do us any injury that might justify this massacre. All this seemed very reasonable. But I had been formerly a great lover of fish, and when it came out of the frying-pan it smelt admirably well. I balanced some time between principle and inclination, till, recollecting that when fish were opened I saw smaller fish taken out of their stomachs; then thought I, "If you eat one another, I don't see why we may not eat you." So I dined upon cod very heartily, and have since continued to eat as other people; returning only now and then occasionally to a vegetable diet. So convenient a thing it is to be a *reasonable creature*, since *it enables one to find or make a reason for every thing one has a mind to do.*

Keimer and I lived on a pretty good familiar footing, and agreed tolerably well; for he suspected nothing of my setting up. He retained a great deal of his old enthusiasm, and loved argumentation. We therefore had many disputations. I used to work him so with my Socratic method, and had trepanned him so often by questions apparently so distant from any point we had in hand, yet by degress leading to the point, and bringing him into difficulties and contradictions, that at last he grew ridiculously cautious, and would hardly answer me the most common questions, without asking first, "*What do you intend to infer from that?*" However, it gave him so high an opinion of my abilities in the confuting way, that he seriously proposed my being his colleague in a project he had of setting up a new sect. He was to preach the doctrines, and I was to confound all opponents. When he came to explain with me upon the doctrines, I found several conundrums, which I objected to, unless I might have my way a little too, and introduce some of mine. Keimer wore his beard at full length, because somewhere in the Mosaic law, it is said, "*Thou shalt not mar the corners of thy beard.*" He likewise kept the seventh day Sabbath; and these two points were essential with him. I disliked both; but agreed to them on condition of his adopting the doctrine of not using animal food. I doubt, said he, my constitution will not bear it. I assured him it would, and that he would be the better for it. He was usually a great eater, and I wished to give myself some diversion in half starving him. He consented to try the practice if I would keep him company: I did so, and we held it for three months. Our provisions were purchased, cooked, and brought to us regularly by a woman in the neighbourhood, who had from me a list of forty dishes, which she prepared for us at different times, in which there entered neither fish, flesh nor fowl. This whim suited me the better at this time, from the cheapness of it, not costing us above eighteen pence sterling each per week. I have since kept several lents most strictly, leaving the common diet for that and that for the common, abruptly, without the least inconvenience. So that I think there is little in the advice of making those changes by easy gradations. I went on pleasantly, but poor Keimer suffered grievously, grew tired of the project, longed for the flesh-pots of Egypt, and ordered a roast pig. He invited me and two women friends to dine with him, but it being brought too soon upon table. he could not resist the temptation, and ate the whole before we came.

I had made some courtship during this time to Miss Read; I had a great respect and affection for her, and had some reasons to believe she had the same for me; but as I was about to take a long voyage, and we were both very young, (only a little above eighteen,) it was thought most prudent by her mother to prevent our going too far at present; as a marriage, if it was to take place, would be more convenient after my return, when I should be, as I hoped, set up in my business. Perhaps too she thought my expectations not so well founded as I imagined them to be.

My chief acquaintances at this time were Charles Osborne, Joseph Watson, and James Ralph; all lovers of reading. The two first were clerks to an eminent scrivener or conveyancer in the town, (Charles Brogden,) the other was a clerk to a merchant. Watson was a pious, sensible young man. of great integrity: the others rather more lax in their principles of religion, particularly Ralph, who as well as Collins had been unsettled by me; for which they both made me suffer. Osborne was sensible, candid, frank—sincere and affectionate to his friends; but in literary matters too fond of criticism. Ralph was ingenuous, genteel in his manners, and extremely eloquent; I think I never knew a prettier talker. Both were great admirers of poetry, and began to try their hands in little pieces. Many pleasant walks we have had together on Sundays in the woods on the banks of the Schuylkill, where we read to one another, and conferred on what we had read. Ralph was inclined to give himself up entirely to poetry, not doubting but he might make great proficiency in it, and even make his fortune by it. He pretended that the greatest poets must, when they first began to write, have committed as many faults as he did. Osborne endeavoured to dissuade him, assured him he had no genius for poetry, and advised him to think of nothing beyond the business he was bred to; "that in the mercantile way, though he had no stock, he might by his diligence and punctuality recommend himself to employment as a factor, and in time acquire wherewith to trade on his own account." I approved, for my part, the amusing oneself with poetry now and then, so far as to improve one's language, but no further. On this it was proposed that we should each of us at our next meeting produce a piece of our own composing, in order to improve by our mutual observations, criticisms, and corrections. As language and expression was what we had in view, we excluded all considerations of invention, by agreeing that the task should be a version of the eighteenth psalm, which describes the descent of a deity. When the time of our meeting drew nigh, Ralph called on me first, and let me know his piece was ready: I told him I had been busy, and having little inclination, had done nothing. He then shewed me his piece for my opinion, and I much approved it, as it appeared to me to have great merit. "Now," said he, "Osborne never will allow the least merit in any thing of mine, but makes a thousand criticisms out of mere envy: He is not so jealous of you; I wish therefore you would take this piece and produce it as yours; I will pretend not to have had time, and so produce nothing; we shall then hear what he will say to it." It was agreed, and I immediately transcribed it, that it might appear in my own hand. We met: Watson's performance was read; there were some beauties in it, but many defects. Osborne's was read; it was much better: Ralph did it justice; remarked some faults, but applauded the beauties. He himself had nothing to produce. I was backward, seemed desirous of being excused, had not had sufficient time to correct, &c., but no excuse could be admitted; produce I must. It was read and repeated: Watson and Osborne gave up the contest, and joined in applauding it. Ralph only made some criticisms and proposed some amendments; but I defended my text. Osborne was severe against Ralph, and told me he was no better able to criticise than to compose verses. As these two were returning home, Osborne expressed himself still more strongly in favour of what he thought my production; having before refrained, as he said, lest I should think he meant to flatter me. "But who would have imagined," said he," "that Franklin was capable of such a performance; such painting, such force, such fire! He has even improved on the original. In common conversation he seems to have no choice of words, he hesitates and blunders; and yet, good God, how he writes!" When we next met, Ralph discovered the trick we had played, and Osborne was laughed at. This transaction fixed Ralph in his resolution of becoming a poet. I did all I could to dissuade him from it, but he continued scribbling verses till Pope cured him.* He became however a pretty good prose writer. More of him hereafter. But as I may not have occasion to mention the other two, I shall just remark here, that Watson died in my arms a few years after, much lamented, being the best of our set. Osborne went to the West Indies, where he became an eminent lawyer, and made money, but died young. He and I had made a serious agreement that the one who happened first to die should, if possible, make a friendly visit to the other, and acquaint him how he found things in that separate state. But he never fulfilled his promise.

The governor seeming to like my company, had me frequently at his house, and his setting me up was always mentioned as a fixed thing. I was to take with me letters recommendatory to a number of his friends, besides the letter of credit to furnish me with the necessary money for purchasing the press, types, paper, &c. For these letters I was appointed to call at different times, when they were to be ready, but a future time was still named. Thus we went on till the ship (whose departure too had been several times postponed) was on the point of sailing. Then when I called to take my leave and receive the letters, his secretary, Dr. Baird, came out to me and said the governor was extremely busy in writing, but would be down at Newcastle before the ship, and then the letters would be delivered to me.

Ralph, though married, and having one child, had determined to accompany me in this voyage. It was thought he intended to establish a correspondence and obtain goods to sell on commission; but I found after, that having some cause of discontent with his wife's relations, he proposed to leave her on their hands and never return to America. Having taken leave of my friends, and exchanged promises with Miss Read, I quitted Philadelphia, in the ship, which anchored at Newcastle. The governor was there, but when I went to his lodging, his secretary came to me from him with expressions of the greatest regret that he could not then see me, being engaged in business of importance; but that he would send the letters to me on board, wishing me heartily a good voyage and a speedy return, &c. I returned on board a little puzzled, but still not doubting.

Mr. Andrew Hamilton, a celebrated lawyer of Philadelphia, had taken his passage in the same ship for himself and son, with Mr. Denham, a Quaker merchant, and Messrs. Oniam and Russel, (masters of an Iron Work in Maryland,) who had engaged the great cabin; so that Ralph and I were forced to take up with a birth in the steerage, and none on board knowing us, were considered as ordinary persons. But Mr. Hamilton and his son (it was James, since governor) returned from Newcastle to Philadelphia, the father being recalled by a great fee to plead for a seized ship. And just before we sailed, colonel French coming on board, and shewing me great respect, I was more taken notice of; and with my friend Ralph invited by the other gentlemen to come into the cabin, there being now room; accordingly we removed thither.

Understanding that colonel French had brought on board the governor's dispatches, I asked the captain for those letters that were to be under my care; he said all were put into the bag together, and he could not then come at them, but before we landed in England I should have an opportunity of picking them out; so I was satisfied for the present, and we proceeded on our voyage. We had a sociable company in the cabin, and lived uncommonly well, having the addition of all Mr. Hamilton's stores, who had laid in plentifully. In this passage Mr. Denham contracted a friendship for me, that continued during his life. The voyage was otherwise not a pleasant one, as we had a great deal of bad weather.

When we came into the Channel, the captain kept his word with me, and gave me an opportunity of examining the bag for the governor's letters; I found some upon which my name was put, as under my care: I picked out six or seven, that by the hand-writing I thought might be the promised letters, especially as one of them was addressed to Basket, the king's printer, and another to some stationer. We arrived in London the 24th December, 1724. I waited upon the stationer, who came first in my way, delivering the letter as from governor Keith. I don't know such a person, said he: but opening the letter, O! this is from Riddlesden. I have lately found him to be a complete rascal, and I will have nothing to do with him, nor receive any letters from him. So putting the letter into my hand, he turned on his heel and left me to serve some customer. I was surprised to find these were not the governor's letters; and, after recollecting and comparing circumstances, I began to doubt his sincerity. I found my friend Denham, and opened the whole affair to him. He let me into Keith's character, told me there was not the least probability that he had written any letters for me; that no one who knew him, had the smallest dependence on him; and he laughed at the idea of the governor's giving me a letter of credit, having, as he said, no credit to give. On my expressing some concern about what I should do, he advised me to endeavour getting some employment in the way of my business. Among the printers here, said he, you will improve yourself, and when you return to America, you will set up to greater advantage.

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* "Silence, ye Wolves, while *Ralph* to Cynthia howls,
And makes night hideous:—answer him ye Owls!"
Pope's Dunciad, b. iii. v. 165.

We both of us happened to know, as well as the stationer, that Riddlesden, the attorney, was a very knave; he had half ruined Miss Read's father, by persuading him to be bound for him. By his letter it appeared there was a secret scheme on foot to the prejudice of Mr. Hamilton, (supposed to be then coming over with us;) that Keith was concerned in it, with Riddlesden. Denham, who was a friend of Hamilton's, thought he ought to be acquainted with it; so when he arrived in England, which was soon after, partly from resentment and ill will to Keith and Riddlesden, and partly from good will to him, I waited on him, and gave him the letter. He thanked me cordially, the information being of importance to him; and from that time he became my friend, greatly to my advantage afterwards on many occasions.

But what shall we think of a governor playing such pitiful tricks, and imposing so grossly upon a poor ignorant boy! It was a habit he had acquired; he wished to please every body, and having little to give, he gave expectations. He was otherwise an ingenious, sensible man, a pretty good writer, and a good governor for the people; though not for his constituents the proprietaries, whose instructions he sometimes disregarded: several of our best laws were of his planning, and passed during his administration.

Ralph and I were inseparable companions. We took lodgings together in Little Britain, at 3*s.* 6*d.* per week; as much as we could then afford. He found some relations, but they were poor, and unable to assist him. He now let me know his intentions of remaining in London, and that he never meant to return to Philadelphia. He had brought no money with him, the whole he could muster having been expended in paying his passage. I had fifteen pistoles; so he borrowed occasionally of me to subsist, while he was looking out for business. He first endeavoured to get into the play-house, believing himself qualified for an actor; but Wilkes, to whom he applied, advised him candidly not to think of that employment, as it was impossible he should succeed in it. Then he proposed to Roberts, a publisher in Pater-Noster Row, to write for him a weekly paper like the Spectator, on certain conditions; which Roberts did not approve. Then he endeavoured to get employment as a hackney writer, to copy for the stationers and lawyers about the Temple; but could not find a vacancy.

For myself I immediately got into work at Palmer's, a famous printing house in Bartholomew Close, where I continued near a year. I was pretty diligent, but I spent with Ralph a good deal of my earnings, at plays and public amusements; we had nearly consumed all my pistoles, and now just rubbed on from hand to mouth. He seemed quite to have forgotten his wife and child; and I by degrees my engagements with Miss Read, to whom I never wrote more than one letter, and that was to let her know I was not likely soon to return. This was another of the great *errata* of my life which I could wish to correct, if I were to live it over again. In fact, by our expenses I was constantly kept unable to pay my passage.

At Palmer's I was employed in composing for the second edition of Woolláston's Religion of Nature. Some of his reasonings not appearing to me well-founded, I wrote a little metaphysical piece, in which I made remarks on them. It was intitled "*A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain.*" I inscribed it to my friend Ralph; I printed a small number. It occasioned my being more considered by Mr. Palmer, as a young man of some ingenuity, though he seriously expostulated with me upon the principles of my pamphlet, which to him appeared abominable. My printing this pamphlet was another *erratum.* While I lodged in *Little Britain*, I made acquaintance with one Wilcox, a bookseller, whose shop was next door. He had an immense collection of second-hand books. Circulating libraries were not then in use, but we agreed that, on certain reasonable terms, (which I have now forgotten,) I might take, read, and return any of his books; this I esteemed a great advantage, and I made as much use of it as I could.

My pamphlet by some means falling into the hands of one Lyons, a surgeon, author of a book intitled "*The Infallibility of Human Judgment*," it occasioned an acquaintance between us; he took great notice of me, called on me often to converse on those subjects, carried me to the Horns, a pale alehouse in —— lane, Cheapside, and introduced me to doctor Mandeville, author of the Fable of the Bees, who had a club there, of which he was the soul, being a most facetious, entertaining companion. Lyons too introduced me to doctor Pemberton,* at Baston's coffee-house, who promised to give me an opportunity, some time or other, of seeing sir Isaac Newton, of which I was extremely desirous; but this never happened.

I had brought over a few curiosties, among which the principal was a purse made of the *asbestos*, which purifies by fire. Sir Hans Sloane heard of it, came to see me, and invited me to his house in Bloomsbury square, showed me all his curiosities, and persuaded me to add that to the number; for which he paid me handsomely.

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* F. R. S. author of "A View of sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy," and "A Treatise on Chemistry;" died in 1771.

In our house lodged a young woman, a milliner, who, I think, had a shop in the cloisters; she had been genteelly bred, was sensible, lively, and of a most pleasing conversation.—Ralph read plays to her in the evenings, they grew intimate, she took another lodging, and he followed her. They lived together some time, but he being still out of business, and her income not sufficient to maintain them with her child, he took a resolution of going from London, to try for a country school, which he thought himself well qualified to undertake, as he wrote an excellent hand, and was a master of arithmetic and accounts.—This however he deemed a business below him, and confident of future better fortune, when he should be unwilling to have it known that he once was so meanly employed, he changed his name, and did me the honour to assume mine; for I soon after had a letter from him, acquainting me that he was settled in a small village in Berkshire, (I think it was where he taught reading and writing to ten or a dozen boys, at 6*d.* each per week,) recommending Mrs. T.... to my care, and desiring me to write to him, directing for *Mr. Franklin*, schoolmaster, at such a place. He continued to write to me frequently, sending me large specimens of an epic poem, which he was then composing, and desiring my remarks and corrections. These I gave him from time to time, but endeavoured rather to discourage his proceeding. One of Young's satires was then just published: I copied and sent him a great part of it, which set in a strong light the folly of pursuing the Muses.* All was in vain, sheets of the poem continued to come by every post. In the mean time, Mrs. T.... having on his account lost her friends and business, was often in distresses, and used to send for me and borrow what money I could spare to help to alleviate them. I grew fond of her company, and being at that time under no religious restraint, and taking advantage of my importance to her, I attempted to take some liberties with her, (another *erratum*,) which she repulsed, with a proper degree of resentment. She wrote to Ralph and acquainted him with my conduct; this occasioned a breach between us; and when he returned to London, he let me know he considered all the obligations he had been under to me as annulled; from which I concluded I was never to expect his repaying me the money I had lent him, or that I had advanced for him. This however was of little consequence, as he was totally unable; and by the loss of his friendship I found myself relieved from a heavy burden. I now began to think of getting a little beforehand, and expecting better employment, I left Palmer's to work at Watts's, near Lincoln's Inn Fields, a still greater printing house; here I continued all the rest of my stay in London.

At my first admission into the printing house I took to working at press, imagining I felt a want of the bodily exercise I had been used to in America, where press-work is mixed with the composing. I drank only water; the other workmen, near fifty in number, were great drinkers of beer. On occasion I carried up and down stairs a large form of types in each hand, when others carried but one in both hands; they wondered to see from this and several instances, that the *Water-American*, as they called me, was *stronger* than themselves who drank *strong* beer! We had an alehouse boy, who attended always in the house to supply the workmen. My companion at the press drank every day a pint before breakfast, a pint at breakfast with his bread and cheese, a pint between breakfast and dinner, a pint at dinner; a pint in the afternoon about six o'clock, and another when he had done his day's work. I thought it a detestable custom; but it was necessary, he supposed, to drink *strong* beer that he might be *strong* to labour. I endeavoured to convince him that the bodily strength afforded by beer, could only be in proportion to the grain or flour of the barley dissolved in the water of which it was made; that there was more flour in a pennyworth of bread, and therefore if he could eat that with a pint of water, it would give him more strength than a quart of beer. He drank on however, and had four or five shillings to pay out of his wages every Saturday night for that vile liquor; an expense I was free from; and thus these poor devils keep themselves always under.

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* "Th' abandoned manners of our writing train
May tempt mankind to think religion vain;
But in their fate, their habit, and their mien,
That Gods there are, is evidently seen:
Heav'n stands absolv'd by vengeance on their pen,
And marks the murderers of fame from men;
Through meagre jaws they draw their venal breath,
As ghastly as their brothers in Macbeth;
Their feet thro' faithless leather meets the dirt,
And oftener chang'd their principles than shirt;
The transient vestments of these frugal men
Hasten to paper for our mirth again:
Too soon (O merry, melancholy fate!)
They beg in rhyme, and warble thro' a grate;
The man lampoon'd forgets it at the sight;
The friend thro' pity gives, the foe thro' spite;
And though full conscious of his injur'd purse,
Lintot relents, nor Curll can wish them worse."

"An author, 'tis a venerable name!
How few deserve it and what numbers claim!
Unbless'd with sense, above the peers refin'd,
Who shall stand up, dictators to mankind?
Nay, who dare shine, if not in virtue's cause?
That sole proprietor of just applause.

"Ye restless men! who pant for letter'd praise,
With whom would you consult to gain the bays?
With those great authors whose fam'd works you
read?
'Tis well; go, then, consult the laurell'd shade,
What answer will the laurell'd shade return?
Hear it and tremble, he commands you burn
The noblest works, his envied genius writ,
That boasts of naught more excellent than wit.
If this be true, as 'tis a truth most dread,
Wo to the page which has not that to plead!
Fontaine and Chaucer dying, wish'd unwrote
The sprightliest efforts of their wanton thought;
Sidney and Waller, brightest sons of fame,
Condemn'd the charm of ages to the flame."

"Thus ends your courted fame—does lucre then,
The sacred thirst of gold, betray your pen?
In prose 'tis blameable, in verse 'tis worse,
Provokes the Muse, extorts Apollo's curse;
His sacred influence never should be sold;
'Tis arrant simony to sing for gold;
'Tis immortality should fire your mind,
Scorn a less paymaster than all mankind."
YOUNG, *Vol. III. Epist. II. p.* 70.

Watts, after some weeks, desiring to have me in the composing room, I left the pressmen; a new *bien venu* for drink, (being five shillings,) was demanded of me by the compositors. I thought it an imposition, as I had paid one to the pressmen; the master thought so too, and forbade my paying it. I stood out two or three weeks, was accordingly considered as an excommunicate, and had so many little pieces of private malice practised on me, by mixing my sorts, transposing and breaking my matter, &c., &., if ever I stept out of the room, and all ascribed to the *chapel ghost*, which they said ever haunted those not regularly admitted, that, notwithstanding the master's protection, I found myself obliged to comply and pay the money—convinced of the folly of being on ill terms with those one is to live with continually. I was now on a fair footing with them, and soon acquired considerable influence. I proposed some reasonable alterations in their *chapel*[*] laws, and carried them against all opposition. From my example a great many of them left their muddling breakfast of beer, bread and cheese, finding they could with me be supplied from a neighbouring house with a large porringer of hot water-gruel, sprinkled with pepper, crumbled with bread, and a bit of butter in it, for the price of a pint of beer; viz., three halfpence. This was a more comfortable as well as a cheaper breakfast, and kept their heads clearer. Those who continued sotting with their beer all day, were often, by not paying, out of credit at the alehouse, and used to make interest with me to get beer, their *light*, as they phrased it, *being out.* I watched the pay-table on Saturday night, and collected what I stood engaged for them, having to pay sometimes near thirty shillings a week on their accounts. This and my being esteemed a pretty good *rig-ite*, that is a jocular verbal satyrist, supported my consequence in the society. My constant attendance, (I never making a *St. Monday*,) recommended me to the master; and my uncommon quickness at composing occasioned my being put upon work of dispatch, which was generally better paid; so I went on now very agreeably.

My lodgings in Little Britain being too remote, I found another in Duke street, opposite to the Romish chapel. It was up three pair of stairs backwards, at an Italian warehouse. A widow lady kept the house; she had a daughter, and a maid servant, and a journeyman who attended the warehouse, but lodged abroad. After sending to inquire my character at the house where I last lodged, she agreed to take me in at the same rate, 3*s.* 6*d.* per week; cheaper, as she said, from the protection she expected in having a man to lodge in the house. She was a widow, an elderly woman; had been bred a Protestant, being a clergyman's daughter, but was converted to the Catholic religion by her husband, whose memory she much revered; had lived much among people of distinction, and knew a thousand anecdotes of them, as far back as the times of Charles the Second. She was lame in her knees with the gout, and therefore seldom stirred out of her room; so sometimes wanted company; and hers was so highly amusing to me, that I was sure to spend an evening with her whenever she desired it. Our supper was only half an anchovy each, on a very little slice of bread and butter, and half a pint of ale between us; but the entertainment was in her conversation. My always keeping good hours, and giving little trouble in the family, made her unwilling to part with me; so that when I talked of a lodging I had heard of, nearer my business, for 2*s.* a week, which, intent as I was on saving money, made some difference, she bid me not think of it, for she would abate me 2*s.* a week for the future; so I remained with her at 1*s* 6*d.* as long as I staid in London.

In a garret of her house there lived a maiden lady of seventy, in the most retired manner, of whom my landlady gave me this account: that she was a Roman Catholic, had been sent abroad when young, and lodged in a nunnery with an intent of becoming a nun; but the country not agreeing with her, she returned to England, where there being no nunnery, she had vowed to lead the life of a nun, as near as might be done in those circumstances. Accordingly, she had given all her estate to charitable purposes, reserving only twelve pounds a year to live on, and out of this sum she still gave a part in charity, living herself on water-gruel only, and using no fire but to boil it. She had lived many years in that garret, being permitted to remain there gratis by successive Catholic tenants of the house below, as they deemed it a blessing to have her there. A priest visited her, to confess her every day: "from this I asked her," said my landlady, "how she, as she lived, could possibly find so much employment for a confessor?" "Oh," said she, "it is impossible to avoid *vain thoughts*." I was permitted once to visit her; she was cheerful and polite, and conversed pleasantly. The room was clean, but had no other furniture than a mattress, a table with a crucifix, and a book, a stool which she gave me to sit on, and a picture over the chimney of *St. Veronica* displaying her handkerchief, with the miraculous figure of Christ's bleeding face on it, which she explained to me with great seriousness. She looked pale, but was never sick, and I give it as another instance on how small an income life and health may be supported.

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[*] A printing-house is always called a *chapel* by the workmen, because printing was first carried on in England in an ancient chapel, and the title has been preserved by tradition. The *bien venu* among the printers, answers to the terms *entrance* and *footing* among mechanics; thus a journeyman, on entering a printing house, was accustomed to pay one or more gallons of beer *for the good of the chapel;* this custom was falling into disuse thirty years ago—it is very properly rejected entirely in the United States.

At Watts's printing house I contracted an acquaintance with an ingenious man, one Wygate, who having wealthy relations, had been better educated than most printers; was a tolerable Latinist, spoke French, and loved reading. I taught him and a friend of his to swim, at twice going into the river, and they soon became good swimmers. They introduced me to some gentlemen from the country, who went to Chelsea, by water, to see the college and Don Saltero's curiosities. In our return, at the request of the company, whose curiosity Wygate had excited, I stripped and leaped into the river, and swam from near Chelsea to Blackfriars; performing in the way many feats of activity both upon and under the water, that surprised and pleased those to whom they were novelties. I had from a child been delighted with this exercise, had studied and practised Thevenot's motions and positions, added some of mine own—aiming at the graceful and easy, as well as the useful. All these I took this occasion of exhibiting to the company, and was much flattered by their admiration; and Wygate, who was desirous of becoming a master, grew more and more attached to me on that account, as well as from the similarity of our studies. He at length proposed to me travelling all over Europe together, supporting ourselves every where by working at our business. I was once inclined to it; but mentioning it to my good friend Mr. Denham, with whom I often spent an hour when I had leisure, he dissuaded me from it, advising me to think only of returning to Pennsylvania, which he was now about to do.

I must record one trait of this good man's character: he had formerly been in business at Bristol, but failed in debt to a number of people, compounded and went to America; there, by a close application to business as a merchant, he acquired a plentiful fortune in a few years. Returning to England in the ship with me, he invited his old creditors to an entertainment, at which he thanked them for the easy composition they had favoured him with, and when they expected nothing but the treat, every man at the first remove found under his plate an order on a banker for the full amount of the unpaid remainder, with interest.

He now told me he was about to return to Philadelphia, and should carry over a great quantity of goods in order to open a store there. He proposed to take me over as his clerk, to keep his books, (in which he would instruct me,) copy his letters, and attend the store; he added, that as soon as I should be acquainted with mercantile business, he would promote me, by sending me with a cargo of flour and bread, &c., to the West Indies, and procure me commissions from others which would be profitable; and, if I managed well, would establish me handsomely. The thing pleased me, for I was grown tired of London; remembered with pleasure the happy months I had spent in Pennsylvania, and wished again to see it; therefore I immediately agreed on the terms of fifty pounds a year, Pennsylvania money; less indeed than my present gettings as a compositor, but affording better prospects.

I now took leave of printing, as I thought, for ever, and was daily employed in my new business: going about with Mr. Denham among the tradesmen to purchase various articles, and see them packed up, delivering messages, calling upon workmen to dispatch, &c.; and, when all was on board, I had a few days' leisure. On one of these days, I was, to my surprise, sent for by a great man, I knew only by name, (Sir William Wyndham,) and I waited upon him; he had heard by some means or other of my swimming from Chelsea to Blackfriars, and of my teaching Wygate and another young man to swim in a few hours: he had two sons, about to set out on their travels; he wished to have them first taught swimming, and proposed to gratify me handsomely if I would teach them. They were not yet come to town, and my stay was uncertain, so I could not undertake it; but from the incident I thought it likely, that if I were to remain in England and open a swimming school, I might get a good deal of money; and it struck me so strongly, that had the overture been made me sooner, probably I should not so soon have returned to America. Many years after, you and I had something of more importance to do with one of those sons of Sir William Wyndham, become earl of Egremont, which I shall mention in its place.

Thus I passed about eighteen months in London; most part of the time I worked hard at my business, and spent but little upon myself except in seeing plays, and in books. My friend Ralph had kept me poor; he owed me about twenty-seven pounds, which I was now never likely to receive; a great sum out of my small earnings! I loved him, notwithstanding, for he had many amiable qualities. I had improved my knowledge, however, though I had by no means improved my fortune; but I had made some very ingenious acquaintance, whose conversation was of great advantage to me; and I had read considerably.

We sailed from Gravesend on the 23d of July, 1726. For the incidents of the voyage, I refer you to my journal, where you will find them all minutely related. Perhaps the most important part of that journal is the *plan* to be found in it, which I formed at sea, for regulating the future conduct of my life. It is the more remarkable, as being formed when I was so young, and yet being pretty faithfully adhered to quite through to old age.

We landed at Philadelphia the 11th of October, where I found sundry alterations. Keith was no longer governor, being superseded by major Gordon: I met him walking the streets as a common citizen; he seemed a little ashamed at seeing me, and passed without saying any thing. I should have been as much ashamed at seeing Miss Read, had not her friends, despairing with reason of my return, after the receipt of my letter, persuaded her to marry another, one Rogers, a potter, which was done in my absence. With him, however, she was never happy, and soon parted from him, refusing to cohabit with him, or bear his name, it being now said he had another wife. He was a worthless fellow, though an excellent workman, which was the temptation to her friends; he got into debt, ran away in 1727 or 1728, went to the West Indies, and died there. Keimer had got a better house, a shop well supplied with stationary, plenty of new types, and a number of hands, though none good, and seemed to have a great deal of business.

Mr. Denham took a store in Water street, where we opened our goods; I attended the business diligently, studied accounts, and grew in a little time expert at selling. We lodged and boarded together; he counselled me as a father, having a sincere regard for me:. I respected and loved him, and we might have gone on together very happily, but in the beginning of February, 1727, when I had just passed my twenty-first year, we both were taken ill. My distemper was a pleurisy, which very nearly carried me off; I suffered a good deal, gave up the point in my own mind, and was at the time rather disappointed when I found myself recovering; regretting in some degree that I must now, some time or other, have all that disagreeable work to go over again. I forget what Mr. Denham's distemper was; it held him a long time, and at length carried him off. He left me a small legacy in a nuncupative will, as a token of his kindness for me, and he left me once more to the wide world, for the store was taken into the care of his executors, and my employment under him ended. My brother-in-law, Holmes, being now at Philadelphia, advised my return to my business; and Keimer tempted me with an offer of large wages by the year, to come and take the management of his printing house, that he might better attend to his stationer's shop. I had heard a bad character of him in London, from his wife and her friends, and was not for having any more to do with him. I wished for employment as a merchant's clerk, but not meeting with any, I closed again with Keimer. I found in his house these hands: Hugh Meredith, a Welsh Pennsylvanian, thirty years of age, bred to country work; he was honest, sensible, a man of experience, and fond of reading, but addicted to drinking. Stephen Potts, a young countryman of full age, bred to the same, of uncommon natural parts, and great wit and humour, but a little idle. These he had agreed with at extreme low wages per week, to be raised a shilling every three months, as they should deserve by improving in their business; and the expectation of these high wages to come on hereafter, was what he had drawn them in with. Meredith was to work at press, Potts at bookbinding, which he by agreement was to teach them, though he knew neither one nor the other. John Savage, an Irishman, brought up to no business, whose service for four years Keimer had purchased from the captain of a ship; he too was to be made a pressman. George Webb, an Oxford scholar, whose time for four years he had likewise bought, intending him for a compositor, (of whom more presently,) and David Harry, a country boy, whom he had taken apprentice.

I soon perceived that the intention of engaging me, at wages so much higher than he had been used to give, was to have these raw, cheap hands, formed through me; and as soon as I had instructed them (they being all articled to him) he should be able to do without me. I went however very cheerfully, put his printing house in order, which had been in great confusion, and brought his hands by degrees to mind their business, and to do it better.

It was an odd thing to find an Oxford scholar in the situation of a bought servant; he was not more than eighteen years of age; he gave me this account of himself: that he was born in Gloucester, educated at a grammar school, and had been distinguished among the scholars for some apparent superiority in performing his part, when they exhibited plays; belonged to the Wit's club there, and had written some pieces in prose and verse, which were printed in the Gloucester newspapers; thence was sent to Oxford; there he continued about a year, but not well satisfied; wishing of all things to see London, and become a player. At length receiving his quarterly allowance of fifteen guineas, instead of discharging his debts he went out of town, hid his gown in a furz bush, and walked to London; where, having no friend to advise him, he fell into bad company, soon spent his guineas, found no means of being introduced among the players, grew necessitous, pawned his clothes and wanted bread. Walking the street, very hungry, and not knowing what to do with himself, a crimp's bill was put into his hand, offering immediate entertainment and encouragement to such as would bind themselves to serve in America; he went directly, signed the indentures, was put into the ship and came over; never writing a line to his friends to acquaint them what was become of him. He was lively, witty, good-natured, and a pleasant companion; but idle, thoughtless, and imprudent to the last degree.

John, the Irishman, soon ran away; with the rest I began to live very agreeably, for they all respected me the more, as they found Keimer incapable of instructing them, and that from me they learned something daily. My acquaintance with ingenious people in the town increased. We never worked on Saturday, that being Keimer's Sabbath, so that I had two days for reading. Keimer himself treated me with great civility and apparent regard, and nothing now made me uneasy but my debt to Vernon, which I was yet unable to pay, being hitherto but a poor economist; he however kindly made no demand of it.

Our printing house often wanted sorts, and there was no letter-foundry in America. I had seen types cast at James's in London, but without much attention to the manner; however, I now contrived a mould, and made use of the letters we had as puncheons, struck the matrices in lead, and thus supplied in a pretty tolerable way all deficiencies. I also engraved several things on occasion; made the ink; I was warehouse-man, and in short, quite a *fac-totum.*

But however serviceable I might be, I found that my services became every day of less importance, as the other hands improved in their business; and when Keimer paid me a second quarter's wages, he let me know that he felt them too heavy, and thought I should make an abatement. He grew by degrees less civil, put on more the airs of master, frequently found fault, was captious, and seemed ready for an out-breaking. I went on nevertheless with a good deal of patience, thinking that his incumbered circumstances were partly the cause. At length a trifle snapped our connexion; for a great noise happening near the court-house, I put my head out of the window to see what was the matter. Keimer being in the street looked up and saw me, called out to me in a loud voice and an angry tone, to mind my business; adding some reproachful words, that nettled me the more for their publicity; all the neighbours who were looking out on the same occasion being witnesses how I was treated. He came up immediately into the printing house—continued the quarrel; high words passed on both sides; he gave me the quarter's warning we had stipulated, expressing a wish that he had not been obliged to so long a warning. I told him his wish was unnecessary, for I would leave him that instant; and so taking my hat walked out of doors, desiring Meredith, whom I saw below, to take care of some things I left, and bring them to my lodgings.

Meredith came accordingly in the evening, when we talked my affair over. He had conceived a great regard for me, and was very unwilling that I should leave the house while he remained in it. He dissuaded me from returning to my native country which I began to think of; he reminded me that Keimer was in debt for all he possessed; that his creditors began to be uneasy; that he kept his shop miserably, sold often without a profit for ready money, and often trusted without keeping accounts; that he must therefore fail, which would make a vacancy I might profit of. I objected my want of money. He then let me know that his father had a high opinion of me, and from some discourse that had passed between them, he was sure he would advance money to set me up, if I would enter into partnership with him. My time, said he, will be out with Keimer in the spring; by that time we may have our press and types in from London. I am sensible I am no workman: if you like it, your skill in the business shall be set against the stock I furnish, and we will share the profits equally. The proposal was agreeable to me, and I consented; his father was in town and approved of it; the more, as he said, I had great influence with his son—had prevailed on him to abstain long from dram-drinking, and he hoped might break him of that wretched habit entirely when we came to be so closely connected. I gave an inventory to the father, who carried it to a merchant; the things were sent for, the secret was to be kept till they should arrive, and in the mean time I was to get work, if I could, at the other printing house. But I found no vacancy there, and so remained idle a few days, when Keimer, on a prospect of being employed to print some paper money in New Jersey, which would require cuts and various types, that I only could supply, and apprehending Bradford might engage me and get the job from him, sent me a very civil message, that old friends should not part for a few words, the effect of sudden passion, and wishing me to return. Meredith persuaded me to comply, as it would give more opportunity for his improvement under my daily instructions; so I returned, and we went on more smoothly than for some time before. The New Jersey job was obtained, I contrived a copper-plate press for it, the first that had been seen in the country; I cut several ornaments and checks for the bills. We went together to Burlington, where I executed the whole to satisfaction; and he received so large a sum for the work as to be enabled thereby to keep himself longer from ruin.

At Burlington I made an acquaintance with many principal people of the province. Several of them had been appointed by the assembly a committee to attend the press, and take care that no more bills were printed than the law directed. They were therefore by turns constantly with us, and generally he who attended brought with him a friend or two for company. My mind having been much more improved by reading than Keimer's, I suppose it was for that reason my conversation seemed to be more valued. They had me to their houses, introduced me to their friends, and shewed me much civility; while he, though the master, was a little neglected. In truth, he was an odd creature; ignorant of common life, fond of rudely opposing received opinions; slovenly to extreme dirtiness; enthusiastic in some points of religion, and a little knavish withal. We continued there near three months, and by that time I could reckon among my acquired friends, judge Allen, Samuel Bustill, the secretary of the province, Isaac Pearson, Joseph Cooper, and several of the Smiths, members of assembly, and Isaac Decow, the surveyor general. The latter was a shrewd, sagacious old man, who told me that he began for himself when young, by wheeling clay for the brickmakers, learned to write after he was of age, carried the chain for surveyors, who taught him surveying, and he had now by his industry acquired a good estate; and, said he, I foresee that you will soon work this man out of his business, and make a fortune in it at Philadelphia. He had then not the least intimation of my intention to set up there or any where. These friends were afterwards of great use to me, as I occasionally was to some of them. They all continued their regard for me as long as they lived.

Before I enter upon my public appearance in business, it may be well to let you know the then state of my mind, with regard to my principles and morals, that you may see how far those influenced the future events of my life. My parents had early given me religious impressions, and brought me through my childhood piously in the dissenting way. But I was scarce fifteen, when, after doubting by turns several points, as I found them disputed in the different books I read, I began to doubt of the revelation itself. Some books against Deism fell into my hands—they were said to be the substance of the sermons which had been preached at Boyle's lectures. It happened that they wrought an effect on me quite contrary to what was intended by them; for the arguments of the Deists which were quoted to be refuted appeared to me much stronger than the refutations; in short, I soon became a thorough Deist. My arguments perverted some others, particularly Collins and Ralph: but each of these having wronged me greatly without the least compunction; and recollecting Keith's conduct towards me, (who was another freethinker,) and my own towards Vernon and Miss Read, which at times gave me great trouble; I began to suspect that this doctrine, though it might be true, was not very useful. My London pamphlet,* (printed in 1725,) which had for its motto these lines of Dryden:

> ———Whatever is, is right. Tho' purblind man
> Sees but a part o' the chain, the nearest link;
> His eye not carrying to that equal beam,
> That poises all above———"

and which from the attributes of God, his infinite wisdom, goodness and power, concluded that nothing could possibly be wrong in the world; and that vice and virtue were empty distinctions, no such things existing; appeared now not so clever a performance as I once thought it; and I doubted whether some error had not insinuated itself unperceived into my argument, so as to infect all that followed, as is common in metaphysical reasonings. I grew convinced that *truth*, *sincerity*, and *integrity*, in dealings between man and man, were of the utmost importance to the felicity of life; and I formed written resolutions (which still remain in my journal book) to practise them ever while I lived. Revelation had indeed no weight with me as such; but I entertained an opinion, that though certain actions might not be bad, *because* they were forbidden by it, or good *because* it commanded them; yet probably those actions might be forbidden *because* they were bad for us, or commanded *because* they were beneficial to us, in their own natures, all the circumstances of things considered. And this persuasion, with the kind hand of Providence, or some guardian angel, or accidental favourable circumstances and situations, or all together, preserved me through this dangerous time of youth and the hazardous situations I was sometimes in among strangers, remote from the eye and advice of my father; free from any *wilful* gross immorality or injustice, that might have been expected from my want of religion; I say *wilful*, because the instances I have mentioned had something of *necessity* in them, from my youth, inexperience, and the knavery of others: I had therefore a tolerable character to begin the world with; I valued it properly, and determined to preserve it.

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* Dr. Franklin in a letter to Mr. B. Vaughan, dated Nov. 9, 1779, gives a further account of this pamphlet, in these words

"It was addressed to Mr. I. R., that is, *James Ralph*, then a youth of about my age, and my intimate friend; afterwards a political writer and historian. The purport of it was to prove the doctrine of fate, from the supposed attributes of God, in some such manner as this: that in erecting and governing the world, as he was infinitely wise, he knew what would be best; infinitely good, he must be disposed, and infinitely powerful, he must be able, to execute it: consequently *all is right*.

"There were only an hundered copies printed, of which I gave a few to friends, and afterwards disliking the piece, as conceiving it might have an ill tendency, I burnt the rest, except one copy, the margin of which was filled with manuscript notes by *Lyons*, author of the *Infallibility of Human Judgment*, who was at that time another of my acquaintance in London. I was not nineteen years of age when it was written. In 1730, I wrote a piece on the other side of the question, which began with laying for its foundation this fact: '*That almost all men, in all ages and countries, have at times made use of* PRAYER.' Thence I reasoned, that if all things are ordained, prayer must, among the rest, be ordained. But as prayer can procure no change in things that are ordained, praying must then be useless, and an absurdity. God would therefore not ordain praying if every thing else was ordained. But praying exists, therefore all things are not ordained, &c. This pamphlet was never printed, and the manuscript has been long lost. The great uncertainty I found in metaphysical reasonings disgusted me, and I quitted that kind of reading and study for others more satisfactory"

We had not been long returned to Philadelphia, before the new types arrived from London. We settled with Keimer, and left him by his consent before he heard of it. We found a house to hire near the market, and took it. To lessen the rent (which was then but twenty-four pounds a year, though I have since known it let for seventy) we took in Thomas Godfrey, a glazier, and his family, who were to pay a considerable part of it to us, and we to board with them. We had scarce opened our letters and put our press in order, before George House, an acquaintance of mine, brought a countryman to us, whom he had met in the street, inquiring for a printer. All our cash was now expended in the variety of particulars we had been obliged to procure, and this countryman's five shillings, being our first fruits, and coming so seasonably, gave me more pleasure than any crown I have since earned; and from the gratitude I felt towards House, has made me often more ready, than perhaps I otherwise should have been, to assist young beginners.

There are croakers in every country always boding its ruin. Such an one there lived in Philadelphia, a person of note, an elderly man, with a wise look and a very grave manner of speaking; his name was Samuel Mickle. This gentleman, a stranger to me, stopped me one day at my door, and asked me if I was the young man who had lately opened a new printing house. Being answered in the affirmative, he said he was sorry for me, because it was an expensive undertaking, and the expense would be lost, for Philadelphia was a sinking place, the people already half bankrupts, or near being so; all the appearances of the contrary, such as new buildings and the rise of rents being to his certain knowledge fallacious; for they were in fact among the things that would ruin us. Then he gave me such a detail of misfortunes now existing, or that were soon to exist, that he left me half melancholy. Had I known him before I engaged in this business probably I never should have done it. This person continued to live in this *decaying place*, and to declaim in the same strain, refusing for many years to buy a house there, because all was going to destruction; and at last I had the pleasure of seeing him give five times as much for one as he might have bought it for when he first began croaking.

I should have mentioned before, that in the autumn of the preceding year, I had formed most of my ingenious acquaintance into a club for mutual improvement, which we called the JUNTO; we met on Friday evenings. The rules that I drew up required that every member in his turn should produce one or more queries on any point of morals, politics, or natural philosophy, to be discussed by the company; and once in three months produce and read an essay of his own writing, on any subject he pleased. Our debates were to be under the direction of a president, and to be conducted in the sincere spirit of inquiry after truth, without fondness for dispute, or desire of victory; and to prevent warmth, all expressions of positiveness in opinions, or direct contradiction, were after some time made contraband, and prohibited under small pecuniary penalties.

The first members were Joseph Brientnal, a copyer of deeds for the scriveners; a good natured friendly middle-aged man, a great lover of poetry, reading all he could meet with, and writing some that was tolerable; very ingenious in making little nicknackeries, and of sensible conversation.

Thomas Godfrey, a self-taught mathematician, great in his way, and afterwards inventor of what is now called *Hadley's Quadrant*. But he knew little out of his way, and was not a pleasing companion; as, like most great mathematicians I have met with, he expected universal precision in every thing said, or was for ever denying or distinguishing upon trifles, to the disturbance of all conversation; he soon left us.

Nicholas Scull, a surveyor, afterwards surveyor general, who loved books, and sometimes made a few verses.

William Parsons, bred a shoemaker, but loving reading, had acquired a considerable share of mathematics, which he first studied with a view to astrology, and afterwards laughed at it; he also became surveyor general.

William Maugridge, joiner, but a most exquisite mechanic, and a solid, sensible man.

Hugh Meredith, Stephen Potts, and George Webb, I have characterised before.

Robert Grace, a young gentleman of some fortune, generous, lively, and witty; a lover of punning and of his friends.

Lastly, William Coleman, then a merchant's clerk, about my age, who had the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and the exactest morals of almost any man I ever met with. He became afterwards a merchant of great note, and one of our provincial judges. Our friendship continued without interruption to his death, upwards of forty years; and the club continued almost as long, and was the best school of philosophy, morality, and politics, that then existed in the province; for our queries, (which were read the week preceding their discussion,) put us upon reading with attention on the several subjects, that we might speak more to the purpose: and here too we acquired better habits of conversation, every thing being studied in our rules which might prevent our disgusting each other; hence the long continuance of the club, which I shall have frequent occasion to speak further of hereafter. But my giving this account of it here, is to shew something of the interest I had, every one of these exerting themselves in recommending business to us. Brientnal particularly procured us from the quakers, the printing of forty sheets of their history, the rest being to be done by Keimer; and upon these we worked exceeding hard, for the price was low. It was a folio, *pro patria* size, in pica, with long-primer notes. I composed a sheet a day, and Meredith worked it off at press; it was often eleven at night, and sometimes later, before I had finished my distribution for the next day's work; for the little jobs sent in by our other friends now and then put us back. But so determined I was to continue doing a sheet a day of the folio, that one night when having imposed my forms, I thought my day's work over, one of them by accident was broken, and two pages reduced to *pi*. I immediately distributed, and composed it over again before I went to bed; and this industry, visible to our neighbours, began to give us character and credit; particularly I was told, that mention being made of the new printing office, at the merchants' every night club, the general opinion was that it must fail, there being already two printers in the place, Keimer and Bradford; but Dr. Baird, (whom you and I saw many years after at his native place, St. Andrew's in Scotland,) gave a contrary opinion: "For the industry of that Franklin," said he, "is superior to any thing I ever saw of the kind; I see him still at work when I go home from club, and he is at work again before his neighbours are out of bed." This struck the rest, and we soon after had offers from one of them to supply us with stationary; but as yet we did not choose to engage in shop business.

I mention this industry the more particularly and the more freely, though it seems to be talking in my own praise, that those of my posterity who shall read it, may know the use of that virtue, when they see its effects in my favour throughout this relation.

George Webb, who had found a female friend that lent him wherewith to purchase his time of Keimer, now came to offer himself as a journeyman to us. We could not then employ him, but I foolishly let him know as a secret, that I soon intended to begin a newspaper, and might then have work for him. My hopes of success, as I told him, were founded on this, that the then only newspaper, printed by Bradford, was a paltry thing, wretchedly managed, no way entertaining, and yet was profitable to him; I therefore freely thought a good paper would scarcely fail of good encouragement. I requested Webb not to mention it, but he told it to Keimer, who immediately, to be beforehand with me, published proposals for one himself, on which Webb was to be employed. I was vexed at this, and to counteract them, not being able to commence our paper, I wrote several amusing pieces for Bradford's paper, under the title of the Busy Body, which Breintnal continued some months. By this means the attention of the public was fixed on that paper, and Keimer's proposals, which we burlesqued and ridiculed, were disregarded. He began his paper however, and before carrying it on three quarters of a year, with at most only ninety subscribers, he offered it me for a trifle; and I, having been ready some time to go on with it, took it in hand directly; and it proved in a few years extremely profitable to me.

I perceive that I am apt to speak in the singular number, though our partnership still continued; it may be that in fact the whole management of the business lay upon me. Meredith was no compositor, a poor pressman, and seldom sober. My friends lamented my connexion with him, but I was to make the best of it.

Our first papers made quite a different appearance from any before in the province; a better type and better printed; but some remarks of my writing on the dispute then going on between governor Burnet and the Massachusetts Assembly, struck the principal people, occasioned the paper and the manager of it to be much talked of, and in a few weeks brought them all to be our subscribers.

Their example was followed by many, and our number went on growing continually. This was one of the first good effects of my having learned a little to scribble; another was, that the leading men seeing a newspaper, now in the hands of those who could also handle a pen, thought it convenient to oblige and encourage me. Bradford still printed the votes, and laws, and other public business. He had printed an address of the house to the governor, in a coarse, blundering manner: we reprinted it elegantly and correctly, and sent one to every member. They were sensible of the difference, it strengthened the hands of our friends in the house, and they vould us their printers for the year ensuing.

Among my friends in the house, I must not forget Mr. Hamilton, before mentioned, who was then returned from England, and had a seat in it. He interested himself for me strongly in that instance, as he did in many others afterwards, continuing his patronage till his death.*

Mr. Vernon, about this time, put me in mind of the debt I owed him, but did not press me. I wrote him an ingenuous letter of acknowledgment, craving his forbearance a little longer, which he allowed me; as soon as I was able, I paid the principal with the interest, and many thanks: so that *erratum* was in some degree corrected.

But now another difficulty came upon me, which I had never the least reason to expect. Mr. Meredith's father, who was to have paid for our printing house, according to the expectations given me, was able to advance only one hundred pounds currency, which had been paid; and a hundred more was due to the merchant, who grew impatient, and sued us all. We gave bail, but saw that if the money could not be raised in time, the suit must soon come to a judgment and execution, and our hopeful prospects must with us be ruined; as the press and letters must be sold for payment, perhaps at half price. In this distress two true friends, whose kindness I have never forgotten, nor ever shall forget, while I can remember any thing, came to me separately, unknown to each other, and without any application from me, offered each of them to advance me all the money that should be necessary to enable me to take the whole business upon myself, if that should be practicable; but they did not like my continuing the partnership with Meredith; who, as they said, was often seen drunk in the street, playing at low games in alehouses, much to our discredit—these two friends were *William Coleman* and *Robert Grace*. I told them I could not propose a separation, while any prospect remained of the Merediths fulfilling their part of our agreement; because I thought myself under great obligations to them for what they had done, and would do if they could: but if they finally failed in their performance, and our partnership must be dissolved, I should then think myself at liberty to accept the assistance of my friends: thus the matter rested for some time; when I said to my partner, perhaps your father is dissatisfied at the part you have undertaken in this affair of ours, and is unwilling to advance for you and me, what he would for you? If that is the case, tell me, and I will resign the whole to you, and go about my business. No, said he, my father has really been disappointed, and is really unable; and I am unwilling to distress him further. I see this is a business I am not fit for. I was bred a farmer, and it was a folly in me to come to town and put myself, at thirty years of age, an apprentice to learn a new trade. Many of our Welsh people are going to settle in North Carolina, where land is cheap. I am inclined to go with them, and follow my old employment: you may find friends to assist you: if you will take the debts of the company upon you; return to my father the hundred pounds he has advanced, pay my little personal debts, and give me thirty pounds and a new saddle, I will relinquish the partnership, and leave the whole in your hands. I agreed to this proposal; it was drawn up in writing, signed and sealed immediately. I gave him what he demanded, and he went soon after to Carolina; whence he sent me, next year, two long letters, containing the best account that had been given of that country, the climate, the soil, husbandry, &c., for in those matters he was very judicious: I printed them in the papers, and they gave great satisfaction to the public.

As soon as he was gone, I recurred to my two friends; and because I would not give an unkind preference to either, I took half what each had offered, and I wanted, of one, and half of the other; paid off the company's debts, and went on with the business in my own name; advertising that the partnership was dissolved. I think this was in or about the year 1729.

About this time there was a cry among the people for more paper-money; only fifteen thousand pounds being extant in the province, and that soon to be sunk. The wealthy inhabitants opposed any addition; being against all paper currency, from the apprehension that it would depreciate, as it had done in New England, to the injury of all creditors. We had discussed this point in our junto, where I was on the side of an addition; being persuaded that the first small sum, struck in 1723, had done much good by increasing the trade, employment, and number of inhabitants in the province; since I now saw all the old houses inhabited, and many new ones building; whereas I remembered well when I first walked about the streets of Philadelphia, (eating my roll,) I saw many of the houses in Walnut street, between Second and Front streets, with bills on their doors "*to be*

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* I afterwards obtained for his son *five hundred pounds.*

let;" and many likewise in Chestnut street, and other streets; which made me think the inhabitants of the city were one after another deserting it. Our debates possessed me so fully of the subject, that I wrote and printed an anonymous pamphlet on it, entitled "*The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency.*" It was well received by the common people in general; but the rich men disliked it; for it increased and strengthened the clamour for more money; and they happening to have no writers among them that were able to answer it, their opposition slackened, and the point was carried by a majority in the house. My friends there, who considered I had been of some service, thought fit to reward me, by employing me in printing the money; a very profitable job, and a great help to me: this was another advantage gained by my being able to write.

The utility of this currency became by time and experience so evident, that the principles upon which it was founded, were never afterwards much disputed; so that it grew soon to fifty-five thousand pounds; and in 1739, to eighty thousand pounds; trade, building, and inhabitants all the while increasing: though I now think there are limits beyond which the quantity may be hurtful.

I soon after obtained through my friend Hamilton, the printing of the Newcastle paper-money, another profitable job, as I then thought it; small things appearing great to those in small circumstances: and these to me were really great advantages, as they were great encouragements. Mr. Hamilton procured me also the printing of the laws and votes of that government; which continued in my hands as long as I followed the business.

I now opened a small stationer's shop: I had in it blanks of all kinds; the correctest that ever appeared among us. I was assisted in that by my friend Breintnal: I had also paper, parchment, chapmen's books, &c. One Whitemash, a compositor I had known in London, an excellent workman, now came to me, and worked with me constantly and diligently; and I took an apprentice, the son of Aquila Rose.

I began now gradually to pay off the debt I was under for the printing house. In order to secure my credit and character as a tradesman, I took care not only to be in *reality* industrious and frugal, but to avoid the appearances to the contrary. I dressed plain, and was seen at no places of idle diversion: I never went out a fishing or shooting: a book indeed sometimes debauched me from my work, but that was seldom, was private, and gave no scandal: and to show that I was not above my business, I sometimes brought home the paper I purchased at the stores, through the streets on a wheelbarrow. Thus being esteemed an industrious, thriving young man, and paying duly for what I bought, the merchants who imported stationery solicited my custom; others proposed supplying me with books, and I went on prosperously. In the mean time Keimer's credit and business declining daily, he was at last forced to sell his printing house, to satisfy his creditors. He went to Barbadoes, and there lived some years in very poor circumstances.

His apprentice, David Harry, whom I had instructed while I worked with him, set up in his place at Philadelphia, having bought his materials. I was at first apprehensive of a powerful rival in Harry, as his friends were very able, and had a good deal of interest: I therefore proposed a partnership to him, which he fortunately for me, rejected with scorn. He was very proud, dressed like a gentleman, lived expensively, took much diversion and pleasure abroad, ran in debt, and neglected his business; upon which, all business left him; and finding nothing to do, he followed Keimer to Barbadoes, taking the printing house with him. There this apprentice employed his former master as a journeyman; they quarreled often, and Harry went continually behind hand, and at length was obliged to sell his types, and return to country-work in Pennsylvania. The person who bought them, employed Keimer to use them, but a few years after he died.

There remained now no other printer in Philadelphia, but the old Bradford; but he was rich and easy, did a little in the business by straggling hands, but was not anxious about it: however as he held the post-office, it was imagined he had better opportunities of obtaining news, his paper was thought a better distributor of advertisements than mine, and therefore had many more; which was a profitable thing to him, and a disadvantage to me. For though I did indeed receive and send papers by the post, yet the public opinion was otherwise; for what I did send was by bribing the riders, who took them privately; Bradford being unkind enough to forbid it, which occasioned some resentment on my part; and I thought so meanly of the practice, that when I afterwards came into his situation, I took care never to imitate it.

I had hitherto continued to board with Godfrey, who lived in part of my house with his wife and children, and had one side of the shop for his glazier's business; though he worked little, being always absorbed in his mathematics. Mrs. Godfrey projected a match for me, with a relation's daughter, took opportunities of bringing us often together, till a serious courtship on my part ensued; the girl being in herself very deserving. The old folks encouraged me by continual invitations to supper, and by leaving us together, till at length it was time to explain. Mrs. Godfrey managed our little treaty. I let her know that I expected as much money with their daughter as would pay off my remaining debt for the printing house; which I believe was not then above a hundred pounds. She brought me word they had no such sum to spare: I said they might mortgage their house in the loan-office. The answer to this after some days was, that they did not approve the match; that on inquiry of Bradford, they had been informed the printing business was not a profitable one, the types would soon be worn out and more wanted; that Keimer and David Harry had failed one after the other, and I should probably soon follow them; and therefore I was forbidden the house, and the daughter shut up. Whether this was a real change of sentiment, or only artifice on a supposition of our being too far engaged in affection to retract, and therefore that we should steal a marriage, which would leave them at liberty to give or withhold what they pleased, I know not. But I suspected the motive, resented it, and went no more. Mrs. Godfrey brought me afterwards some more favourable accounts of their disposition, and would have drawn me on again; but I declared absolutely my resolution to have nothing more to do with that family. This was resented by the Godfreys, we differed, and they removed, leaving me the whole house, and I resolved to take no more inmates. But this affair having turned my thoughts to marriage, I looked round me and made overtures of acquaintance in other places; but soon found that the business of a printer being generally thought a poor one, I was not to expect money with a wife, unless with such an one, as I should not otherwise think agreeable. In the mean time that hard to be governed passion of youth, had hurried me frequently into intrigues with low women that fell in my way, which were attended with some expense and great inconvenience, besides a continual risk to my health by a distemper, which of all things I dreaded, though by great good luck I escaped it.

A friendly correspondence, as neighbours, had continued between me and Miss Reed's family, who all had a regard for me from the time of my first lodging in their house. I was often invited there, and consulted in their affairs, wherein I sometimes was of service. I pitied poor Miss Reed's unfortunate situation, who was generally dejected, seldom cheerful, and avoided company: I considered my giddiness and inconstancy, when in London, as in a great degree the cause of her unhappiness; though the mother was good enough to think the fault more her own than mine, as she had prevented our marrying before I went thither, and persuaded the other match in my absence. Our mutual affection was revived, but there were now great objections to our union; that match was indeed looked upon as invalid, a preceding wife being said to be living in England; but this could not easily be proved, because of the distance, &c., and though there was a report of his death, it was not certain. Then, though it should be true, he had left many debts which his successor might be called upon to pay: we ventured, however, over all these difficulties, and I took her to wife, September 1, 1730. None of the inconveniences happened that we had apprehended; she proved a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending to the shop; we throve together, and ever mutually endeavoured to make each other happy. Thus I corrected that great *erratum* as well as I could.

About this time our club meeting, not at a tavern, but in a little room of Mr. Grace's, set apart for that purpose; a proposition was made by me, that since our books were often referred to in our disquisitions upon the queries, it might be convenient to us to have them all together where we met, that upon occasion they might be consulted; and by thus clubbing our books to a common library, we should, while we liked to keep them together, have each of us the advantage of using the books of all the other members, which would be nearly as beneficial as if each owned the whole. It was liked and agreed to, and we filled one end of the room with such books as we could best spare. The number was not so great as we expected; and though they had been of great use, yet some inconveniences occurring for want of due care of them, the collection, after about a year, was separated; and each took his books home again.

And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library; I drew up the proposals, got them put into form by our great scrivener, Brockden, and by the help of my friends in the junto, procured fifty subscribers of forty shillings each to begin with, and ten shillings a year for fifty years, the term our company was to continue. We afterwards obtained a charter, the company being increased to one hundred; this was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. It is become a great thing itself, and continually goes on increasing: these libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges.

[Thus far was written with the intention expressed in the beginning; and getting abroad, it excited great interest on account of its simplicity and candour; and induced many applications for a continuance. What follows was written many years after, in compliance with the advice contained in the letters that follow and has, therefore, less of a family picture, and more of a public character. The American revolution occasioned the interruption.]

MEMOIRS

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

PART II.

From Mr. Abel James, (Received in Paris.)

"My dear and honoured Friend,—I have often been desirous of writing to thee, but could not be reconciled to the thought, that the letter might fall into the hands of the British, lest some printer or busy body should publish some part of the contents, and give our friend pain, and myself censure.

"Some time since, there fell into my hands, to my great joy, about twenty-three sheets in thy own hand-writing, containing an account of the parentage and life of thyself, directed to thy son, ending in the year 1730, with which there were notes, likewise in thy writing; a copy of which I inclose, in hopes it may be a means, if thou continued it up to a later period, that the first and latter part may be put together; and if it is not yet continued, I hope thee will not delay it. Life is uncertain, as the preacher tells us; and what will the world say, if kind, humane, and benevolent Ben Franklin, should leave his friends and the world deprived of so pleasing and profitable a work; a work which would be useful and entertaining not only to a few, but to millions. The influence writings under that class have on the minds of youth, is very great, and has no where appeared to me so plain, as in our public friend's journals. It almost insensibly leads the youth into the resolution of endeavouring to become as good and eminent as the journalist. Should thine, for instance, when published, (and I think it could not fail of it,) lead the youth to equal the industry and temperance of thy early youth, what a blessing with that class would such a work be! I know of no character living, nor many of them put together, who has so much in his power as thyself, to promote a greater spirit of industry and early attention to business, frugality, and temperance, with the American youth. Not that I think the work would have no other merit and use in the world, far from it; but the first is of such vast importance, that I know nothing that can equal it."

The foregoing letter, and the minutes accompanying it, being shown to a friend, I received from him the following:

From Mr. Benjamin Vaughan.

"Paris, January 31, 1783.

"My dearest Sir,—When I had read over your sheets of minutes of the principal incidents of your life, recovered for you by your Quaker acquaintance, I told you I would send you a letter, expressing my reasons why I thought it would be useful to complete and publish it as he desired. Various concerns have for some time past prevented this letter being written, and I do not know whether it was worth any expectation; happening to be at leisure, however, at present, I shall, by writing, at least interest and instruct myself; but, as the terms I am inclined to use, may tend to offend a person of your manners, I shall only tell you how I would address any other person, who was as good and as great as yourself, but less diffident. I would say to him, sir, I *solicit* the history of your life, from the following motives:

"Your history is so remarkable, that if you do not give it, somebody else will certainly give it; and perhaps so as nearly to do as much harm, as your own management of the thing might do good.

"It will, moreover, present a table of the internal circumstances of your country, which will very much tend to invite to it settlers of virtuous and manly minds. And considering the eagerness with which such information is sought by them, and the extent of your reputation, I do not know of a more efficacious advertisement than your biography would give.

"All that has happened to you, is also connected with the detail of the manners and situation of *a rising* people; and in this respect I do not think that the writings of Cæsar and Tacitus can be more interesting to a true judge of human nature and society.

"But these, sir, are small reasons, in my opinion, compared with the chance which your life will give for the forming of future great men; and, in conjunction with your *Art of Virtue*, (which you design to publish,) of improving the features of private character, and, consequently, of aiding all happiness, both public and domestic.

"The two works I allude to, sir, will, in particular, give a noble rule and example of *self-education.* School and other education constantly proceed upon false principles, and show a clumsy apparatus pointed at a false mark; but your apparatus is simple, and the mark a true one; and while parents and young persons are left destitute of other just means of estimating and becoming prepared for a reasonable course in life, your discovery that the thing is in many a man's private power, will be invaluable!

"Influence upon the private character, late in life, is not only an influence late in life, but a weak influence. It is in *youth* that we plant our chief habits and prejudices; it is in youth that we take our party as to profession, pursuits, and matrimony. In youth, therefore, the turn is given; in youth the education even of the next generation is given; in youth the private and public character is determined; and the term of life extending but from youth to age, life ought to begin well from youth; and more especially *before* we take our party as to our principal objects.

"But your biography will not merely teach self-education, but the education of *a wise man;* and the wisest man will receive lights and improve his progress, by seeing detailed the conduct of another wise man. And why are weaker men to be deprived of such helps, when we see our race has been blundering on in the dark, almost without a guide in this particular, from the farthest trace of time. Show then, sir, how much is to be done, *both to sons and fathers;* and invite all wise men to become like yourself; and other men to become wise.

"When we see how cruel statesmen and warriors can be to the human race, and how absurd distinguished men can be to their acquaintance, it will be instructive to observe the instances multiply of pacific acquiescing manners; and to find how compatible it is to be great and *domestic;* enviable and yet *good humoured.*

"The little private incidents which you will also have to relate, will have considerable use, as we want above all things, *rules of prudence in ordinary affairs;* and it will be curious to see how you have acted in these. It will be so far a sort of key to life, and explain many things that all men ought to have once explained to them, to give them a chance of becoming wise by foresight.

"The nearest thing to having experience of one's own, is to have other people's affairs brought before us in a shape that is interesting; this is sure to happen from your pen. Your affairs and management will have an air of simplicity or importance that will not fail to strike; and I am convinced you have conducted them with as much originality as if you had been conducting discussions in politics or philosophy; and what more worthy of experiments and system, (its importance and its errors considered) than human life!

"Some men have been virtuous blindly, others have speculated fantastically, and others have been shrewd to bad purposes; but you, sir, I am sure, will give under your hand, nothing but what is at the same moment, wise, practical, and good.

"Your account of yourself (for I suppose the parallel I am drawing for Dr. Franklin, will hold not only in point of character but of private history) will show that you are ashamed of no origin; a thing the more important, as you prove how little necessary all origin is to happiness, virtue, or greatness.

"As no end likewise happens without a means, so we shall find, sir, that even you yourself framed a plan by which you became considerable; but at the same time we may see, that though the event is flattering, the means are as simple as wisdom could make them; that is depending upon nature, virtue, thought, and habit.

"Another thing demonstrated will be the propriety of every man's waiting for his time for appearing upon the stage of the world. Our sensations being very much fixed to the moment, we are apt to forget that more moments are to follow the first, and consequently that man should arrange his conduct so as to suit the *whole* of a life. Your attribution appears to have been applied to your *life*, and the passing moments of it have been enlivened with content and enjoyment, instead of being tormented with foolish impatience or regrets. Such a conduct is easy for those who make virtue and themselves their standard, and who try to keep themselves in countenance by examples of other truly great men, of whom patience is so often the characteristic.

"Your Quaker correspondent, sir, (for here again I will suppose the subject of my letter resembling Dr. Franklin,) praised your frugality, diligence, and temperance, which he considered as a pattern for all youth: but it is singular that he should have forgotten your modesty, and your disinterestedness, without which you never could have waited for your advancement, or found your situation in the mean time comfortable; which is a strong lesson to show the poverty of glory, and the importance of regulating our minds.

"If this correspondent had known the nature of your reputation as well as I do, he would have said; your former writings and measures would secure attention to your Biography, and Art of Virtue; and your Biography and Art of Virtue, in return, would secure attention to them. This is an advantage attendant upon a various character, and which brings all that belongs to it into greater play; and it is the more useful, as perhaps more persons are at a loss for the *means* of improving their minds and characters, than they are for the time or the inclination to do it.

"But there is one concluding reflection, sir, that will show the use of your life as a mere piece of biography. This style of writing seems a little gone out of vogue, and yet it is a very useful one; and your specimen of it may be particularly serviceable, as it will make a subject of comparison with the lives of various public cut-throats and intriguers, and with absurd monastic self-tormentors, or vain literary triflers. If it encourages more writings of the same kind with your own, and induces more men to spend lives fit to be written; it will be worth all Plutarch's Lives put together.

"But being tired of figuring to myself a character of which every feature suits only one man in the world, without giving him the praise of it; I shall end my letter, my dear Dr. Franklin, with a personal application to your proper self.

"I am earnestly desirous then, my dear sir, that you should let the world into the traits of your genuine character, as civil broils may otherwise tend to disguise or traduce it. Considering your great age, the caution of your character, and your peculiar style of thinking, it is not likely that any one besides yourself can be sufficiently master of the facts of your life, or the intentions of your mind.

"Besides all this, the immense revolution of the present period, will necessarily turn our attention towards the author of it; and when virtuous principles have been pretended in it, it will be highly important to show that such have really influenced; and, as your own character will be the principal one to receive a scrutiny, it is proper (even for its effects upon your vast and rising country, as well as upon England and upon Europe,) that it should stand respectable and eternal. For the furtherance of human happiness, I have always maintained that it is necessary to prove that man is not even at present a vicious and detestable animal; and still more to prove that good management may greatly amend him; and it is for much the same reason, that I am anxious to see the opinion established, that there are fair characters existing among the individuals of the race; for the moment that all men, without exception, shall be conceived abandoned, good people will cease efforts deemed to be hopeless, and perhaps think of taking their share in the scramble of life, or at least of making it comfortable principally for themselves.

"Take then, my dear sir, this work most speedily into hand: show yourself good as you are good; temperate as you are temperate; and above all things, prove yourself as one who from your infancy have loved justice, liberty, and concord, in a way that has made it natural and consistent for you to have acted, as we have seen you act in the last seventeen years of your life. Let Englishmen be made not only to respect, but even to love you. When they think well of individuals in your native country, they will go nearer to thinking well of your country; and when your countrymen see themselves well thought of by Englishmen, they will go nearer to thinking well of England. Extend your views even further; do not stop at those who speak the English tongue, but after having settled so many points in nature and politics, think of bettering the whole race of men.

"As I have not read any part of the life in question, but know only the character that lived it, I write somewhat at hazard. I am sure however, that the life, and the treatise I allude to (on the *Art of Virtue*,) will necessarily fulfil the chief of my expectations; and still more so if you take up the measure of suiting these performances to the several views above stated. Should they even prove unsuccessful in all that a sanguine admirer of yours hopes from them, you will at least have framed pieces to interest the human mind; and whoever gives a feeling of pleasure that is innocent to man, has added so much to the fair side of a life otherwise too much darkened by anxiety, and too much injured by pain.

"In the hope therefore that you will listen to the prayer addressed to you in this letter, I beg to subscribe myself, my dearest sir, &c. &c. BENJ. VAUGHAN."

CONTINUATION,

Begun at Passy near Paris, 1784.

It is some time since I received the above letters, but I have been too busy till now to think of complying with the request they contain. It might too be much better done if I were at home among my papers, which would aid my memory, and help to ascertain dates; but my return being uncertain, and having just now a little leisure, I will endeavour to recollect and write what I can: if I live to get home, it may there be corrected and improved.

Not having any copy here of what is already written, I know not whether an account is given of the means I used to establish the Philadelphia public library; which from a small beginning is now become so considerable. Though I remember to have come down near the time of that transaction, (1730.) I will therefore begin here with an account of it, which may be struck out if found to have been already given.

At the time I established myself in Pennsylvania, there was not a good bookseller's shop in any of the colonies to the southward of Boston. In New York and Philadelphia, the printers were indeed stationers, but they sold only paper, &c. almanacs, ballads, and a few common school-books. Those who loved reading were obliged to send for their books from England: the members of the junto had each a few. We had left the alehouse, where we first met, and hired a room to hold our club in. I proposed that we should all of us bring our books to that room; where they would not only be ready to consult in our conferences, but become a common benefit, each of us being at liberty to borrow such as he wished to read at home. This was accordingly done, and for some time contented us: finding the advantage of this little collection, I proposed to render the benefit from the books more common, by commencing a public subscription library. I drew a sketch of the plan and rules that would be necessary, and got a skilful conveyancer, Mr. Charles Brogden, to put the whole in form of articles of agreement to be subscribed; by which each subscriber engaged to pay a certain sum down for the first purchase of the books, and an annual contribution for increasing them. So few were the readers at that time in Philadelphia, and the majority of us so poor, that I was not able with great industry to find more than fifty persons, (mostly young tradesmen,) willing to pay down for this purpose forty shillings each, and ten shillings per annum, with this little fund we began. The books were imported; the library was open one day in the week for lending them to subscribers, on their promissory notes to pay double the value if not duly returned. The institution soon manifested its utility, was imitated by other towns, and in other provinces. The libraries were augmented by donations; reading became fashionable; and our people having no public amusements to divert their attention from study, became better acquainted with books; and in a few years were observed by strangers to be better instructed, and more intelligent than people of the same rank generally are in other countries.

When we were about to sign the above-mentioned articles, which were to be binding on us, our heirs, &c. for fifty years; Mr. Brogden, the scrivener, said to us, "You are young men, but it is scarce probable that any of you will live to see the expiration of the term fixed in the instrument." A number of us however are yet living: but the instrument was after a few years rendered null, by a charter that incorporated and gave perpetuity to the company.

The objections and reluctances I met with in soliciting the subscriptions, made me soon feel the impropriety of presenting oneself as the proposer of any useful project, that might be supposed to raise one's reputation in the smallest degree above that of one's neighbours, when one has need of their assistance to accomplish that project. I therefore put myself as much as I could out of sight, and stated it as a scheme of a *number of friends*, who had requested me to go about and propose it to such as they thought lovers of reading. In this way my affair went on more smoothly, and I ever after practised it on such occasions; and from my frequent successes can heartily recommend it. The present little sacrifice of your vanity will afterwards be amply repaid. If it remains a while uncertain to whom the merit belongs, some one more vain than yourself will be encouraged to claim it, and then even envy will be disposed to do you justice, by plucking those assumed feathers, and restoring them to their right owner.

This library afforded me the means of improvement by constant study, for which I set apart an hour or two each day; and thus repaired in some degree the loss of the learned education my father once intended for me. Reading was the only amusement I allowed myself. I spent no time in taverns, games, or frolics of any kind; and my industry in my business continued as indefatigable as it was necessary. I was indebted for my printing house, I had a young family coming on to be educated, and I had two competitors to contend with for business, who were established in the place before me. My circumstances however grew daily easier. My original habits of frugality continuing, and my father having among his instructions to me when a boy, frequently repeated a Proverb of Solomon, "*seest thou a man diligent in his calling, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men.*" I thence considered industry as a means of obtaining wealth and distinction, which encouraged me; though I did not think that I should ever literally stand before kings, which however has since happened; for I have stood before five, and even had the honour of sitting down with one, (the king of Denmark,) to dinner.

We have an English proverb that says,

> "He that would thrive,
> Must ask his wife;"

it was lucky for me that I had one as much disposed to industry and frugality as myself. She assisted me cheerfully in my business, folding and stitching pamphlets, tending shop, purchasing old linen rags for the paper makers, &c. We kept no idle servants, our table was plain and simple, our furniture of the cheapest. For instance, my breakfast was for a long time bread and milk, (no tea) and I ate it out of a twopenny earthen porringer, with a pewter spoon: but mark how luxury will enter families, and make a progress in spite of principle; being called one morning to breakfast, I found it in a china bowl, with a spoon of silver. They had been bought for me without my knowledge by my wife, and had cost her the enormous sum of three and twenty shillings; for which she had no other excuse or apology to make, but that she thought *her* husband deserved a silver spoon and china bowl as well as any of his neighbours. This was the first appearance of plate and china in our house, which afterwards, in a course of years, as our wealth increased, augmented gradually to several hundred pounds in value.

I had been religiously educated as a Presbyterian; but though some of the dogmas of that persuasion, such as *the eternal decrees of God, election, reprobation, &c.* appeared to me unintelligible, and I early absented myself from the public assemblies of the sect, (Sunday being my studying day.) I never was without some religious principles: I never doubted, for instance, the existence of a Deity, that he made the world, and governed it by his providence; that the most acceptable service of God was the doing good to man; that our souls are immortal; and that all crimes will be punished, and virtue rewarded, either here or hereafter; these I esteemed the essentials of every religion, and being to be found in all the religions we had in our country, I respected them all, though with different degrees of respect, as I found them more or less mixed with other articles, which, without any tendency to inspire, promote, or confirm morality, served principally to divide us, and make us unfriendly to one another. This respect to all, with an opinion that the worst had some effects, induced me to avoid all discourse that might tend to lessen the good opinion another might have of his own religion; and as our province increased in people, and new places of worship were continually wanted, and generally erected by voluntary contribution, my mite for such purpose, whatever might be the sect, was never refused.

Though I seldom attended any public worship, I had still an opinion of its propriety, and of its utility when rightly conducted, and I regularly paid my annual subscription for the support of the only Presbyterian minister or meeting we had in Philadelphia. He used to visit me sometimes as a friend, and admonish me to attend his administrations; and I was now and then prevailed on to do so; once for five Sundays successively. Had he been in my opinion a good preacher, perhaps I might have continued, notwithstanding the occasion I had for the Sunday's leisure in my course of study: but his discourses were chiefly either polemic arguments, or explications of the peculiar doctrines of our sect, and were all to me very dry, uninteresting, and unedifying, since not a single moral principle was inculcated or enforced; their aim seeming to be rather to make us *Presbyterians*, than *good citizens*. At length he took for his text that verse of the fourth chapter to the Philippians, "*Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, or of good report, if there be any virtue, or any praise, think on these things.*" And I imagined in a sermon on such a text, we could not miss of having some morality. But he confined himself to five points only, as meant by the apostle, viz. 1. Keeping holy the Sabbath day; 2. Being diligent in reading the holy Scriptures; 3. Attending duly the public worship; 4. Partaking of the sacrament; 5. Paying a due respect to God's ministers. These might be all good things, but as they were not the kind of good things that I expected from that text, I despaired of ever meeting with them from any other, was disgusted, and attended his preaching no more. I had some years before composed a little liturgy, or form of prayer, for my own private use, (viz. in 1728,) entitled *Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion.* I returned to the use of this, and went no more to the public assemblies. My conduct might be blameable, but I leave it without attempting further to excuse it; my present purpose being to relate facts, and not to make apologies for them.

It was about this time I conceived the bold and arduous project of arriving at *moral perfection;* I wished to live without committing any fault at any time, and to conquer all that either natural inclination, custom, or company, might lead me into. As I knew, or thought I knew, what was right and wrong, I did not see why I might not *always* do the one and avoid the other. But I soon found I had undertaken a task of more difficulty than I had imagined: while my attention was taken up, and care employed in guarding against one fault, I was often surprised by another; habit took the advantage of inattention; inclination was sometimes too strong for reason. I concluded, at length, that the mere speculative conviction, that it was our interest to be completely virtuous, was not sufficient to prevent our slipping; and that the contrary habits must be broken, and good ones acquired and established, before we can have any dependance on a steady uniform rectitude of conduct. For this purpose I therefore tried the following method.

In the various enumerations of the *moral virtues* I had met with in my reading, I found the catalogue more or less numerous, as different writers included more or fewer ideas under the same name. *Temperance*, for example, was by some confined to eating and drinking; while by others it was extended to mean the moderating every other pleasure, appetite, inclination, or passion, bodily or mental, even to our avarice and ambition. I proposed to myself, for the sake of clearness, to use rather more names, with fewer ideas annexed to each, than a few names with more ideas; and I included under thirteen names of virtues, all that at that time occurred to me as necessary or desirable; and annexed to each a short precept, which fully expressed the extent I gave to its meaning.

These names of *virtues*, with their precepts, were,

1. Temperance.—Eat not to dulness: drink not to elevation.

2. Silence.—Speak not but what may benefit others or yourself: avoid trifling conversation.

3. Order.—Let all your things have their places: let each part of your business have its time.

4. Resolution.—Resolve to perform what you ought: perform without fail what you resolve.

5. Frugality.—Make no expense, but to do good to others or yourself: i. e. waste nothing.

6. Industry.—Lose no time: be always employed in something useful: cut off all unnecessary actions.

7. Sincerity.—Use no hurtful deceit: think innocently and justly: and, if you speak, speak accordingly.

8. Justice.—Wrong none by doing injuries, or omitting the benefits that are your duty.

9. Moderation.—Avoid extremes: forbear resenting injuries so much as you think they deserve.

10. Cleanliness.—Tolerate no uncleanliness in body, clothes, or habitation.

11. Tranquillity.—Be not disturbed at trifles, nor at accidents common or unavoidable.

12. Chastity.—Rarely use venery, but for health or offspring; never to dulness or weakness, or the injury of your own or another's peace or reputation.

13. Humility.—Imitate *Jesus* and *Socrates.*

My intention being to acquire the *habitude* of all these virtues, I judged it would be well not to distract my attention by attempting the whole at once, but to fix it on *one* of them at a time; and when I should be master of that, then to proceed to another; and so on till I should have gone through the thirteen: and as the previous acquisition of some, might facilitate the acquisition of certain others, I arranged them with that view as they stand above. *Temperance* first, as it tends to procure that coolness and clearness of head, which is so necessary where constant vigilance was to be kept up, and a guard maintained against the unremitting attraction of ancient habits and the force of perpetual temptations. This being acquired and established, *Silence* would be more easy; and my desire being to gain knowledge at the same time that I improved in virtue; and considering that in conversation it was obtained rather by the use of the ear than of the tongue, and therefore wishing to break a habit I was getting into of *prattling*, *punning*, and *jesting*, (which only made me acceptable to trifling company,) I gave *Silence* the second place. This and the next, *Order*, I expected would allow me more time for attending to my project and my studies. *Resolution* once become habitual, would keep me firm in my endeavours to obtain all the subsequent virtues. *Frugality* and *Industry* relieving me from my remaining debt, and producing affluence and independence, would make more easy the practice of *Sincerity* and *Justice*, &c. &c. Conceiving then, that agreeably to the advice of Pythagoras in his Golden Verses, daily examination would be necessary; I contrived the following method for conducting that examination.

I made a little book, in which I allotted a page for each of the virtues. I ruled each page with red ink, so as to have seven columns, one for each day of the week, marking each column with a letter for the day. I crossed these columns with thirteen red lines, marking the beginning of each line with the first letter of one of the virtues: on which line, and in its proper column, I might mark by a little black spot, every fault I found upon examination to have been committed respecting that virtue, upon that day.*

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* This little book is dated *Sunday*, 1st *July*, 1733, and is in the possession of Mr. W. T. Franklin: a copy was also in the possession of the late B. F. Bache.

Form of the pages.

TEMPERANCE.

Eat not to dulness: drink not to elevation.

	Sun.	M.	T.	W.	Th.	F.	S.
Tem.							
Sil.	*	*		*		*	
Ord.	*	*	*		*	*	*
Res.		*				*	
Fru.		*				*	
Ind.			*				
Sinc.							
Jus.							
Mod.							
Clea.							
Tran.							
Chas.							
Hum.							

I determined to give a week's strict attention to each of the virtues successively. Thus in the first week, my great guard was to avoid every the least offence against *Temperance;* leaving the other virtues to their ordinary chance, only marking every evening the faults of the day. Thus, if in the first week I could keep my first line marked T. clear of spots, I supposed the habit of that virtue so much strengthened, and its opposite weakened, that I might venture extending my attention to include the next; and for the following week keep both lines clear of spots. Proceeding thus to the last, I could get through a course complete in thirteen weeks, and four courses in a year. And like him who having a garden to weed, does not attempt to eradicate all the bad herbs at once, (which would exceed his reach and his strength,) but works on one of the beds at a time, and having accomplished the first, proceeds to a second; so I should have (I hoped) the encouraging pleasure, of seeing on my pages the progress made in virtue by clearing successively my lines of their spots; till in the end, by a number of courses, I should be happy in viewing a clean book, after a thirteen weeks' daily examination.

This my little book had for its motto, these lines from Addison's Cato:

"Here will I hold: if there 's a power above us,
(And that there is, all nature cries aloud
Through all her works;) he must delight in
virtue;
And that which he delights in must be happy."

Another from Cicero:

"O vitæ philosophia dux! O virtutum indagatrix expultrixque vitiorum! Unus Dies bene, et ex præceptis tuis actus, peccanti immortalitati est anteponendus."

Another from the Proverbs of Solomon, speaking of wisdom or virtue:

"Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace."

And conceiving God to be the fountain of wisdom, I thought it right and necessary to solicit his assistance for obtaining it; to this end I formed the following little prayer, which was prefixed to my tables of examination, for daily use.

"O powerful goodness! bountiful father! merciful guide! Increase in me that wisdom which discovers my truest interest: Strengthen my resolution to perform what that wisdom dictates: Accept my kind offices to thy other children, as the only return in my power for thy continual favours to me."

I used also sometimes a little prayer, which I took from Thomson's Poems, viz.

"Father of light and life, thou God supreme!
O teach me what is good; teach me thyself!
Save me from folly, vanity, and vice,
From every low pursuit; and fill my soul
With knowledge, conscious peace, and virtue
pure;
Sacred, substantial, never-fading bliss!"

The precept of *Order*, requiring that *every part of my business should have its allotted time*, one page in my little book contained the following scheme of employment for the twenty-four hours of a natural day.

SCHEME.

	Hours.	
Morning. The Quest. What good shall I do this day?	5 6 7	Rise, wash, and address *Powerful Goodness!* contrive day's business, and take the resolution of the day; prosecute the present study, and breakfast.
	8 9 10 11	Work.
Noon.	12 1	Read, or look over my accounts and dine.
Afternoon.	2 3 4 5	Work.
Evening. The Question, What good have I done to-day?	6 7 8 9	Put things in their places. Supper, music, or diversion, or conversation. Examination of the day.
Night.	10 11 12 1 2 3 4	Sleep.

I entered upon the execution of this plan for self-examination, and continued it with occasional intermissions for some time. I was surprised to find myself so much fuller of faults than I had imagined; but I had the satisfaction of seeing them diminish. To avoid the trouble of renewing now and then my little book, which by scraping out the marks on the paper of old faults to make room for new ones in a new course, became full of holes, I transferred my tables and precepts to the ivory leaves of a memorandum book, on which the lines were drawn with red ink, that made a durable stain; and on those lines I marked my faults with a black lead pencil; which marks I could easily wipe out with a wet sponge. After a while I went through one course only in a year; and afterwards only one in several years; till at length I omitted them entirely, being employed in voyages and business abroad, with a multiplicity of affairs, that interfered; but I always carried my little book with me. My scheme of *Order* gave me the most trouble; and I found that though it might be practicable where a man's business was such as to leave him the disposition of his time, that of a journeyman printer for instance, it was not possible to be exactly observed by a master, who must mix with the world, and often receive people of business at their own hours. Order too, with regard to places for things, papers, &c. I found extremely difficult to acquire. I had not been early accustomed to *method*, and having an exceeding good memory, I was not so sensible of the inconvenience attending want of method. This article therefore cost me much painful attention, and my faults in it vexed me so much, and I made so little progress in amendment, and had such frequent relapses, that I was almost ready to give up the attempt, and content myself with a faulty character in that respect. Like the man who in buying an axe of a smith my neighbour, desired to have the whole of its surface as bright as the edge: the smith consented to grind it bright for him if he would turn the wheel: he turned while the smith pressed the broad face of the axe hard and heavily on the stone, which made the turning of it very fatiguing. The man came every now and then from the wheel to see how the work went on; and at length would take his axe as it was, without further grinding. No, said the smith, turn on, turn on, we shall have it bright by and by; as yet 'tis only speckled. Yes, said the man, but "*I think I like a speckled axe best.*" And I believe this may have been the case with many, who having for want of some such means as I employed, found the difficulty of obtaining good and breaking bad habits in other points of vice and virtue, have given up the struggle, and concluded that "*a speckled axe was best.*" For something, that pretended to be reason, was every now and then suggesting to me, that such extreme nicety as I exacted of myself might be a kind of foppery in morals, which if it were known, would make me ridiculous; that a perfect character might be attended with the inconvenience of being envied and hated; and that a benevolent man should allow a few faults in himself, to keep his friends in countenance. In truth I found myself incorrigible with respect to *Order*; and now I am grown old, and my memory bad, I feel very sensibly the want of it. But on the whole, though I never arrived at the perfection I had been so ambitious of obtaining, but fell far short of it, yet I was by the endeavour, a better and a happier man than I otherwise should have been, if I had not attempted it; as those who aim at perfect writing by imitating the engraved copies, though they never reach the wished-for excellence of those copies, their hand is mended by the endeavour, and is tolerable while it continues fair and legible.

It may be well my posterity should be informed, that to this little artifice, with the blessing of God, their ancestor owed the constant felicity of his life down to his 79th year, in which this is written. What reverses may attend the remainder is in the hand of Providence: but if they arrive, the reflection on past happiness enjoyed, ought to help his bearing them with more resignation. To *Temperance* he ascribes his long continued health, and what is still left to him of a good constitution. To *Industry and Frugality*, the early easiness of his circumstances, and acquisition of his fortune, with all that knowledge that enabled him to be an useful citizen and obtained for him some degree of reputation among the learned. To *Sincerity* and *Justice*, the confidence of his country, and the honourable employs it conferred upon him: and to the joint influence of the whole mass of the virtues, even in the imperfect state he was able to acquire them, all that evenness of temper and that cheerfulness in conversation which makes his company still sought for, and agreeable even to his young acquaintance: I hope therefore that some of my descendants may follow the example and reap the benefit.

It will be remarked that, though my scheme was not wholly without religion, there was in it no mark of any of the distinguishing tenets of any particular sect; I had purposely avoided them; for being fully persuaded of the utility and excellency of my method, and that it might be serviceable to people in all religions, and intending some time or other to publish it, I would not have any thing in it, that should prejudice any one, of any sect, against it. I proposed writing a little comment on each virtue, in which I would have shown the advantages of possessing it, and the mischiefs attending its opposite vice; I should have called my book *The Art of Virtue*, because it would have shown the means and manner of obtaining virtue, which would have distinguished it from the mere exhortation to be good, that does not instruct and indicate the means; but is like the apostle's man of verbal charity, who without showing to the naked and hungry, how or where they might get clothes or victuals, only exhorted them to be fed and clothed. James ii. 15, 16.

But it so happened that my intention of writing and publishing this comment was never fulfilled. I had indeed from time to time put down short hints of the sentiments, reasonings, &c. to be made use of in it; some of which I have still by me: but the necessary close attention to private business, in the earlier part of life; and public business since, have occasioned my postponing it. For it being connected in my mind with *a great and extensive project*, that required the whole man to execute, and which an unforeseen succession of employs prevented my attending to, it has hitherto remained unfinished.

In this piece it was my design to explain and enforce this doctrine, *that vicious actions are not hurtful, because they are forbidden, but forbidden because they are hurtful;* the nature of man alone considered: that it was therefore every one's interest to be virtuous, who wished to be happy even in this world: and I should from this circumstance, (there being always in the world a number of rich merchants, nobility, states and princes who have need of honest instruments for the management of their affairs, and such being so rare) have endeavoured to convince young persons, that no qualities are so likely to make a poor man's fortune, as those of *probity* and *integrity*.

My list of virtues contained at first but twelve: but a quaker friend having kindly informed me that I was generally thought proud; that my pride showed itself frequently in conversation; that I was not content with being in the right when discussing any point, but was overbearing, and rather insolent; (of which he convinced me by mentioning several instances) I determined to endeavour to cure myself if I could of this vice or folly among the rest; and I added *Humility* to my list, giving an extensive meaning to the word. I cannot boast of much success in acquiring the *reality* of this virtue, but I had a good deal with regard to the appearance of it. I made it a rule to forbear all direct contradiction to the sentiments of others, and all positive assertion of mine own. I even forbid myself, agreeably to the old laws of our Junto, the use of every word or expression in the language that imported a fixed opinion; such as *certainly*, *undoubtedly*, *&c.* and I adopted instead of them, *I conceive*, *I apprehend*, or *I imagine*, a thing to be so, or so; or it so *appears to me at present*. When another asserted some thing that I thought an error, I denied myself the pleasure of contradicting him abruptly, and of showing immediately some absurdity in his proposition; and in answering I began by observing, that in certain cases or circumstances, his opinion would be right, but in the present case there *appeared*, or *seemed to me*, some difference, &c. I soon found the advantage of this change in my manners; the conversations I engaged in went on more pleasantly. The modest way in which I proposed my opinions, procured them a readier reception and less contradiction; I had less mortification when I was found to be in the wrong, and I more easily prevailed with others to give up their mistakes and join with me when I happened to be in the right. And this mode, which I at first put on with some violence to natural inclination, became at length easy, and so habitual to me, that perhaps for the fifty years past no one has ever heard a dogmatical expression escape me. And to this habit (after my character of integrity) I think it principally owing, that I had early so much weight with my fellow-citizens, when I proposed new institutions, or alterations in the old; and so much influence in public councils, when I became a member: for I was but a bad speaker, never eloquent, subject to much hesitation in my choice of words, hardly correct in language, and yet I generally carried my point.

In reality there is perhaps no one of our natural passions so hard to subdue as *Pride;* disguise it, struggle with it, stifle it, mortify it as much as one pleases, it is still alive, and will every now and then peep out and show itself; you will see it perhaps often in this history. For even if I could conceive that I had completely overcome it, I should probably be *proud* of my *humility*.

[Here concludes what was written at Passy, near Paris.]

MEMORANDUM.

I am now about to write at home (Philadelphia,) August 1788, *but cannot have the help expected from my papers, many of them being lost in the war. I have however found the following;*

Having mentioned *a great and extensive project* which I had conceived, it seems proper, that some account should be here given of that project and its object. Its first rise in my mind appears in the abovementioned little paper, accidentally preserved, viz.

Observations, on my reading history, in library, May 9, 1731.

"That the great affairs of the world, the wars, revolutions, &c. are carried on and effected by parties.

"That the view of these parties is their present general interest; or what they take to be such.

"That the different views of these different parties occasion all confusion.

"That while a party is carrying on a general design, each man has his particular private interest in view.

"That as soon as a party has gained its general point, each member becomes intent upon his particular interest, which thwarting others, breaks that party into divisions, and occasions more confusion.

"That few in public affairs act from a mere view of the good of their country, whatever they may pretend; and though their actings bring real good to their country, yet men primarily considered that their own and their country's interest were united, and so did not act from a principle of benevolence.

"That fewer still, in public affairs, act with a view to the good of mankind.

"There seems to me at present to be great occasion for raising an *United Party for Virtue*, by forming the virtuous and good men of all nations into a regular body, to be governed by suitable good and wise rules, which good and wise men may probably be more unanimous in their obedience to, than common people are to common laws.

"I at present think, that whoever attempts this aright, and is well qualified, cannot fail of pleasing God, and of meeting with success." B. F.

Revolving this project in my mind, as to be undertaken hereafter, when my circumstances should afford me the necessary leisure, I put down from time to time on pieces of paper such thoughts as occurred to me respecting it. Most of these are lost, but I find one purporting to be the substance of an intended creed, containing as I thought the essentials of every known religion, and being free of every thing that might shock the professors of any religion. It is expressed in these words; viz.

"That there is one God, who made all things.

"That he governs the world by his providence.

"That he ought to be worshipped by adoration, prayer, and thanksgiving.

"But that the most acceptable service to God, is doing good to man.

"That the soul is immortal.

"And that God will certainly reward virtue and punish vice, either here or hereafter."

My ideas at that time were, that the sect should be begun and spread at first, among young and single men only; that each person to be initiated should not only declare his assent to such creed, but should have exercised himself with the thirteen weeks' examination and practice of the virtues, as in the before-mentioned model; that the existence of such a society should be kept a secret, till it was become considerable, to prevent solicitations for the admission of improper persons; but that the members should, each of them, search among his acquaintance for ingenious, well-disposed youths, to whom, with prudent caution, the scheme should be gradually communicated. That the members should engage to afford their advice, assistance, and support to each other in promoting one another's interest, business, and advancement in life: that for distinction, we should be called THE SOCIETY OF THE FREE AND EASY. Free, as being by the general practice and habits of the virtues, free from the dominion of vice; and particularly by the practice of industry and frugality, free from debt, which exposes a man to constraint, and a species of slavery to his creditors.

This is as much as I can now recollect of the project, except that I communicated it in part to two young men, who adopted it with enthusiasm: but my then narrow circumstances, and the necessity I was under of sticking close to my business, occasioned my postponing the further prosecution of it at that time, and my multifarious occupations, public and private, induced me to continue postponing, so that it has been omitted, till I have no longer strength or activity left sufficient for such an enterprise. Though I am still of opinion it was a practicable scheme, and might have been very useful, by forming a great number of good citizens: and I was not discouraged by the seeming magnitude of the undertaking, as I have always thought that one man of tolerable abilities, may work great changes, and accomplish great affairs among mankind, if he first forms a good plan; and cutting off all amusements or other employments that would divert his attention, makes the execution of that same plan, his sole study and business.

In 1732, I first published my Almanack under the name of *Richard Saunders;* it was continued by me about twenty-five years, and commonly called *Poor Richard's Almanack.* I endeavoured to make it both entertaining and useful, and it accordingly came to be in such demand that I reaped considerable profit from it; vending annually near ten thousand. And observing that it was generally read, (scarce any neighbourhood in the province being without it,) I considered it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people, who bought scarcely any other books. I therefore filled all the little spaces that occurred between the remarkable days in the Calendar, with proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and frugality, as the means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being more difficult for a man in want to act always honestly, as (to use here one of those proverbs) "*it is hard for an empty sack to stand upright.*" These proverbs which contained the wisdom of many ages and nations, I assembled and formed into a connected discourse prefixed to the Almanack of 1757, as the harangue of a wise old man to the people attending an auction: the bringing all these scattered counsels thus into a focus, enabled them to make greater impression. The piece being universally approved, was copied in all the newspapers of the American Continent, reprinted in Britain on a large sheet of paper to be stuck up in houses; two translations were made of it in France, and great numbers bought by the clergy and gentry to distribute gratis among their poor parishioners and tenants. In Pennsylvania, as it discouraged useless expense in foreign superfluities, some thought it had its share of influence in producing that growing plenty of money which was observable for several years after its publication.

I considered my newspaper also as another means of communicating instruction, and in that view frequently reprinted in it extracts from the Spectator, and other moral writers; and sometimes published little pieces of mine own which had been first composed for reading in our *Junto.* Of these are a Socratic dialogue, tending to prove, that whatever might be his parts and abilities, a vicious man could not properly be called a man of sense; and a discourse on self-denial, showing that virtue was not secure till its practice became a *habitude*, and was free from the opposition of contrary inclinations: these may be found in the papers about the beginning of 1735. In the conduct of my newspaper, I carefully excluded all libelling and personal abuse, which is of late years become so disgraceful to our country. Whenever I was solicited to insert any thing of that kind, and the writers pleaded (as they generally did) the liberty of the press; and that a newspaper was like a stage-coach, in which any one who would pay had a right to a place; my answer was, that I would print the piece separately if desired, and the author might have as many copies as he pleased to distribute himself; but that I would not take upon me to spread his detraction; and that having contracted with my subscribers to furnish them with what might be either useful or entertaining, I could not fill their papers with private altercation in which they had no concern, without doing them manifest injustice. Now, many of our printers make no scruple of gratifying the malice of individuals, by false accusations of the fairest characters among ourselves, augmenting animosity even to the producing of duels; and are moreover so indiscreet as to print scurrilous reflections on the government of neighbouring states, and even on the conduct of our best national allies, which may be attended with the most pernicious consequences. These things I mention as a caution to young printers, and that they be encouraged not to pollute the presses, and disgrace their profession by such infamous practices, but refuse steadily, as they may see by my example, that such a course of conduct will not on the whole be injurious to their interests.

In 1733, I sent one of my journeymen to Charleston, South Carolina, where a printer was wanting. I furnished him with a press and letters, on an agreement of partnership, by which I was to receive one third of the profits of the business, paying one third of the expense. He was a man of learning, but ignorant in matters of account; and though he sometimes made me remittances, I could get no account from him, nor any satisfactory state of our partnership while he lived. On his decease the business was continued by his widow, who being born and bred in Holland, where, (as I have been informed,) the knowledge of accounts makes a part of female education; she not only sent me as clear a statement as she could find of the transactions past, but continued to account with the greatest regularity and exactness every quarter afterwards; and managed the business with such success, that she not only reputably brought up a family of children, but at the expiration of the term, was able to purchase of me the printing-house, and establish her son in it. I mention this affair chiefly for the sake of recommending that branch of education for our young women, as likely to be of more use to them and their children in case of widowhood, than either music or dancing; by preserving them from losses by imposition of crafty men, and enabling them to continue, perhaps, a profitable mercantile house, with established correspondence, till a son is grown up fit to undertake and go on with it; to the lasting advantage and enriching of the family.

About the year 1734, there arrived among us a young Presbyterian preacher, named Hemphill, who delivered with a good voice, and apparently extempore, most excellent discourses; which drew together considerable numbers of different persuasions, who joined in admiring them. Among the rest, I became one of his constant hearers, his sermons pleasing me, as they had little of the dogmatical kind, but inculcated strongly the practice of virtue, or what in the religious style are called good works. Those, however, of our congregation who considered themselves as orthodox Presbyterians, disapproved his doctrine, and were joined by most of the old ministers, who arraigned him of heterodoxy before the synod, in order to have him silenced. I became his zealous partisan, and contributed all I could to raise a party in his favour, and combated for him awhile with some hopes of success. There was much scribbling *pro* and *con* upon the occasion; and finding, that though an elegant preacher, he was but a poor writer, I wrote for him two or three pamphlets, and a piece in the Gazette of April, 1735. Those pamphlets, as is generally the case with controversial writings, though eagerly read at the time, were soon put out of vogue, and I question whether a single copy of them now exists.

During the contest, an unlucky occurrence hurt his cause exceedingly. One of our adversaries having heard him preach a sermon that was much admired, thought he had somewhere read the sermon before, or at least a part of it. On searching, he found that part quoted at length in one of the British Reviews, from a Discourse of Dr. Foster's. This detection gave many of our party disgust, who accordingly abandoned his cause, and occasioned our more speedy discomfiture in the synod. I stuck by him however; I rather approved of his giving us good sermons composed by others, than bad ones of his own manufacture; though the latter was the practice of our common teachers. He afterwards acknowledged to me that none of those he preached were his own; adding, that his memory was such as enabled him to retain and repeat any sermon after once reading only. On our defeat he left us in search elsewhere of better fortune, and I quitted the congregation, never attending it after; though I continued many years my subscription for the support of its ministers.

I had begun in 1733 to study languages; I soon made myself so much a master of the French, as to be able to read the books in that language with ease: I then undertook the Italian: an acquaintance who was also learning it, used often to tempt me to play chess with him: finding this took up too much of the time I had to spare for study, I at length refused to play any more, unless on this condition, that the victor in every game should have a right to impose a task, either of parts of the grammar to be got by heart, or in translations, &c. which tasks the vanquished was to perform upon honour before our next meeting: as we played pretty equally, we thus beat one another into that language. I afterwards, with a little pains-taking, acquired as much of the Spanish as to read their books also. I have already mentioned that I had only one year's instruction in a Latin school, and that when very young, after which I neglected that language entirely. But when I had attained an acquaintance with the French, Italian, and Spanish, I was surprised to find, on looking over a Latin Testament, that I understood more of that language than I had imagined; which encouraged me to apply myself again to the study of it, and I met with the more success, as those preceding languages had greatly smoothed my way. From these circumstances, I have thought there was some inconsistency in our common mode of teaching languages. We are told that it is proper to begin first with the Latin, and having acquired that, it will be more easy to attain those modern languages which are derived from it: and yet we do not begin with the Greek, in order more easily to acquire the Latin. It is true, that if we can clamber and get to the top of a staircase without using the steps, we shall more easily gain them in descending; but certainly if we begin with the lowest, we shall with more ease ascend to the top; and I would therefore offer it to the consideration of those who superintend the education of our youth, whether—since many of those who begin with the Latin, quit the same after spending some years without having made any great proficiency, and what they have learned becomes almost useless, so that their time has been lost—it would not have been better to have begun with the French, proceeding to the Italian, and Latin. For though, after spending the same time, they should quit the study of languages, and never arrive at the Latin, they would, however, have acquired another tongue or two, that being in modern use, might be serviceable to them in common life.

After ten years' absence from Boston, and having become easy in my circumstances, I made a journey thither to visit my relations, which I could not sooner afford. In returning, I called at Newport to see my brother James, then settled there with his printing-house; our former differences were forgotten, and our meeting was very cordial and affectionate: he was fast declining in health, and requested of me, that in case of his death, which he apprehended not far distant, I would take home his son, then but ten years of age, and bring him up to the printing business. This I accordingly performed, sending him a few years to school before I took him into the office. His mother carried on the business till he was grown up, when I assisted him with an assortment of new types, those of his father being in a manner worn out. Thus it was that I made my brother ample amends for the service I had deprived him of by leaving him so early.

In 1736, I lost one of my sons, a fine boy of four years old, by the small pox, taken in the common way. I long regretted him bitterly, and still regret that I had not given it to him by inoculation. This I mention for the sake of parents who omit that operation, on the supposition that they should never forgive themselves if a child died under it; my example showing that the regret may be the same either way, and therefore that the safer should be chosen.

Our club, the *Junto*, was found so useful, and afforded such satisfaction to the members, that some were desirous of introducing their friends, which could not well be done without exceeding what we had settled as a convenient number; viz. twelve. We had from the beginning made it a rule to keep our institution a secret, which was pretty well observed; the intention was to avoid applications of improper persons for admittance, some of whom, perhaps, we might find it difficult to refuse. I was one of those who were against any addition to our number; but, instead of it, made in writing a proposal, that every member separately should endeavour to form a subordinate club, with the same rules, respecting queries, &c., and without informing them of the connection with the *Junto*. The advantages proposed, were the improvement of so many more young citizens by the use of our institutions; our better acquaintance with the general sentiments of the inhabitants on any occasion, as the junto member might propose what queries we should desire, and was to report to the *Junto*, what passed in his separate club: the promotion of our particular interests in business by more extensive recommendation, and the increase of our influence in public affairs, and our power of doing good by spreading through the several clubs the sentiments of the *Junto*. The project was approved, and every member undertook to form his club: but they did not all succeed. Five or six only were completed, which were called by different names, as the *Vine*, the *Union*, the *Band*, &c. they were useful to themselves, and afforded us a good deal of amusement, information, and instruction; besides, answering in some considerable degree our views of influencing the public on particular occasions; of which I shall give some instances in course of time as they happened.

My first promotion was my being chosen, in 1736, clerk of the general assembly. The choice was made that year without opposition; but the year following, when I was again proposed, (the choice, like that of the members, being annual,) a new member made a long speech against me, in order to favour some other candidate. I was, however, chosen, which was the more agreeable to me, as, besides, the pay for the immediate service of clerk, the place gave me a better opportunity of keeping up an interest among the members, which secured to me the business of printing the votes, laws, paper-money, and other occasional jobs for the public, that on the whole were very profitable. I therefore did not like the opposition of this new member, who was a gentleman of fortune and education, with talents that were likely to give him in time great influence in the house, which indeed afterwards happened. I did not, however, aim at gaining his favour by paying any servile respect to him, but after some time took this other method. Having heard that he had in his library a certain very scarce and curious book, I wrote a note to him, expressing my desire of perusing that book, and requesting that he would do me the favour of lending it to me for a few days. He sent it immediately; and I returned it in about a week with another note, expressing strongly my sense of the favour. When we next met in the house, he spoke to me, (which he had never done before,) and with great civility; and he ever after manifested a readiness to serve me on all occasions, so that we became great friends, and our friendship continued to his death. This is another instance of the truth of an old maxim I had learned, which says, "*He that has once done you a kindness, will be more ready to do you another, than he whom you yourself have obliged*." And it shows how much more profitable it is prudently to remove, than to resent, return, and continue inimical proceedings.

In 1737, colonel Spotswood, late governor of Virginia, and then postmaster-general, being dissatisfied with the conduct of his deputy at Philadelphia, respecting some negligence in rendering, and want of exactness in framing his accounts, took from him the commission, and offered it to me. I accepted it readily, and found it of great advantage; for, though the salary was small, it facilitated the correspondence that improved my newspaper, increased the number demanded, as well as the advertisements to be inserted, so that it came to afford me a considerable income. My old competitor's newspaper declined proportionably, and I was satisfied, without retaliating his refusal, while postmaster, to permit my papers being carried by the riders. Thus he suffered greatly from his neglect in due accounting; and I mention it as a lesson to those young men who may be employed in managing affairs for others, that they should always render accounts, and make remittances with great clearness and punctuality. The character of observing such a conduct, is the most powerful of recommendations to new employments and increase of business.

I began now to turn my thoughts to public affairs, beginning, however, with small matters. The city watch was one of the first things that I conceived to want regulation. It was managed by the constables of the respective wards in turn; the constable summoned a number of housekeepers to attend him for the night. Those who chose never to attend, paid him six shillings a year to be excused, which was supposed to go to hiring substitutes, but was, in reality, much more than was necessary for that purpose, and made the constableship a place of profit; and the constable, for a little drink, often got such ragamuffins about him as a watch, that respectable housekeepers did not choose to mix with. Walking the rounds too was often neglected, and most of the nights spent in tippling: I thereupon wrote a paper to be read in junto, representing these irregularities, but insisting more particularly on the inequality of this six-shilling tax of the constables, respecting the circumstances of those who paid it, since a poor widow housekeeper, all whose property to be guarded by the watch did not perhaps exceed the value of fifty pounds, paid as much as the wealthiest merchant who had thousands of pounds worth of goods in his stores. On the whole, I proposed as a more effectual watch, the hiring of proper men to serve constantly in the business; and as a more equitable way of supporting the charge, the levying a tax that should be proportioned to the property. This idea being approved by the Junto, was communicated to the other clubs, but as originating in each of them; and though the plan was not immediately carried into execution, yet by preparing the minds of people for the change, it paved the way for the law obtained a few years after, when the members of our clubs were grown into more influence.

About this time I wrote a paper (first to be read in the Junto, but it was afterwards published) on the different accidents and carelessnesses by which houses were set on fire, with cautions against them, and means proposed of avoiding them. This was spoken of as an useful piece, and gave rise to a project, which soon followed it, of forming a company for the more ready extinguishing of fires, and mutual assistance in removing and securing of goods when in danger. Associates in this scheme were presently found, amounting to thirty. Our articles of agreement obliged every member to keep always in good order, and fit for use, a certain number of leathern buckets, with strong bags and baskets, (for packing and transporting of goods,) which were to be brought to every fire; and we agreed about once a month to spend a social evening together, in discoursing and communicating such ideas as occurred to us upon the subject of fires, as might be useful in our conduct on such occasions. The utility of this institution soon appeared, and many more desiring to be admitted than we thought convenient for one company, they were advised to form another, which was accordingly done; and thus went on one new company after another, till they became so numerous as to include most of the inhabitants who were men of property; and now at the time of my writing this, (though upwards of fifty years since its establishment,) that which I first formed, called the UNION FIRE COMPANY, still subsists; though the first members are all deceased but one, who is older by a year than I am. The fines that have been paid by members for absence at the monthly meetings, have been applied to the purchase of fire engines, ladders, fire-hooks, and other useful implements for each company; so that I question whether there is a city in the world better provided with the means of putting a stop to beginning conflagrations; and, in fact, since these institutions, the city has never lost by fire more than one or two houses at a time, and the flames have often been extinguished before the house in which they began has been half consumed.

In 1739, arrived among us from Ireland, the reverend Mr. Whitefield, who had made himself remarkable there as an itinerant preacher. He was at first permitted to preach in some of our churches; but the clergy taking a dislike to him, soon refused him their pulpits, and he was obliged to preach in the fields. The multitude of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous, and it was a matter of speculation to me, (who was one of the number) to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory on his hearers, and how much they admired and respected him, notwithstanding his common abuse of them, by assuring them, they were naturally *half beasts and half devils.* It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street. And it being found inconvenient to assemble in the open air, subject to its inclemencies, the building of a house to meet in, was no sooner proposed, and persons appointed to receive contributions, but sufficient sums were soon received to procure the ground, and erect the building, which was one hundred feet long and seventy broad; and the work was carried with such spirit as to be finished in a much shorter time than could have been expected. Both house and ground were vested in trustees, expressly for the use of *any preacher of any religious persuasion,* who might desire to say something to the people at Philadelphia. The design in building not being to accommodate any particular sect, but the inhabitants in general; so that even if the Mufti of Constantinople, were to send a missionary to preach Mahomedanism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service.

Mr. Whitefield, on leaving us, went preaching all the way through the colonies to Georgia. The settlement of that province had lately been begun, but instead of being made with hardy industrious husbandmen, accustomed to labour, the only people fit for such an enterprise, it was with families of broken shopkeepers, and other insolvent debtors; many of indolent and idle habits, taken out of the jails, who being set down in the woods, unqualified for clearing land, and unable to endure the hardships of a new settlement, perished in numbers, leaving many helpless children unprovided for. The sight of their miserable situation inspired the benevolent heart of Mr. Whitefield, with the idea of building an orphan-house there, in which they might be supported and educated. Returning northward, he preached up this charity, and made large collections: for his eloquence had a wonderful power over the hearts and purses of his hearers, of which I myself was an instance. I did not disapprove of the design, but as Georgia was then destitute of materials and workmen, and it was proposed to send them from Philadelphia at a great expense, I thought it would have been better to have built the house at Philadelphia, and brought the children to it. This I advised, but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel, and I therefore refused to contribute. I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which, I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me: I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold; as he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably, that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all! At this sermon there was also one of our club, who being of my sentiments respecting the building in Georgia, and suspecting a collection might be intended, had by precaution emptied his pockets before he came from home; towards the conclusion of the discourse however, he felt a strong inclination to give, and applied to a neighbour who stood near him, to lend him some money for the purpose. The request was fortunately made to perhaps the only man in the company who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer was, "*At any other time, friend Hopkinson, I would lend to thee freely; but not now, for thee seems to me to be out of thy right senses.*"

Some of Mr. Whitefield's enemies affected to suppose, that he would apply these collections to his own private emolument; but I who was intimately acquainted with him (being employed in printing his sermons, journals, &c.) never had the least suspicion of his integrity; but am to this day decidedly of opinion, that he was in all his conduct a perfectly *honest man;* and methinks my testimony in his favour ought to have the more weight, as we had no religious connexion. He used indeed sometimes to pray for my conversion, but never had the satisfaction of believing that his prayers were heard. Ours was a mere civil friendship, sincere on both sides, and lasted to his death. The following instance will show the terms on which we stood. Upon one of his arrivals from England at Boston, he wrote to me that he should come soon to Philadelphia, but knew not where he could lodge when there, as he understood his old friend and host, Mr. Benezet, was removed to Germantown. My answer was, you know my house; if you can make shift with its scanty accommodations you will be most heartily welcome. He replied, that if I made that kind offer for *Christ's* sake, I should not miss of a reward. And I returned, "don't let me be mistaken; it was not for *Christ's* sake, but for *your sake.*" One of our common acquaintance jocosely remarked, that knowing it to be the custom of the saints, when they received any favour, to shift the burden of the obligation from off their own shoulders, and place it in heaven, I had contrived to fix it on earth.

The last time I saw Mr. Whitefield, was in London, when he consulted me about his orphan-house concern, and his purpose of appropriating it to the establishment of a college.

He had a loud and clear voice, and articulated his words so perfectly that he might be heard and understood at a great distance; especially as his auditories observed the most perfect silence. He preached one evening from the top of the Court-House steps, which are in the middle of Market street, and on the west side of Second street, which crosses it at right angles. Both streets were filled with his hearers to a considerable distance: being among the hindmost in Market street, I had the curiosity to learn how far he could be heard, by retiring backwards down the street towards the river, and I found his voice distinct till I came near Front street, when some noise in that street obscured it. Imagining then a semicircle, of which my distance should be the radius, and that it was filled with auditors, to each of whom I allowed two square feet; I computed that he might well be heard by more than thirty thousand. This reconciled me to the newspaper accounts of his having preached to 25,000 people in the fields, and to the history of generals haranguing whole armies, of which I had sometimes doubted.

By hearing him often I came to distinguish easily between sermons newly composed, and those which he had often preached in the course of his travels. His delivery of the latter was so improved by frequent repetition, that every accent, every emphasis, every modulation of voice, was so perfectly well-turned and well-placed, that without being interested in the subject, one could not help being pleased with the discourse; a pleasure of much the same kind with that received from an excellent piece of music. This is an advantage itinerant preachers have over those who are stationary, as the latter cannot well improve their delivery of a sermon by so many rehearsals. His writing and printing from time to time gave great advantage to his enemies; unguarded expressions, and even erroneous opinions delivered in preaching, might have been afterwards explained or qualified, by supposing others that might have accompanied them; or they might have been denied; but *litera scripta manet:* critics attacked his writings violently; and with so much appearance of reason, as to diminish the number of his votaries and prevent their increase. So that I am satisfied that if he had never written any thing, he would have left behind him a much more numerous and important sect; and his reputation might in that case have been still growing even after his death; as there being nothing of his writing on which to found a censure, and give him a lower character, his proselytes would be left at liberty to attribute to him as great a variety of excellencies, as their enthusiastic admiration might wish him to have possessed.

My business was now constantly augmenting, and my circumstances growing daily easier, my newspaper having become very profitable, as being for a time almost the only one in this and the neighbouring provinces. I experienced too the truth of the observation, "*that after getting the first hundred pounds it is more easy to get the second:*" money itself being of a prolific nature.

The partnership at Carolina having succeeded, I was encouraged to engage in others, and to promote several of my workmen who had behaved well, by establishing them with printing houses in different colonies, on the same terms with that in Carolina. Most of them did well, being enabled at the end of our term, (six years,) to purchase the types of me and go on working for themselves; by which means several families were raised. Partnerships often finish in quarrels, but I was happy in this that mine were all carried on and ended amicably; owing I think a good deal to the precaution of having very explicitly settled in our articles, every thing to be done by or expected from each partner; so that there was nothing to dispute; which precaution I would therefore recommend to all who enter into partnerships; for whatever esteem partners may have for, and confidence in each other at the time of the contract, little jealousies and disgusts may arise, with ideas of inequality in the care and burden, business, &c. which are attended often with breach of friendship and of the connection; perhaps with law-suits and other disagreeable consequences.

I had on the whole abundant reason to be satisfied with my being established in Pennsylvania; there were however some things that I regretted, there being no provision for defence, nor for a complete education of youth; no militia, nor any college: I therefore, in 1743, drew up a proposal for establishing an academy; and at that time, thinking the Rev. Richard Peters, who was out of employ, a fit person to superintend such an institution, I communicated the project to him: but he having more profitable views in the service of the proprietors, which succeeded, declined the undertaking: and not knowing another at that time suitable for such a trust, I let the scheme lie awhile dormant. I succeeded better the next year, 1744, in proposing and establishing a *Philosophical Society.* The paper I wrote for that purpose, will be found among my writings; if not lost with many others.

With respect to defence, Spain having been several years at war against Great Britain, and being at length joined by France, which brought us into great danger; and the laboured and long continued endeavour of our governor, Thomas, to prevail with our Quaker assembly to pass a militia law, and make other provisions for the security of the province, having proved abortive; I proposed to try what might be done by a voluntary subscription of the people: to promote this, I first wrote and published a pamphlet, intitled PLAIN TRUTH, in which I stated our helpless situation in strong lights, with the necessity of union and discipline for our defence, and promised to propose in a few days, an association, to be generally signed for that purpose. The pamphlet had a sudden and surprising effect. I was called upon for the instrument of association; having settled the draught of it with a few friends, I appointed a meeting of the citizens in the large building before-mentioned. The house was pretty full; I had prepared a number of printed copies, and provided pens and ink dispersed all over the room. I harangued them a little on the subject, read the paper, explained it, and then distributed the copies, which were eagerly signed, not the least objection being made. When the company separated, and the papers were collected, we found above twelve hundred signatures; and other copies being dispersed in the country, the subscribers amounted at length to upwards of ten thousand. These all furnished themselves as soon as they could with arms, formed themselves into companies, and regiments, chose their own officers, and met every week to be instructed in the manual exercise, and other parts of military discipline. The women, by subscriptions among themselves, provided silk colours, which they presented to the companies, painted with different devices and mottos, which I supplied. The officers of the companies composing the Philadelphia regiment, being met, chose me for their colonel; but conceiving myself unfit, I declined that station, and recommended Mr. Lawrence, a fine person, and a man of influence, who was accordingly appointed. I then proposed a lottery to defray the expense of building a battery below the town, and furnished with cannon: it filled expeditiously, and the battery was soon erected, the merlons being framed of logs and filled with earth. We bought some old cannon from Boston, but these not being sufficient, we wrote to London for more; soliciting at the same time our proprietaries for some assistance, though without much expectation of obtaining it. Meanwhile, colonel Lawrence, —— Allen, Abraham Taylor, Esquires, and myself, were sent to New York by the associators, commissioned to borrow some cannon of governor Clinton. He at first refused us peremptorily; but at a dinner with his council, where there was great drinking of madeira wine, as the custom of that place then was, he softened by degrees, and said he would lend us six. After a few more bumpers he advanced to ten; and at length he very good-naturedly conceded eighteen. They were fine cannon, 18 pounders, with their carriages, which were soon transported and mounted on our batteries, where the associators kept a nightly guard while the war lasted: and among the rest, I regularly took my turn of duty there as a common soldier.

My activity in these operations was agreeable to the governor and council; they took me into confidence, and I was consulted by them in every measure, where their concurrence was thought useful to the association. Calling in the aid of religion, I proposed to them the proclaiming a fast, to promote reformation, and implore the blessing of heaven on our undertaking. They embraced the motion, but as it was the first fast ever thought of in the province, the secretary had no precedent from which to draw the proclamation. My education in New England, where a fast is proclaimed every year, was here of some advantage: I drew it in the accustomed style, it was translated into German, printed in both languages, and circulated through the province. This gave the clergy of the different sects an opportunity of influencing their congregations to join in the association, and it would probably have been general among all but the Quakers, if the peace had not soon intervened.

It was thought by some of my friends, that by my activity in these affairs, I should offend that sect, and thereby lose my interest in the assembly of the province, where they formed a great majority. A young man who had likewise some friends in the assembly, and wished to succeed me as their clerk, acquainted me that it was decided to displace me at the next election; and he through good will advised me to resign, as more consistent with my honour than being turned out. My answer to him was, that I had read or heard of some public man, who made it a rule, *never to ask for an office*, and *never to refuse one when offered to him.* I approve, said I, of this rule, and shall practise it with a small addition; I shall never *ask*, never *refuse*, nor ever RESIGN an office. If they will have my office of clerk to dispose of it to another, they shall take it from me. I will not, by giving it up, lose my right of some time or other making reprisal on my adversaries. I heard however no more of this: I was chosen again unanimously as clerk at the next election. Possibly as they disliked my late intimacy with the members of council who had joined the governors in all the disputes about military preparations, with which the house had long been harassed, they might have been pleased if I would voluntarily have left them; but they did not care to displace me on account merely of my zeal for the association, and they could not well give another reason. Indeed I had some cause to believe that the defence of the country was not disagreeable to any of them, provided they were not required to assist in it. And I found that a much greater number of them than I could have imagined, though against offensive war, were clearly for the defensive. Many pamphlets *pro* and *con* were published on the subject, and some by good Quakers, in favour of defence; which I believe convinced most of their young people. A transaction in our fire company gave me some insight into their prevailing sentiments. It had been proposed that we should encourage the scheme for building a battery by laying out the present stock, then about sixty pounds, in tickets of the lottery. By our rules no money could be disposed of till the next meeting after the proposal. The company consisted of thirty members, of which twenty-two were Quakers, and eight only of other persuasions. We eight punctually attended the meeting; but though we thought that some of the Quakers would join us, we were by no means sure of a majority. Only one Quaker, Mr. James Morris, appeared to oppose the measure. He expressed much sorrow that it had ever been proposed, as he said *friends* were all against it, and it would create such discord as might break up the company. We told him that we saw no reason for that; we were the minority, and if *friends* were against the measure, and out-voted us, we must and should, agreeable to the usage of all societies, submit. When the hour for business arrived, it was moved to put this to the vote: he allowed we might do it by the rules, but as he could assure us that a number of members intended to be present for the purpose of opposing it, it would be but candid to allow a little time for their appearing. While we were disputing this, a waiter came to tell me, two gentlemen below desired to speak with me; I went down, and found there two of our Quaker members. They told me there were eight of them assembled at a tavern just by; that they were determined to come and vote with us if there should be occasion, which they hoped would not be the case, and desired we would not call for their assistance, if we could do without it; as their voting for such a measure might embroil them with their elders and friends; being thus secure of a majority, I went up, and after a little seeming hesitation, agreed to a delay of another hour. This Mr. Morris allowed to be extremely fair. Not one of his opposing friends appeared, at which he expressed great surprise; and at the expiration of the hour, we carried the resolution eight to one: and as of the 22 Quakers, 8 were ready to vote with us, and 13 by their absence manifested that they were not inclined to oppose the measure, I afterwards estimated the proportion of Quakers sincerely against defence as 1 to 21 only. For these were all regular members of the society, and in good reputation among them, and who had notice of what was proposed at that meeting.

The honourable and learned Mr. Logan, who had always been of that sect, wrote an address to them, declaring his approbation of *defensive* war, and supported his opinion by many strong arguments: he put into my hands sixty pounds to be laid out in lottery tickets for the battery, with directions to apply what prizes might be drawn wholly to that service. He told me the following anecdote of his old master, William Penn, respecting defence:—He came over from England when a young man, with that proprietary, and as his secretary. It was war time, and their ship was chased by an armed vessel, supposed to be an enemy. Their captain prepared for defence; but told William Penn, and his company of Quakers, that he did not expect their assistance, and they might retire into the cabin; which they did, except James Logan, who chose to stay upon deck, and was quartered to a gun. The supposed enemy proved a friend, so there was no fighting: but when the secretary went down to communicate the intelligence, William Penn rebuked him severely for staying upon deck, and undertaking to assist in defending the vessel, contrary to the principles of Friends; especially as it had not been required by the captain. This reprimand, being before all the company, piqued the secretary, who answered: "*I being thy servant, why did thee not order me to come down; but thee was willing enough that I should stay and help to fight the ship, when thee thought there was danger.*"

My being many years in the assembly, a majority of which were constantly Quakers, gave me frequent opportunities of seeing the embarrassment given them by their principle against war, whenever application was made to them, by order of the crown, to grant aids for military purposes. They were unwilling to offend government on the one hand, by a direct refusal; and their friends (the body of the Quakers) on the other, by a compliance contrary to their principles; using a variety of evasion to avoid complying, and modes of disguising the compliance, when it became unavoidable. The common mode at last was, to grant money under the phrase of its being "*for the king's use*," and never to inquire how it was applied. But if the demand was not directly from the crown, that phrase was found not so proper, and some other was to be invented. Thus, when powder was wanting, (I think it was for the garrison at Louisburg,) and the government of New England solicited a grant of some from Pennsylvania, which was much urged on the house, by governor Thomas; they would not grant money to buy *powder*, because that was an ingredient of war; but they voted an aid to New England of three thousand pounds to be put in the hands of the governor, and appropriated it for the purchase of bread, flour, wheat, or *other grain*. Some of the council, desirous of giving the house still further embarrassment, advised the governor not to accept provision, as not being the thing he had demanded: but he replied, "I shall take the money, for I understand very well their meaning, *other grain* is gunpowder;" which he accordingly bought, and they never objected to it. It was in allusion to this fact, that when in our fire company, we feared the success of our proposal in favour of the lottery, and I had said to a friend of mine, one of our members, "if we fail, let us move the purchase of a fire engine with the money; the Quakers can have no objection to that: and then, if you nominate me, and I you, as a committee for that purpose, we will buy a great gun, which is certainly a *fire engine*." I see, says he, you have improved by being so long in the assembly; your equivocal project would be just a match for their wheat or *other grain*.

Those embarrassments that the Quakers suffered, from having established and published it as one of their principles, that no kind of war was lawful, and which being once published, they could not afterwards, (however they might change their minds,) easily get rid of, reminds me of what I think a more prudent conduct in another sect among us—that of the Dunkers. I was acquainted with one of its founders, Michael Weffare, soon after it appeared. He complained to me that they were grievously calumniated by the zealots of other persuasions, and charged with abominable principles and practices, to which they were utter strangers. I told him this had always been the case with new sects, and that to put a stop to such abuse, I imagined it might be well to publish the articles of their belief, and the rules of their discipline. He said that it had been proposed among them, but not agreed to for this reason:—"When we were first drawn together as a society, (said he,) it had pleased God to enlighten our minds so far as to see that some doctrines, which were esteemed truths, were errors; and that others which we have esteemed errors, were real truths. From time to time he has been pleased to afford us farther light, and our principles have been improving, and our errors diminishing: now, we are not sure that we are arrived at the end of this progression, and at the perfection of spiritual or theological knowledge; and we fear that if we should once print our confession of faith, we should feel ourselves as if bound and confined by it, and perhaps be unwilling to receive further improvement; and our successors still more so, as conceiving what their elders and founders had done, to be something sacred, never to be departed from." This modesty in a sect, is perhaps a singular instance in the history of mankind, every other sect supposing itself in possession of all truth, and that those who differ, are so far in the wrong: like a man travelling in foggy weather; those at some distance before him on the road he sees wrapt up in the fog, as well as those behind him, and also the people in the fields on each side; but near him all appear clear; though in truth, he is as much in the fog as any of them. To avoid this kind of embarrassment, the Quakers have of late years been gradually declining the public service in the assembly and in the magistracy, choosing rather to quit their power than their principle.

In order of time, I should have mentioned before, that having, in 1742, invented an open stove for the better warming of rooms, and at the same time saving fuel, as the fresh air admitted was warmed in entering, I made a present of the model to Mr. Robert Grace, one of my early friends, who having an iron furnace, found the casting of the plates for these stoves a profitable thing, as they were growing in demand. To promote that demand, I wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled, "*An Account of the new-invented Pennsylvania Fire Places; wherein their construction and manner of operation is particularly explained, their advantages above every method of warming rooms demonstrated; and all objections that have been raised against the use of them, answered and obviated, &c.*"* This pamphlet had a good effect; governor Thomas was so pleased with the construction of this stove as described in it, that he offered to give me a patent for the sole vending of them for a term of years; but I declined it, from a principle which has ever weighed with me on such occasions, viz: *That as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by any invention of ours; and this we should do freely and generously.*

An ironmonger in London, however, assuming a good deal of my pamphlet, and working it up into his own, and making some small changes in the machine, which rather hurt its operation, got a patent for it there, and made, as I was told, a little fortune by it. And this is not the only instance of patents taken out of my inventions by others, though not always with the same success; which I never contested, as having no desire of profiting by patents myself, and hating disputes. The use of these fire places in very many houses, both here in Pennsylvania, and the neighbouring states, has been, and is, a great saving of wood to the inhabitants.

Peace being concluded, and the association business therefore at an end, I turned my thoughts again to the affair of establishing an academy. The first step I took was to associate in the design a number of active friends, of whom the Junto furnished a good part: the next was to write and publish a pamphlet, entitled, "*Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania.*" This I distributed among the principal inhabitants gratis: and as soon as I could suppose their minds a little prepared by the perusal of it, I set on foot a subscription for opening and supporting an academy; it was to be paid in quotas yearly for five years; by so dividing it I judged the subscription might be larger; and I believe it was so, amounting to no less, if I remember right, than five thousand pounds.

In the introduction to these proposals, I stated their publication not as an act of mine, but of some *public-spirited gentlemen;* avoiding as much as I could, according to my usual rule, the presenting myself to the public as the author of any scheme for their benefit.

The subscribers, to carry the project into immediate execution, chose out of their number twenty-four trustees, and appointed Mr. Francis, then attorney-general, and myself, to draw up constitutions for the government of the academy; which being done and signed, a house was hired, masters engaged, and the schools opened; I think in the same year 1749.

The scholars increasing fast, the house was soon found too small, and we were looking out for a piece of ground, properly situated, with intent to build, when accident threw into our way a large house ready built, which, with a few alterations, might well serve our purpose: this was the building beforementioned, erected by the hearers of Mr. Whitefield, and was obtained for us in the following manner.

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* See Papers on Philosophical Subjects.

It is to be noted, that the contributions to this building being made by people of different sects, care was taken in the nomination of trustees, in whom the building and ground were to be vested, that a predominancy should not be given to any sect, lest in time that predominancy might be a means of appropriating the whole to the use of such sect, contrary to the original intention; it was for this reason that one of each sect was appointed; viz. one Church of England man, one Presbyterian, one Baptist, one Moravian, &c., who, in case of vacancy by death, were to fill it by election among the contributors. The Moravian happened not to please his colleagues; and on his death they resolved to have no other of that sect; the difficulty then was, how to avoid having two of some other sect, by means of the new choice. Several persons were named, and for that reason not agreed to: at length one mentioned me, with the observation, that I was merely an honest man, and of *no sect* at all, which prevailed with them to choose me. The enthusiasm which existed when the house was built, had long since abated, and its trustees had not been able to procure fresh contributions for paying the ground rent, and discharging some other debts the building had occasioned, which embarrassed them greatly. Being now a member of both boards of trustees, that for the building, and that for the academy, I had a good opportunity of negociating with both, and brought them finally to an agreement, by which the trustees for the building were to cede it to those of the academy; the latter undertaking to discharge the debt, to keep for ever open in the building a large hall for occasional preachers, according to the original intention, and maintain a free school for the instruction of poor children. Writings were accordingly drawn; and on paying the debts, the trustees of the academy were put in possession of the premises; and by dividing the great and lofty hall into stories, and different rooms above and below for the several schools, and purchasing some additional ground, the whole was soon made fit for our purpose, and the scholars removed into the building. The whole care and trouble of agreeing with the workmen, purchasing materials, and superintending the work, fell upon me, and I went through it the more cheerfully, as it did not then interfere with my private business; having the year before taken a very able, industrious, and honest partner, Mr. David Hall, with whose character I was well acquainted, as he had worked for me four years; he took off my hands all care of the printing office, paying me punctually my share of the profits. This partnership continued eighteen years, successfully for us both.

The trustees of the academy after a while, were incorporated by a charter from the governor; their funds were increased by contributions in Britain, and grants of land from the proprietaries, to which the assembly has since made considerable addition; and thus was established the present university of Philadelphia. I have been continued one of its trustees from the beginning, (now near forty years,) and have had the very great pleasure of seeing a number of the youth who have received their education in it, distinguished by their improved abilities, serviceable in public stations, and ornaments to their country.

When I was disengaged myself, as abovementioned, from private business, I flattered myself that by the sufficient, though moderate fortune I had acquired, I had found leisure during the rest of my life for philosophical studies and amusements. I purchased all Dr. Spence's apparatus, who had come from England to lecture in Philadelphia, and I proceeded in my electrical experiments with great alacrity; but the public now considering me as a man of leisure, laid hold of me for their purposes; every part of our civil government, and almost at the same time, imposing some duty upon me. The governor put me into the commission of the peace; the corporation of the city chose me one of the common council, and soon after alderman, and the citizens at large elected me a burgess to represent them in assembly; this latter station was the more agreeable to me, as I grew at length tired with sitting there to hear the debates, in which as clerk I could take no part; and which were often so uninteresting, that I was induced to amuse myself with making magic squares or circles,* or any thing to avoid weariness; and I conceived my becoming a member, would enlarge my power of doing good. I would not, however, insinuate that my ambition was not flattered by all these promotions: it certainly was; for, considering my low beginning, they were great things to me: and they were still more pleasing, as being so many spontaneous testimonies of the public good opinion, and by me entirely unsolicited.

The office of justice of the peace I tried a little, by attending a few courts, and sitting on the bench to hear causes; but finding that more knowledge of the common law than I possessed was necessary to act in that station with credit, I gradually withdrew from it; excusing myself by my being obliged to attend the higher duties of a legislator in the assembly. My election to this trust was repeated every year for ten years, without my ever asking any elector for his vote, or signifying either directly or indirectly any desire of being chosen. On taking my seat in the house, my son was appointed their clerk.

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* See several of these, in "*Papers on Subjects of Philosophy, &c.*"

The year following, a treaty being to be held with the Indians at Carlisle, the governor sent a message to the house, proposing that they should nominate some of their members, to be joined with some members of council, as commissioners for that purpose. The house named the speaker (Mr. Norris) and myself; and being commissioned, we went to Carlisle, and met the Indians accordingly. As those people are extremely apt to get drunk, and when so are very quarrelsome and disorderly, we strictly forbade the selling any liquor to them; and when they complained of this restriction, we told them, that if they would continue sober during the treaty, we would give them plenty of rum when the business was over. They promised this, and they kept their promise, because they could get no rum; and the treaty was conducted very orderly, and concluded to mutual satisfaction. They then claimed and received the rum; this was in the afternoon; they were near one hundred men, women, and children, and were lodged in temporary cabins, built in the form of a square, just without the town. In the evening, hearing a great noise among them, the commissioners walked to see what was the matter; we found they had made a great bonfire in the middle of the square: they were all drunk, men and women, quarreling and fighting. Their dark-coloured bodies, half-naked, seen only by the gloomy light of the bonfire, running after and beating one another with firebrands, accompanied by their horrid yellings, formed a scene the most resembling our ideas of hell that could well be imagined; there was no appeasing the tumult, and we retired to our lodging. At midnight a number of them came thundering at our door, demanding more rum, of which we took no notice. The next day, sensible they had misbehaved in giving us that disturbance, they sent three of their old counsellors to make their apology. The orator acknowledged the fault, but laid it upon the rum; and then endeavoured to excuse the rum, by saying, "*The Great Spirit, who made all things, made every thing for some use, and whatever use he designed any thing for, that use it should always be put to:* now, when he made rum, he said, 'LET THIS BE FOR THE INDIANS TO GET DRUNK WITH;' and it must be so." And, indeed, if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages, in order to make room for the cultivators of the earth, it seems not impossible that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the sea coast.

In 1751, Dr. Thomas Bond, a particular friend of mine, conceived the idea of establishing a hospital in Philadelphia, (a very beneficent design, which has been ascribed to me, but was originally and truly his,) for the reception and cure of poor sick persons, whether inhabitants of the province, or strangers. He was zealous and active in endeavouring to procure subscriptions for it; but the proposal being a novelty in America, and at first not well understood, he met but with little success. At length he came to me with the compliment, that he found there was no such a thing as carrying a public-spirited project through without my being concerned in it. "For," said he, "I am often asked by those to whom I propose subscribing, *Have you consulted Franklin on this business? And what does he think of it?* And when I tell them that I have not, (supposing it rather out of your line,) they do not subscribe, but say, *they will consider it.*" I inquired into the nature and probable utility of the scheme, and receiving from him a very satisfactory explanation, I not only subscribed to it myself, but engaged heartily in the design of procuring subscriptions from others: previous however to the solicitation, I endeavoured to prepare the minds of the people, by writing on the subject in the newspapers, which was my usual custom in such cases, but which Dr. Bond had omitted. The subscriptions afterwards were more free and generous; but beginning to flag, I saw they would be insufficient, without some assistance from the assembly, and therefore proposed to petition for it; which was done. The country members did not at first relish the project: they objected that it could only be serviceable to the city, and therefore the citizens alone should be at the expense of it; and they doubted whether the citizens themselves generally approved of it. My allegation on the contrary, that it met with such approbation as to leave no doubt of our being able to raise two thousand pounds by voluntary donations, they considered as a most extravagant supposition, and utterly impossible. On this I formed my plan; and asking leave to bring in a bill for incorporating the contributors according to the prayer of their petition, and granting them a blank sum of money; which leave was obtained chiefly on the consideration, that the house could throw the bill out if they did not like it, I drew it so as to make the important clause a conditional one, viz: "And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that when the said contributors shall have met and chosen their managers and treasurer, and shall have raised by their contributions a capital stock of two thousand pounds value, (the yearly interest of which is to be applied to the accommodation of the sick poor in the said hospital, and of charge for diet, attendance, advice, and medicines,) and *shall make the same appear to the satisfaction of the speaker of the Assembly for the time being;* that then it shall and may be lawful for the said speaker, and he is hereby required to sign an order on the provincial treasurer, for the payment of two thousand pounds in two yearly payments, to the treasurer of the said hospital, to be applied to the founding, building, and finishing of the same." This condition carried the bill through; for the members who had opposed the grant, and now conceived they might have the credit of being charitable without the expense, agreed to its passage; and then in soliciting subscriptions among the people, we urged the conditional promise of the law as an additional motive to give, since every man's donation would be doubled: thus the clause worked both ways. The subscriptions accordingly soon exceeded the requisite sum, and we claimed and received the public gift, which enabled us to carry the design into execution. A convenient and handsome building was soon erected, the institution has by constant experience been found useful, and flourishes to this day; and I do not remember any of my political manœuvres, the success of which at the time gave me more pleasure; or, wherein, after thinking of it, I more easily excused myself for having made some use of cunning.

It was about this time, that another projector, the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, came to me with a request, that I would assist him in procuring a subscription for erecting a new meeting-house. It was to be for the use of a congregation he had gathered among the Presbyterians, who were originally disciples of Mr. Whitefield. Unwilling to make myself disagreeable to my fellow citizens, by too frequently soliciting their contributions, I absolutely refused. He then desired I would furnish him with a list of the names of persons I knew by experience to be generous and public spirited. I thought it would be unbecoming in me, after their kind compliance with my solicitation, to mark them out to be worried by other beggars, and therefore refused to give such a list. He then desired I would at least give him my advice. That I will do, said I; and, in the first place, I advise you to apply to all those who you know will give something; next, to those who you are uncertain whether they will give any thing or not, and show them the list of those who have given; and, lastly, do not neglect those who you are sure will give nothing, for in some of them you may be mistaken. He laughed and thanked me, and said he would take my advice. He did so, for he asked of *every body*, and he obtained a much larger sum than he expected, with which he erected the capacious and elegant meeting-house that stands in Arch street.

Our city, though laid out with a beautiful regularity, the streets large, straight, and crossing each other at right angles, had the disgrace of suffering those streets to remain long unpaved, and in wet weather the wheels of heavy carriages ploughed them into a quagmire, so that it was difficult to cross them; and in dry weather the dust was offensive. I had lived near what was called the Jersey market, and saw with pain the inhabitants wading in mud, while purchasing their provisions. A strip of ground down the middle of that market was at length paved with brick, so that being once in the market they had firm footing; but were often over shoes in dirt to get there. By talking and writing on the subject, I was at length instrumental in getting the streets paved with stone between the market and the brick foot pavement that was on the side next the houses. This for some time gave an easy access to the market dry-shod; but the rest of the street not being paved, whenever a carriage came out of the mud upon this pavement, it shook off and left its dirt upon it, and it was soon covered with mire, which was not removed, the city as yet having no scavengers. After some inquiry I found a poor industrious man who was willing to undertake keeping the pavement clean, by sweeping it twice a week, carrying off the dirt from before all the neighbours' doors, for the sum of sixpence per month, to be paid by each house. I then wrote and printed a paper, setting forth the advantages to the neighbourhood that might be obtained from this small expense; the greater ease in keeping our houses clean, so much dirt not being brought in by people's feet; the benefit to the shops by more custom, as buyers could more easily get at them; and by not having in windy weather the dust blown in upon their goods, &c. I sent one of these papers to each house, and in a day or two went round to see who would subscribe an agreement to pay these sixpences; it was unanimously signed, and for a time well executed. All the inhabitants of the city were delighted with the cleanliness of the pavement that surrounded the market, it being a convenience to all, and this raised a general desire to have all the streets paved; and made the people more willing to submit to a tax for that purpose. After some time I drew a bill for paving the city, and brought it into the assembly. It was just before I went to England, in 1757, and did not pass till I was gone, and then with an alteration in the mode of assessment, which I thought not for the better; but with an additional provision for lighting as well as paving the streets, which was a great improvement. It was by a private person, the late Mr. John Clifton, giving a sample of the utility of lamps, by placing one at his door, that the people were first impressed with the idea of lighting all the city. The honour of this public benefit has also been ascribed to me, but it belongs truly to that gentleman. I did but follow his example, and have only some merit to claim respecting the form of our lamps, as differing from the globe lamps we were at first supplied with from London. They were found inconvenient in these respects: they admitted no air below; the smoke therefore did not readily go out above, but circulated in the globe, lodged on its inside, and soon obstructed the light they were intended to afford; giving besides the daily trouble of wiping them clean: and an accidental stroke on one of them would demolish it, and render it totally useless. I therefore suggested the composing them of four flat panes, with a long funnel above to draw up the smoke, and crevices admitting air below to facilitate the ascent of the smoke; by this means they were kept clean, and did not grow dark in a few hours, as the London lamps do, but continued bright till morning; and an accidental stroke would generally break but a single pane easily repaired. I have sometimes wondered that the Londoners did not, from the effect holes in the bottom of the globe-lamps used at Vauxhall, have in keeping them clean, learn to have such holes in their street lamps. But these holes being made for another purpose, viz. to communicate flame more suddenly to the wick by a little flax hanging down through them, the other use of letting in air, seems not to have been thought of: and therefore, after the lamps have been lit a few hours, the streets of London are very poorly illuminated.

The mention of these improvements puts me in mind of one I proposed, when in London, to Dr. Fothergill,* who was among the best men I have known, and a great promoter of useful projects. I had observed that the streets, when dry, were never swept, and the light dust carried away; but it was suffered to accumulate till wet weather reduced it to mud; and then, after lying some days so deep on the pavement that there was no crossing but in paths kept clean by poor people with brooms, it was with great labour raked together and thrown up into carts open above, the sides of which suffered some of the slush at every jolt on the pavement to shake out and fall; sometimes to the annoyance of foot passengers. The reason given for not sweeping the dusty streets was, that the dust would fly into the windows of shops and houses. An accidental occurrence had instructed me how much sweeping might be done in a little time; I found at my door in Craven street, one morning, a poor woman sweeping my pavement with a birch broom; she appeared very pale and feeble, as just come out of a fit of sickness. I asked who employed her to sweep there; she said, "Nobody; but I am poor and in distress, and I sweeps before gentlefolkses doors, and hopes they will give me something." I bid her sweep the whole street clean, and I would give her a shilling; this was at nine o'clock; at noon she came for the shilling. From the slowness I saw at first in her working, I could scarce believe that the work was done so soon, and sent my servant to examine it, who reported that the whole street was swept perfectly clean, and all the dust placed in the gutter which was in the middle; and the next rain washed it quite away, so that the pavement and even the kennel were perfectly clean. I then judged that if that feeble woman could sweep such a street in three hours, a strong active man might have done it in half the time. And here let me remark the convenience of having but one gutter in such a narrow street running down its middle, instead of two, one on each side near the footway. For where all the rain that falls on a street runs from the sides and meets in the middle, it forms there a current strong enough to wash away all the mud it meets with: but when divided into two channels, it is often too weak to cleanse either, and only makes the mud, it finds more fluid, so that the wheels of carriages, and feet of horses throw and dash it upon the foot pavement, (which is thereby rendered foul and slippery,) and sometimes splash it upon those who are walking. My proposal communicated to the doctor, was as follows:

"For the more effectually cleaning and keeping clean the streets of London and Westminster, it is proposed, that the several watchmen be contracted with to have the dust swept up in dry seasons, and the mud raked up at other times, each in the several streets and lanes of his round: that they be furnished with brooms and other proper instruments for these purposes, to be kept at their respective stands, ready to furnish the poor people they may employ in the service.

"That in the dry summer months the dust be all swept up into heaps at proper distances, before the shops and windows of houses are usually opened; when scavengers with close covered carts shall also carry it all away.

"That the mud, when raked up, be not left in heaps to be spread abroad again by the wheels of carriages and trampling of horses; but that the scavengers be provided with bodies of carts, not placed high upon wheels, but low upon sliders, with lattice bottoms, which being covered with straw, will retain the mud thrown into them, and permit the water to drain from it; whereby it will become much lighter, water making the greatest part of the weight. These bodies of carts to be placed at convenient distances, and the mud brought to them in wheelbarrows; they remaining where placed till the mud is drained, and then horses brought to draw them away."

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* Fothergill, (John) F. R. S., an eminent physician born in 1712, at Carr end, in Yorkshire of Quaker parents, died in 1780.

I have since had doubts of the practicability of the latter part of this proposal, in all places, on account of the narrowness of some streets, and the difficulty of placing the draining sleds so as not to encumber too much the passage: but I am still of opinion that the former, requiring the dust to be swept up and carried away before the shops are open, is very practicable in the summer, when the days are long; for in walking through the Strand and Fleet street, one morning at seven o'clock, I observed there was not one shop open, though it was daylight and the sun up above three hours: the inhabitants of London, choosing voluntarily to live much by candle-light, and sleep by sun-shine; and yet often complain, (a little absurdly) of the duty on candles, and the high price of tallow.

Some may think these trifling matters, not worth minding or relating; but when they consider that though dust blown into the eyes of a single person, or into a single shop in a windy day, is but of small importance, yet the great number of the instances in a populous city, and its frequent repetition, gives it weight and consequence; perhaps they will not censure very severely those who bestow some attention to affairs of this seemingly low nature. Human felicity is produced, not so much by great pieces of good fortune that seldom happen, as by little advantages that occur every day. Thus, if you teach a poor young man to shave himself, and keep his razor in order, you may contribute more to the happiness of his life than in giving him a thousand guineas. This sum may be soon spent, the regret only remaining of having foolishly consumed it: but in the other case, he escapes the frequent vexation of waiting for barbers, and of their sometimes dirty fingers, offensive breaths, and dull razors: he shaves when most convenient to him, and enjoys daily the pleasure of its being done with a good instrument. With these sentiments, I have hazarded the few preceding pages, hoping they may afford hints which some time or other may be useful to a city I love, (having lived many years in it very happily,) and perhaps to some of our towns in America.

Having been some time employed by the post-master-general of America as his comptroller in regulating the several offices, and bringing the officers to account, I was, upon his death, in 1753, appointed jointly with Mr. William Hu—— to succeed him; by a commission from the post-master-general in England. The American office had hitherto never paid any thing to that of Britain: we were to have £600 a-year between us, if we could make that sum out of the profits of the office. To do this, a variety of improvements were necessary; some of these were inevitably at first expensive; so that in the first four years the office became above £900 in debt to us. But it soon after began to repay us; and before I was displaced by a freak of the ministers, (of which I shall speak hereafter,) we had brought it to yield *three times* as much clear revenue to the crown as the post office of Ireland. Since that imprudent transaction, they have received from it—not one farthing!

The business of the post office occasioned my taking a journey this year to New England, where the college of Cambridge, of their own motion, presented me with the degree of Master of Arts. Yale college in Connecticut had before made me a similar compliment. Thus, without studying in any college, I came to partake of their honours. They were conferred in consideration of my improvements and discoveries in the electric branch of Natural Philosophy.

In 1754, war with France being again apprehended, a congress of commissioners from the different colonies was, by an order of the lords of trade, to be assembled at Albany; there to confer with the chiefs of the Six nations, concerning the means of defending both their country and ours. Governor Hamilton having received this order, acquainted the house with it, requesting they would furnish proper presents for the Indians, to be given on this occasion; and naming the speaker (Mr. Norris) and myself, to join Mr. John Penn and Mr. Secretary Peters, as commissioners to act for Pennsylvania. The house approved the nomination, and provided the goods for the presents, though they did not much like treating out of the province; and we met the other commissioners at Albany, about the middle of June. In our way thither, I projected and drew up a plan for the union of all the colonies under one government, so far as might be necessary for defence, and other important general purposes. As we passed through New York, I had there shown my project to Mr. James Alexander and Mr. Kennedy, two gentlemen of great knowledge in public affairs, and being fortified by their approbation, I ventured to lay it before the congress. It then appeared, that several of the commissioners had formed plans of the same kind. A previous question was first taken, whether an union should be established, which passed in the affirmative, unanimously. A committee was then appointed, one member from each colony, to consider the several plans, and report. Mine happened to be preferred, and with a few amendments was accordingly reported. By this plan the general government was to be administered by a president general, appointed and supported by the crown; and a grand council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies, met in their respective assemblies. The debates upon it in congress, went on daily hand in hand with the Indian business. Many objections and difficulties were started, but at length they were all overcome, and the plan was unanimously agreed to, and copies ordered to be transmitted to the board of trade and to the assemblies of the several provinces. Its fate was singular: the assemblies did not adopt it, as they all thought there was too much *prerogative* in it; and in England, it was judged to have too much of the *democratic;* the board of trade did not approve of it; nor recommend it for the approbation of his majesty: but another scheme was formed, supposed to answer the same purpose better, whereby the governors of the provinces, with some members of their respective councils, were to meet and order the raising of troops, building of forts, &c. and to draw on the treasury of Great Britain for the expense, which was afterwards to be refunded by an act of parliament laying a tax on America. My plan, with my reasons in support of it, is to be found among my political papers that were printed. Being the winter following in Boston, I had much conversation with governor Shirley upon both the plans. Part of what passed between us on this occasion, may also be seen among those papers. The different and contrary reasons of dislike to my plan, makes me suspect, that it was really the true medium, and I am still of opinion it would have been happy for both sides, if it had been adopted. The colonies so united would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves: there would then have been no need of troops from England, of course the subsequent pretext for taxing America; and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have been avoided: but such mistakes are not new: history is full of the errors of states and princes.

> "Look round the habitable world, how few
> Know their own good, or knowing it pursue!"

Those who govern, having much business on their hands, do not generally like to take the trouble of considering and carrying into execution new projects. The best public measures are therefore seldom *adopted from previous wisdom, but forced by the occasion.*

The governor of Pennsylvania, in sending it down to the assembly, expressed his approbation of the plan "as appearing to him to be drawn up with great clearness and strength of judgment, and therefore recommended it as well worthy their closest and most serious attention." The house, however, by the management of a certain member, took it up when I happened to be absent, (which I thought not very fair,) and reprobated it without paying any attention to it at all, to my no small mortification.

In my journey to Boston this year, I met at New York with our new governor, Mr. Morris, just arrived there from England, with whom I had been before intimately acquainted. He brought a commission to supercede Mr. Hamilton, who, tired with the disputes his proprietary instructions subjected him to, had resigned. Mr. Morris asked me if I thought he must expect as uncomfortable an administration. I said, "No, you may on the contrary have a very comfortable one, if you will only take care not to enter into any dispute with the assembly." "My dear friend," said he, pleasantly, "how can you advise my avoiding disputes? You know I love disputing, it is one of my greatest pleasures; however, to show the regard I have for your counsel, I promise you I will, if possible, avoid them." He had some reason for loving to dispute, being eloquent, an acute sophister, and therefore generally successful in argumentative conversation. He had been brought up to it from a boy, his father, as I have heard, accustoming his children to dispute with one another for his diversion, while sitting at table after dinner; but I think the practice was not wise; for, in the course of my observation, those disputing, contradicting, and confuting people, are generally unfortunate in their affairs. They get victory sometimes, but they never get good will, which would be of more use to them. We parted, he going to Philadelphia, and I to Boston. In returning, I met at New York with the votes of the assembly of Pennsylvania, by which it appeared, that notwithstanding his promise to me, he and the house were already in high contention; and it was a continual battle between them, as long as he retained the government. I had my share of it, for as soon as I got back to my seat in the assembly, I was put on every committee for answering his speeches and messages, and by the committees always desired to make the draughts. Our answers, as well as his messages, were often tart, and sometimes indecently abusive; and as he knew I wrote for the assembly, one might have imagined that when we met we could hardly avoid cutting throats. But he was so good-natured a man, that no personal difference between him and me was occasioned by the contest, and we often dined together. One afternoon, in the height of this public quarrel, we met in the street; "Franklin," said he, "you must go home with me and spend the evening, I am to have some company that you will like;" and taking me by the arm, led me to his house. In gay conversation over our wine, after supper, he told us jokingly that he much admired the idea of Sancho Panza, who, when it was proposed to give him a government, requested it might be a government of blacks; as then, if he could not agree with his people, he might sell them. One of his friends, who sat next me, said, "Franklin, why do you continue to side with those damned Quakers? had you not better sell them? the proprietor would give you a good price." "The governor," said I, "has not yet *blacked* them enough."—He, indeed, had laboured hard to blacken the assembly in all his messages, but they wiped off his colouring as fast as he laid it on, and placed it in return thick upon his own face; so, that finding he was likely to be *negrofied* himself, he, as well as Mr. Hamilton, grew tired of the contest, and quitted the government.

These public quarrels were all at bottom, owing to the proprietaries, our hereditary governors; who, when any expense was to be incurred for the defence of their province, with incredible meanness, instructed their deputies to pass no act for levying the necessary taxes, unless their vast estates were in the same act expressly exonerated; and they had even taken the bonds of these deputies to observe such instructions. The assemblies for three years held out against this injustice, though constrained to bend at last. At length captain Denny, who was governor Morris's successor, ventured to disobey those instructions; how that was brought about, I shall show hereafter.

But I am got forward too fast with my story: there are still some transactions to be mentioned, that happened during the administration of governor Morris.

War being in a manner commenced with France, the government of Massachusetts Bay projected an attack upon Crown Point, and sent Mr. Quincy to Pennsylvania, and Mr. Pownal, (afterwards governor Pownal,) to New York to solicit assistance. As I was in the assembly, knew its temper, and was Mr. Quincy's countryman, he applied to me for my influence and assistance: I dictated his address to them, which was well received. They voted an aid of ten thousand pounds, to be laid out in provisions. But the governor refusing his assent to their bill, (which included this with other sums granted for the use of the crown,) unless a clause were inserted, exempting the proprietary estate from bearing any part of the tax that would be necessary; the assembly, though very desirous of making their grant to New England effectual, were at a loss how to accomplish it. Mr. Quincy laboured hard with the governor to obtain his assent, but he was obstinate. I then suggested a method of doing the business without the governor, by orders on the trustees of the loan office, which by law the assembly had the right of drawing. There was, indeed, little or no money at the time in the office, and therefore I proposed that the orders should be payable in a year, and to bear an interest of five per cent.: with these orders I supposed the provisions might easily be purchased. The assembly, with very little hesitation, adopted the proposal; the orders were immediately printed, and I was one of the committee directed to sign and dispose of them. The fund for paying them, was the interest of all the paper currency then extant in the province upon loan, together with the revenue arising from the excise, which being known to be more than sufficient, they obtained credit, and were not only taken in payment for the provisions; but many monied people who had cash lying by them, vested it in those orders, which they found advantageous, as they bore interest while upon hand, and might on any occasion be used as money; so that they were eagerly all bought up, and in a few weeks none of them were to be seen. Thus this important affair was by my means completed. Mr. Quincy returned thanks to the assembly in a handsome memorial, went home highly pleased with the success of his embassy, and ever after bore for me the most cordial and affectionate friendship.

The British government, not choosing to permit the union of the colonies, as proposed at Albany, and to trust that union with their defence, lest they should thereby grow too military, and feel their own strength, (suspicion and jealousies at this time being entertained of them,) sent over general Braddock with two regiments of regular English troops for that purpose. He landed at Alexandria, in Virginia, and thence marched to Frederick-town, in Maryland, where he halted for carriages. Our assembly, apprehending from some information, that he had received violent prejudices against them as averse to the service, wished me to wait upon him, not as from them, but as post-master-general, under the guise of proposing to settle with him the mode of conducting with most celerity and certainty, the dispatches between him and the governors of the several provinces, with whom he must necessarily have continual correspondence; and of which they proposed to pay the expense. My son accompanied me on this journey. We found the general at Frederick-town, waiting impatiently for the return of those whom we had sent through the back parts of Maryland and Virginia to collect wagons. I staid with him several days, dined with him daily, and had full opportunities of removing his prejudices, by the information of what the assembly had before his arrival actually done, and were still willing to do, to facilitate his operations. When I was about to depart, the returns of wagons to be obtained were brought in, by which it appeared, that they amounted only to twenty-five, and not all of those were in serviceable condition. The general and all the officers were surprised, declared the expedition was then at an end, being impossible; and exclaimed against the ministers for ignorantly sending them into a country destitute of the means of conveying their stores, baggage, &c. not less than one hundred and fifty wagons being necessary. I happened to say, I thought it was a pity they had not been landed in Pennsylvania, as in that country almost every farmer had his wagon. The general eagerly laid hold of my words, and said, "Then you, sir, who are a man of interest there, can probably procure them for us; and I beg you will undertake it." I asked what terms were to be offered the owners of the wagons; and I was desired to put on paper the terms that appeared to me necessary. This I did, and they were agreed to; and a commission and instructions accordingly prepared immediately. What those terms were, will appear in the advertisement I published soon as I arrived at Lancaster; which being, from the great and sudden effect it produced, a piece of some curiosity, I shall insert it at length, as follows:—

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"*Lancaster, April 26th*, 1753.

"Whereas, one hundred and fifty wagons, with four horses to each wagon, and fifteen hundred saddle or pack-horses are wanted for the service of his majesty's forces, now about to rendezvous at Wills's creek; and his excellency, general Braddock, having been pleased to empower me to contract for the hire of the same; I hereby give notice, that I shall attend for that purpose at Lancaster from this day to next Wednesday evening; and at York from next Thursday morning, till Friday evening; where I shall be ready to agree for wagons and teams, or single horses, on the following terms, viz:—1. That there shall be paid for each wagon with four good horses and a driver, fifteen shillings per diem. And for each able horse with a pack-saddle, or other saddle and furniture, two shillings per diem. And for each able horse without a saddle, eighteen pence per diem. 2. That the pay commence from the time of their joining the forces at Wills's creek, (which must be on or before the 20th of May ensuing,) and that a reasonable allowance be paid over and above for the time necessary for their travelling to Wills's creek and home again after their discharge. 3. Each wagon and team, and every saddle or pack-horse, is to be valued by indifferent persons, chosen between me and the owner; and in case of the loss of any wagon, team, or other horse in the service, the price according to such valuation is to be allowed and paid. 4. Seven days' pay is to be advanced and paid in hand by me to the owner of each wagon and team, or horse, at the time of contracting, if required; and the remainder to be paid by general Braddock, or by the paymaster of the army, at the time of their discharge; or from time to time as it shall be demanded. 5. No drivers of wagons, or persons taking care of the hired horses, are, on any account, to be called upon to do the duty of soldiers, or be otherwise employed than in conducting or taking care of their carriages or horses. 6. All oats, Indian corn, or other forage, that wagons or horses bring to the camp, more than is necessary for the subsistence of the horses, is to be taken for the use of the army, and a reasonable price paid for the same.

"*Note.*—My son, William Franklin, is empowered to enter into like contracts, with any person in Cumberland county.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To the inhabitants of the counties of Lancaster, York, and Cumberland.*

"Friends and Countrymen,—Being occasionally at the camp at Frederick, a few days since, I found the general and officers extremely exasperated on account of their not being supplied with horses and carriages, which had been expected from this province, as most able to furnish them; but through the dissensions between our governor and assembly, money had not been provided, nor any steps taken for that purpose.

"It was proposed to send an armed force immediately into these counties, to seize as many of the best carriages and horses as should be wanted, and compel as many persons into the service, as would be necessary to drive and take care of them.

"I apprehend, that the progress of British soldiers through these counties on such an occasion, (especially considering the temper they are in, and their resentment against us,) would be attended with many and great inconveniences to the inhabitants, and therefore more willingly took the trouble of trying first what might be done by fair and equitable means. The people of these back counties have lately complained to the assembly that a sufficient currency was wanting; you have an opportunity of receiving and dividing among you a very considerable sum; for if the service of this expedition should continue (as it is more than probable it will) for 120 days, the hire of these wagons and horses will amount to upwards of thirty thousand pounds; which will be paid you in silver and gold of the king's money.

"The service will be light and easy, for the army will scarce march above twelve miles per day, and the wagons and baggage-horses, as they carry those things that are absolutely necessary to the welfare of the army, must march with the army, and no faster; and are, for the army's sake, always placed where they can be most secure, whether in a march or in a camp.

"If you are really, as I believe you are, good and loyal subjects to his majesty, you may now do a most acceptable service, and make it easy to yourselves; for three or four of such as cannot separately spare from the business of their plantations, a wagon and four horses and a driver, may do it together; one furnishing the wagon, another one or two horses, and another the driver, and divide the pay proportionably between you: but if you do not this service to your king and country voluntarily, when such good pay and reasonable terms are offered to you, your loyalty will be strongly suspected: the king's business must be done: so many brave troops, come so far for your defence, must not stand idle through your backwardness to do what may be reasonably expected from you: wagons and horses must be had, violent measures will probably be used; and you will be to seek for recompence where you can find it, and your case perhaps be little pitied or regarded.

"I have no particular interest in this affair, as (except the satisfaction of endeavouring to do good) I shall have only my labour for my pains. If this method of obtaining the wagons and horses is not likely to succeed, I am obliged to send word to the general in fourteen days; and I suppose, sir John St. Clair, the hussar, with a body of soldiers will immediately enter the province for the purpose; which I shall be sorry to hear, because I am very sincerely and truly, your friend and well-wisher, B. FRANKLIN."

I received of the general about eight hundred pounds, to be disbursed in advance money to the wagon owners, &c.; but that sum being insufficient, I advanced upwards of two hundred pounds more; and in two weeks, the one hundred and fifty wagons, with two hundred and fifty-nine carrying horses, were on their march for the camp. The advertisement promised payment according to the valuation, in case any wagons or horses should be lost. The owners, however, alleging they did not know general Braddock, or what dependence might be had on his promise, insisted on my bond for the performance; which I accordingly gave them.

While I was at the camp, supping one evening with the officers of colonel Dunbar's regiment, he represented to me his concern for the subalterns, who, he said, were generally not in affluence, and could ill afford in this dear country, to lay in the stores that might be necessary in so long a march through a wilderness, where nothing was to be purchased. I commiserated their case, and resolved to endeavour procuring them some relief. I said nothing however to him of my intention, but wrote the next morning to the committee of assembly, who had the disposition of some public money, warmly recommending the case of these officers to their consideration, and proposing that a present should be sent them of necessaries and refreshments. My son, who had some experience of a camp life, and of its wants, drew up a list for me, which I inclosed in my letter. The committee approved, and used such diligence, that, conducted by my son, the stores arrived at the camp as soon as the wagons. They consisted of twenty parcels, each containing—

6 lb. Loaf Sugar
6 do. Muscovado do.
1 do. Green Tea
1 do. Bohea do.
6 do. Ground Coffee
6 do. Chocolate
½ chest best white Biscuit
½ lb. Pepper
1 quart white Vinegar
1 Gloucester Cheese
1 keg containing 20 lb. good Butter
2 doz. old Madeira Wine
2 gallons Jamaica Spirits
1 bottle Flour of Mustard
2 well-cured Hams
½ dozen dried Tongues
6 lb. Rice
6 lb. Raisins.

These parcels, well packed, were placed on as many horses, each parcel, with the horse, being intended as a present for one officer. They were very thankfully received, and the kindness acknowledged by letters to me from the colonels of both regiments, in the most grateful terms. The general too was highly satisfied with my conduct in procuring him the wagons, &c. &c., and readily paid my account of disbursements; thanking me repeatedly, and requesting my further assistance in sending provisions after him. I undertook this also, and was busily employed in it till we heard of his defeat; advancing for the service, of my own money, upwards of one thousand pounds sterling; of which I sent him an account. It came to his hands, luckily for me, a few days before the battle, and he returned me immediately an order on the paymaster for the round sum of one thousand pounds, leaving the remainder to the next account. I consider this payment as good luck; having never been able to obtain that remainder; of which more hereafter.

This general was, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a figure as a good officer in some European war; but he had too much self-confidence, too high an opinion of the validity of regular troops, and too mean an one of both Americans and Indians. George Croghan, our Indian interpreter, joined him on his march with one hundred of those people, who might have been of great use to his army as guides, scouts, &c., if he had treated them kindly: but he slighted and neglected them, and they gradually left him. In conversation with him one day, he was giving me some account of his intended progress. "After taking fort Duquesne," said he, "I am to proceed to Niagara; and having taken that, to Frontenac, if the season will allow time, and I suppose it will; for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days; and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara." Having before revolved in my mind the long line his army must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them through the woods and bushes; and also what I had read of a former defeat of fifteen hundred French, who invaded the Illinois country, I had conceived some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventured only to say, "to be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with the fine troops, so well provided with artillery, the fort, though completely fortified, and assisted with a very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march, is from the ambuscades of the Indians, who by constant practice, are dextrous in laying and executing them: and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which from their distance cannot come up in time to support each other." He smiled at my ignorance, and replied, "These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia; but upon the king's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression." I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more. The enemy, however, did not take the advantage of his army which I apprehend its long line of march exposed it to, but let it advance without interruption till within nine miles of the place; and then when more in a body, (for it had just passed a river, where the front had halted till all were come over) and in a more open part of the woods than any it had passed, attacked its advanced guard by a heavy fire from behind trees and bushes; which was the first intelligence the general had of an enemy's being near him. This guard being disordered, the general hurried the troops up to their assistance, which was done in great confusion, through wagons, baggage, and cattle; and presently the fire came upon their flank: the officers being on horseback, were more easily distinguished, picked out as marks, and fell very fast; and the soldiers were crowded together in a huddle, having or hearing no orders, and standing to be shot at till two thirds of them were killed; and then being seized with a panic the remainder fled with precipitation. The wagoners took each a horse out of his team and scampered; their example was immediately followed by others; so that all the wagons, provisions, artillery, and stores were left to the enemy. The general being wounded was brought off with difficulty; his secretary, Mr. Shirley, was killed by his side, and out of eighty-six officers sixty-three were killed or wounded; and seven hundred and fourteen men killed of eleven hundred. These eleven hundred had been picked men from the whole army; the rest had been left behind with colonel Dunbar, who was to follow with the heavier part of the stores, provisions, and baggage. The flyers not being pursued arrived at Dunbar's camp, and the panic they brought with them instantly seized him and all his people. And though he had now above one thousand men, and the enemy who had beaten Braddock, did not at most exceed four hundred Indians and French together, instead of proceeding and endeavouring to recover some of the lost honour, he ordered all the stores, ammunition, &c., to be destroyed, that he might have more horses to assist his flight towards the settlements, and less lumber to remove. He was there met with requests from the governor of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, that he would post his troops on the frontiers, so as to afford some protection to the inhabitants; but he continued his hasty march through all the country, not thinking himself safe till he arrived at Philadelphia, where the inhabitants could protect him. This whole transaction gave us Americans the first suspicion that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regular troops had not been well founded.

In their first march too, from their landing till they got beyond the settlements, they had plundered and stripped the inhabitants, totally ruining some poor families, besides insulting, abusing, and confining the people if they remonstrated. This was enough to put us out of conceit of such defenders, if we had really wanted any. How different was the conduct of our French friends in 1781, who during a march through the most inhabited part of our country, from Rhode Island to Virginia, near seven hundred miles, occasioned not the smallest complaint, for the loss of a pig, a chicken, or even an apple!

Captain Orme, who was one of the general's aids-de-camp and being grievously wounded, was brought off with him, and continued with him to his death, which happened in a few days, told me he was totally silent all the first day, and at night only said, "*Who would have thought it!*" That he was silent again the following day, saying only at last, "*We shall better know how to deal with them another time;*" and died in a few minutes after.

The secretary's papers, witn all the general's orders, instructions, and correspondence falling into the enemy's hands, they selected and translated into French a number of the articles, which they printed to prove the hostile intentions of the British court before the declaration of war. Among these I saw some letters of the general to the ministry, speaking highly of the great service I had rendered the army, and recommending me to their notice. David Hume, who was some years after secretary to lord Hertford, when minister in France, and afterwards to general Conway, when secretary of state, told me he had seen among the papers in that office, letters from Braddock, highly recommending me. But the expedition having been unfortunate, my service, it seems, was not thought of much value, for those recommendations were never of any use to me. As to rewards from himself, I asked only one, which was, that he would give orders to his officers, not to enlist any more of our bought servants, and that he would discharge such as had been already enlisted. This he readily granted, and several were accordingly returned to their masters, on my application. Dunbar, when the command devolved on him, was not so generous. He being at Philadelphia, on his retreat, or rather flight, I applied to him for the discharge of the servants of three poor farmers of Lancaster county, that he had enlisted, reminding him of the late general's orders on that head. He promised me that if the masters would come to him at Trenton, where he should be in a few days on his march to New York, he would there deliver their men to them. They accordingly were at the expense and trouble of going to Trenton, and there he refused to perform his promise, to their great loss and disappointment.

As soon as the loss of the wagons and horses was generally known, all the owners came upon me for the valuation which I had given bond to pay. Their demands gave me a great deal of trouble: I acquainted them that the money was ready in the paymaster's hands, but the order for paying it must first be obtained from general Shirley, and that I had applied for it; but he being at a distance, an answer could not soon be received, and they must have patience. All this however was not sufficient to satisfy, and some began to sue me: general Shirley, at length relieved me from this terrible situation, by appointing commissioners to examine the claims, and ordering payment. They amounted to near twenty thousand pounds, which to pay would have ruined me.

Before we had the news of this defeat, the two doctors Bond came to me with a subscription paper for raising money to defray the expense of a grand fire-work, which it was intended to exhibit at a rejoicing on receiving the news of our taking fort Duquesne. I looked grave, and said, "It would, I thought, be time enough to prepare the rejoicing when we knew we should have occasion to rejoice." They seemed surprised that I did not immediately comply with their proposal. "Why the d——l," said one of them, "you surely don't suppose that the fort will not be taken?" "I don't know that it will not be taken; but I know that the events of war are subject to great uncertainty." I gave them the reasons of my doubting: the subscription was dropped, and the projectors thereby missed the mortification they would have undergone if the firework had been prepared. Dr. Bond, on some other occasion afterwards, said that he did not like Franklin's forebodings.

Governor Morris, who had continually worried the assembly with message after message before the defeat of Braddock, to beat them into the making of acts to raise money for the defence of the province, without taxing among others the proprietary estates, and had rejected all their bills for not having such an exempting clause, now redoubled his attacks with more hope of success, the danger and necessity being greater. The assembly however continued firm, believing they had justice on their side; and that it would be giving up an essential right, if they suffered the governor to amend their money bills. In one of the last, indeed, which was for granting fifty thousand pounds, his proposed amendment was only of a single word: the bill expressed, "that all estates real and personal were to be taxed; those of the proprietaries *not* excepted." His amendment was; for *not* read *only*. A small, but very material alteration! However, when the news of the disaster reached England, our friends there, whom we had taken care to furnish with all the assembly's answers to the governor's messages, raised a clamour against the proprietaries for their meanness and injustice in giving their governor such instructions; some going so far as to say, that by obstructing the defence of their province, they forfeited their right to it. They were intimidated by this, sent orders to their receiver-general to add five thousand pounds of their money to whatever sum might be given by the assembly for such purpose. This being testified to the house, was accepted in lieu of their share of a general tax, and a new bill was formed with an exempting clause, which passed accordingly. By this act I was appointed one of the commissioners for disposing of the money; sixty thousand pounds. I had been active in modelling the bill, and procuring its passage; and had at the same time drawn one for establishing and disciplining a voluntary militia; which I carried through the house without much difficulty, as care was taken in it to leave the quakers at liberty. To promote the association necessary to form the militia, I wrote a dialogue stating and answering all the objections I could think of to such a militia; which was printed, and had, as I thought, great effect. While the several companies in the city and country were forming, and learning their exercise, the governor prevailed with me to take charge of our north-western frontier, which was infested by the enemy, and provide for the defence of the inhabitants by raising troops, and building a line of forts. I undertook this military business, though I did not conceive myself well qualified for it. He gave me a commission with full powers, and a parcel of blank commissions for officers, to be given to whom I thought fit. I had but little difficulty in raising men, having soon five hundred and sixty under my command. My son, who had in the preceding war been an officer in the army raised against Canada, was my aid-de-camp, and of great use to me. The Indians had burned Gnadenhutten, a village settled by the Moravians, and massacred the inhabitants; but the place was thought a good situation for one of the forts. In order to march thither, I assembled the companies at Bethlehem, the chief establishment of those people; I was surprised to find it in so good a posture of defence: the destruction of Gnadenhutten had made them apprehend danger. The principal buildings were defended by a stockade; they had purchased a quantity of arms and ammunition from New York, and had even placed quantities of small paving stones between the windows of their high stone houses, for their women to throw them down upon the heads of any Indians that should attempt to force into them. The armed brethren too kept watch, and relieved each other on guard as methodically as in any garrison town. In conversation with the bishop, Spangenberg, I mentioned my surprise; for knowing they had obtained an act of parliament exempting them from military duties in the colonies, I had supposed they were conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms. He answered me, "That it was not one of their established principles; but that at the time of their obtaining that act it was thought to be a principle with many of their people. On this occasion, however, they to their surprise, found it adopted by but a few." It seems they were either deceived in themselves, or deceived the parliament: but common sense aided by present danger will sometimes be too strong for whimsical opinions.

It was the beginning of January when we set out upon this business of building forts; I sent one detachment towards the Minisink, with instructions to erect one for the security of that upper part of the country; and another to the lower part with similar instructions: and I concluded to go myself with the rest of my force to Gnadenhutten, where a fort was thought more immediately necessary. The Moravians procured me five wagons for our tools, stores, baggage, &c. Just before we left Bethlehem, eleven farmers, who had been driven from their plantations by the Indians, came to me requesting a supply of fire-arms, that they might go back and bring off their cattle. I gave them each a gun with suitable ammunition. We had not marched many miles before it began to rain, and it continued raining all day; there were no habitations on the road to shelter us, till we arrived near night at the house of a German, where, and in his barn, we were all huddled together as wet as water could make us. It was well we were not attacked in our march, for our arms were of the most ordinary sort, and our men could not keep the locks of their guns dry. The Indians are dextrous in contrivances for that purpose, which we had not. They met that day the eleven poor farmers abovementioned, and killed ten of them; the one that escaped, informed us, that his, and his companions' guns would not go off, the priming being wet with the rain The next day being fair we continued our march, and arrived at the desolate Gnadenhutten; there was a mill near, round which were left several pine boards, with which we soon hutted ourselves; an operation the more necessary at that inclement season, as we had no tents. Our first work was to bury more effectually the dead we found there, who had been half interred by the country people; the next morning our fort was planned and marked out, the circumference measuring four hundred and fifty-five feet, which would require as many palisades to be made, one with another of a foot diameter each. Our axes, of which we had seventy, were immediately set to work, to cut down trees; and our men being dextrous in the use of them, great despatch was made. Seeing the trees fall so fast, I had the curiosity to look at my watch when two men began to cut at a pine: in six minutes they had it upon the ground, and I found it of fourteen inches diameter: each pine made three palisades of eighteen feet long, pointed at one end. While these were preparing, our other men dug a trench all round of three feet deep, in which the palisades were to be planted; and the bodies being taken off our wagons, and the fore and hind wheels separated by taking out the pin which united the two parts of the perch, we had ten carriages with two horses each, to bring the palisades from the woods to the spot. When they were set up, our carpenters built a platform of boards all round within, about six feet high, for the men to stand on when to fire through the loop-holes. We had one swivel gun, which we mounted on one of the angles, and fired it as soon as fixed, to let the Indians know if any were within hearing, that we had such pieces; and thus our fort (if that name may be given to so miserable a stockade) was finished in a week, though it rained so hard every other day that the men could not well work.

This gave me occasion to observe, that when men are employed they are best contented; for on the days they worked they were good-natured and cheerful: and with the consciousness of having done a good day's work, they spent the evening jollily; but on our idle days, they were mutinous and quarrelsome, finding fault with the pork, the bread, &c., and were continually in bad humour; which put me in mind of a sea captain, whose rule it was to keep his men constantly at work; and when his mate once told him that they had done every thing, and there was nothing farther to employ them about; "*O*," said he, "*make them scour the anchor.*"

This kind of fort, however contemptible, is a sufficient defence against Indians who had no cannon. Finding ourselves now posted securely, and having a place to retreat to on occasion, we ventured out in parties to scour the adjacent country. We met with no Indians, but we found the places on the neighbouring hills where they had lain to watch our proceedings. There was an art in their contrivance of those places, that seems worth mentioning. It being winter, a fire was necessary for them: but a common fire on the surface of the ground, would, by its light, have discovered their position at a distance: they had therefore dug holes in the ground about three feet diameter, and somewhat deeper; we found where they had with their hatchets cut off the charcoal from the sides of burnt logs lying in the woods. With these coals they had made small fires in the bottom of the holes, and we observed among the weeds and grass the prints of their bodies, made by their lying all round with their legs hanging down in the holes to keep their feet warm; which, with them, is an essential point. This kind of fire, so managed, could not discover them either by its light, flame, sparks, or even smoke: it appeared that the number was not great, and it seems they saw we were too many to be attacked by them with prospect of advantage.

We had for our chaplain a zealous Presbyterian minister, Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted, they were promised, besides pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually served out to them, half in the morning, and half in the evening; and I observed they were punctual in attending to receive it: upon which I said to Mr. Beatty, "it is, perhaps, below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum; but if you were to distribute it out only just after prayers, you would have them all about you." He liked the thought, undertook the task, and with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction; and never were prayers more generally and more punctually attended. So that I think this method preferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws for non-attendance on divine service.

I had hardly finished this business, and got my fort well stored with provisions, when I received a letter from the governor, acquainting me that he had called the assembly, and wished my attendance there, if the posture of affairs on the frontiers was such that my remaining there was no longer necessary. My friends too of the assembly pressing me by their letters to be, if possible, at the meeting; and my three intended forts being now completed, and the inhabitants contented to remain on their farms under that protection, I resolved to return; the more willingly, as a New England officer, colonel Clapham, experienced in Indian war, being on a visit to our establishment, consented to accept the command. I gave him a commission, and parading the garrison, had it read before them; and introduced him to them as an officer, who from his skill in military affairs, was much more fit to command them than myself; and giving them a little exhortation, took my leave. I was escorted as far as Bethlehem, where I rested a few days to recover from the fatigue I had undergone. The first night lying in a good bed, I could hardly sleep, it was so different from my hard lodging on the floor of a hut at Gnadenhutten, with only a blanket or two. While at Bethlehem, I inquired a little into the practices of the Moravians; some of them had accompanied me, and all were very kind to me. I found they worked for a common stock, eat at common tables, and slept in common dormitories, great numbers together. In the dormitories I observed loop-holes at certain distances all along just under the ceiling, which I thought judiciously placed for change of air. I went to their church, where I was entertained with good music, the organ being accompanied with violins, hautboys, flutes, clarinets, &c. I understood their sermons were not usually preached to mixed congregations of men, women, and children, as is our common practice; but that they assembled sometimes the married men, at other times their wives, then the young men, the young women, and the little children; each division by itself. The sermon I heard was to the latter, who came in and were placed in rows on benches, the boys under the conduct of a young man their tutor; and the girls conducted by a young woman. The discourse seemed well adapted to their capacities, and was delivered in a pleasing, familiar manner, coaxing them as it were to be good. They behaved very orderly, but looked pale and unhealthy, which made me suspect they were kept too much within doors, or not allowed sufficient exercise. I inquired concerning the Moravian marriages, whether the report was true that they were by lot; I was told that lots were used only in particular cases: that generally, when a young man found himself disposed to marry, he informed the elders of his class, who consulted the elder ladies that governed the young women. As these elders of the different sexes were well acquainted with the tempers and dispositions of their respective pupils, they could best judge what matches were suitable, and their judgments were generally acquiesced in. But if, for example, it should happen that two or three young women were found to be equally proper for the young man, the lot was then recurred to. I objected, if the matches are not made by the mutual choice of the parties, some of them may chance to be very unhappy. "And so they may," answered my informer, "if you let the parties choose for themselves." Which indeed I could not deny.

Being returned to Philadelphia, I found the association went on with great success, the inhabitants that were not quakers, having pretty generally come into it, formed themselves into companies, and chose their captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, according to the new law. Dr. Bond visited me and gave me an account of the pains he had taken to spread a general good liking to the law, and ascribed much to those endeavours. I had the vanity to ascribe all to my dialogue; however, not knowing but that he might be in the right, I let him enjoy his opinion; which I take to be generally the best way in such cases. The officers meeting, chose me to be colonel of the regiment; which I this time accepted. I forget how many companies we had, but we paraded about twelve hundred well-looking men, with a company of artillery, who had been furnished with six brass field-pieces, which they had become so expert in the use of, as to fire twelve times in a minute. The first time I reviewed my regiment, they accompanied me to my house, and would salute me with some rounds fired before my door, which shook down and broke several glasses of my electrical apparatus. And my new honour proved not much less brittle; for all our commissions were soon after broken, by a repeal of the law in England.

During this short time of my colonelship, being about to set out on a journey to Virginia, the officers of my regiment, took it into their heads that it would be proper for them to escort me out of town, as far as the Lower-ferry; just as I was getting on horseback they came to my door, between thirty and forty, mounted, and all in their uniforms. I had not been previously acquainted with their project, or I should have prevented it, being naturally averse to the assuming of state on any occasion; and I was a good deal chagrined at their appearance, as I could not avoid their accompanying me. What made it worse was, that as soon as we began to move, they drew their swords and rode with them naked all the way. Somebody wrote an account of this to the proprietor, and it gave him great offence. No such honour had been paid him, when in the province; nor to any of his governors; and he said it was only proper to princes of the blood royal; which may be true for aught I know, who was, and still am ignorant of the etiquette in such cases. This silly affair, however, greatly increased his rancour against me, which was before considerable on account of my conduct in the assembly, respecting the exemption of his estate from taxation, which I had always opposed very warmly; and not without severe reflections on the meanness and injustice in contending for it. He accused me to the ministry, as being the great obstacle to the king's service: preventing by my influence in the house, the proper form of the bills for raising money; and he instanced the parade with my officers, as a proof of my having an intention to take the government of the province out of his hands by force. He also applied to sir Everard Faukener, the post-master-general, to deprive me of my office; but it had no other effect than to procure from sir Everard a gentle admonition.

Notwithstanding the continual wrangle between the governor and the house, in which I as a member had so large a share, there still subsisted a civil intercourse between that gentleman and myself, and we never had any personal difference. I have sometimes since thought, that his little or no resentment against me for the answers it was known I drew up to his messages, might be the effect of professional habit, and that being bred a lawyer, he might consider us both as merely advocates for contending clients in a suit; he for the proprietaries, and I for the assembly: he would therefore sometimes call in a friendly way to advise with me on difficult points; and sometimes, though not often, take my advice. We acted in concert to supply Braddock's army with provisions, and when the shocking news arrived of his defeat, the governor sent in haste for me, to consult with him on measures for preventing the desertion of the back counties. I forget now the advice

I gave, but I think it was that Dunbar should be written to and prevailed with, if possible, to post his troops on the frontiers for their protection, until by reinforcements from the colonies, he might be able to proceed in the expedition: and after my return from the frontier, he would have had me undertake the conduct of such an expedition with provincial troops, for the reduction of fort Duquesne; (Dunbar and his men being otherwise employed;) and he proposed to commission me as general. I had not so good an opinion of my military abilities as he professed to have, and I believe his professions must have exceeded his real sentiments: but probably he might think that my popularity would facilitate the business with the men, and influence in the assembly the grant of money to pay for it; and that perhaps without taxing the proprietary. Finding me not so forward to engage as he expected, the project was dropt; and he soon after left the government, being superseded by captain Denny.

Before I proceed in relating the part I had in public affairs under this new governor's administration, it may not be amiss to give here some account of the rise and progress of my philosophical reputation.

In 1746, being at Boston, I met there with a Dr. Spence, who was lately arrived from Scotland, and showed me some electric experiments. They were imperfectly performed, as he was not very expert; but being on a subject quite new to me, they equally surprised and pleased me. Soon after my return to Philadelphia, our library company received from Mr. Peter Collinson, F. R. S. of London, a present of a glass tube, with some account of the use of it in making such experiments. I eagerly seized the opportunity of repeating what I had seen at Boston; and by much practice acquired great readiness in performing those also which we had an account of from England, adding a number of new ones. I say much practice, for my house was continually full for some time, with persons who came to see these new wonders. To divide a little this incumbrance among my friends, I caused a number of similar tubes to be blown in our glass-house, with which they furnished themselves, so that we had at length several performers. Among these the principal was Mr. Kinnersly an ingenious neighbour, who being out of business, I encouraged to undertake showing the experiments for money, and drew up for him two lectures, in which the experiments were ranged in such order, and accompanied with explanations in such method, as that the foregoing should assist in comprehending the following. He procured an elegant apparatus for the purpose, in which all the little machines that I had roughly made for myself, were neatly formed by instrument makers. His lectures were well attended, and gave great satisfaction; and after some time he went through the colonies exhibiting them in every capital town, and picked up some money. In the West India Islands indeed, it was with difficulty the experiments could be made, from the general moisture of the air.

Obliged as we were to Mr. Collinson, for the present of the tube, &c., I thought it right he should be informed of our success in using it, and wrote him several letters containing accounts of our experiments.* He got them read in the Royal Society, where they were not at first thought worth so much notice as to be printed in their transactions. One paper which I wrote for Mr. Kinnersly, on the sameness of lightning with electricity, I sent to Mr. Mitchel, an acquaintance of mine, and one of the members also of that society; who wrote me word that it had been read, but was laughed at by the connoisseurs. The papers however being shown to Dr. Fothergill, he thought them of too much value to be stifled, and advised the printing of them. Mr. Collinson then gave them to *Cave* for publication, in his *Gentleman's Magazine;* but he chose to print them separately in a pamphlet, and Dr. Fothergill wrote the preface. *Cave*, it seems, judged rightly for his profession, for by the additions that arrived afterwards, they swelled to a quarto volume; which has had five editions, and cost him nothing for copy-money.

It was, however, some time before these papers were much taken notice of in England. A copy of them happening to fall into the hands of the count de Buffon, (a philosopher deservedly of great reputation in France, and indeed all over Europe,) he prevailed with monsieur Dubourg to translate them into French; and they were printed at Paris. The publication offended the Abbé Nollet, preceptor in Natural Philosophy to the royal family, and an able experimenter, who had formed and published a theory of electricity, which then had the general vogue. He could not at first believe that such a work came from America, and said it must have been fabricated by his enemies at Paris, to oppose his system. Afterwards, having been assured that there really existed such a person as Franklin, at Philadelphia, (which he had doubted,) he wrote and published a volume of letters, chiefly addressed to me, defending his theory, and denying the verity of my experiments, and of the positions deduced from them. I once purposed answering the Abbé, and actually began the answer; but on consideration that my writings contained a description of experiments, which any one might repeat and verify, and if not to be verified, could not be defended; or of observations offered as *conjectures*, and not delivered dogmatically, therefore not laying me under any obligation to defend them; and reflecting that a dispute between two persons, written in different languages, might be lengthened greatly by mistranslations, and thence misconceptions of another's meaning, much of one of the Abbé's letters being founded on an error in the translation; I concluded to let my papers shift for themselves; believing it was better to spend what time I could spare from public business, in making new experiments, than in disputing about those already made. I therefore never answered monsieur Nollet; and the event gave me no cause to repent my silence; for my friend, monsieur Le Roy, of the royal academy of sciences, took up my cause and refuted him: my book was translated into the Italian, German, and Latin languages; and the doctrine it contained was by degrees generally adopted by the philosophers of Europe, in preference to that of the Abbé; so that he lived to see himself the last of his sect; except monsieur B——— of Paris, his *elève* and immediate disciple.

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* See Letters and Papers on Philosophical Subjects Vol. II. of this edition

What gave my book the more sudden and general celebrity, was the success of one of its proposed experiments, made by messieurs Dalibard and Delor, at Marly; for drawing lightning from the clouds. This engaged the public attention every where. Monsieur Delor, who had an apparatus for experimental philosophy, and lectured in that branch of science, undertook to repeat, what he called the *Philadelphia experiments*; and after they were performed before the king and court, all the curious of Paris flocked to see them. I will not swell this narrative with an account of that capital experiment, nor of the infinite pleasure I received in the success of a similar one I made soon after with a kite at Philadelphia, as both are to be found in the histories of electricity. Dr. Wright, an English physician, when at Paris, wrote to a friend who was of the Royal Society, an account of the high esteem my experiments were in among the learned abroad, and of their wonder that my writings had been so little noticed in England. The society on this resumed the consideration of the letters that had been read to them; and the celebrated Dr. Watson drew up a summary account of them, and of all I had afterwards sent to England on the subject: which he accompanied with some praise of the writer. This summary was then printed in their transactions: and some members of the society in London, particularly the very ingenious Mr. Canton, having verified the experiment of procuring lightning from the clouds by a pointed rod, and acquainted them with the success; they soon made me more than amends for the slight with which they had before treated me. Without my having made any application for that honour, they chose me a member; and voted that I should be excused the customary payments, which would have amounted to twenty-five guineas: and ever since have given me their transactions gratis.* They also presented me with the gold medal of sir Godfrey Copley, for the year 1753, the delivery of which was accompanied by a very handsome speech of the president, lord Macclesfield, wherein I was highly honoured.

Our new governor, captain Denny, brought over for me the beforementioned medal from the Royal Society, which he presented to me at an entertainment given him by the city He accompanied it with very polite expressions of his esteem for me, having, as he said, been long acquainted with my character.—After dinner, when the company, as was customary at that time, were engaged in drinking, he took me aside into another room, and acquainted me that he had been advised by his friends in England to cultivate a friendship with me, as one who was capable of giving him the best advice, and of contributing most effectually to the making his administration easy. That he therefore desired of all things to have a good understanding with me, and he begged me to be assured of his readiness on all occasions to render me every service that might be in his power. He said much to me also of the proprietors'

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* Dr. Franklin gives a further account of his election, in the following extract of a letter to his son, governor Franklin.

"*London, Dec.* 19, 1767.

"We have had an ugly affair at the Royal Society lately. One Dacosta, a Jew, who, as our clerk, was entrusted with collecting our monies, has been so unfaithful as to embezzle near thirteen hundred pounds in four years. Being one of the council this year as well as the last, I have been employed all the last week in attending the inquiry into and unravelling his accounts, in order to come at a full knowledge of his frauds. His securities are bound in one thousand pounds to the society, which they will pay, but we are like to lose the rest. He had this year received twenty-six admission payments of twenty-five guineas each, which he did not bring to account.

"While attending this affair, I had an opportunity of looking over the old council books and journals of the society, and having a curiosity to see how I came in, (of which I had never been informed,) I looked back for the minutes relating to it. You must know it is not usual to admit persons that have not requested to be admitted; and a recommendatory certificate in favour of the candidate, signed by at least three of the members, is by our rule to be presented to the society, expressing that he is desirous of that honour, and is so and so qualified. As I had never asked or expected the honour, I was, as I said before, curious to see how the business was managed. I found that the certificate, worded very advantageously for me, was signed by lord Macclesfield, then president, lord Parker, and lord Willoughby; that the election was by an unanimous vote; and the honour being voluntarily conferred by the society unsolicited by me, it was thought wrong to demand or receive the usual fees or composition; so that my name was entered on the list with a vote of council, *that I was not to pay any thing*. And, accordingly, nothing has ever been demanded of me. Those who are admitted in the common way, pay five guineas admission fees, and two guineas and a half yearly contribution, or twenty-five guineas down, in lieu of it. In my case a substantial favour accompanied the honour good disposition towards the province, and of the advantage it would be to us all, and to me in particular, if the opposition that had been so long continued to his measures was dropped, and harmony restored between him and the people; in effecting which, it was thought no one could be more serviceable than myself; and I might depend on adequate acknowledgments and recompenses, &c. The drinkers finding we did not return immediately to the table, sent us a decanter of Madeira, which the governor made liberal use of, and in proportion became more profuse of his solicitations and promises. My answers were to this purpose; that my circumstances, thanks to God, were such as to make proprietary favours unnecessary to me; and that being a member of the assembly, I could not possibly accept of any; that, however, I had no personal enmity to the proprietary, and that whenever the public measures he proposed, should appear to be for the good of the people, no one would espouse and forward them more zealously than myself; my past opposition had been founded on this, that the measures which having been urged, were evidently intended to serve the proprietary interest with great prejudice to that of the people. That I was much obliged to him (the governor) for his profession of regard to me, and that he might rely on every thing in my power to render his administration as easy to him as possible, hoping, at the same time, that he had not brought with him the same unfortunate instructions his predecessors had been hampered with. On this he did not then explain himself, but when he afterwards came to do business with the assembly, they appeared again; the disputes were renewed, and I was as active as ever in the opposition, being the penman, first of the request to have a communication of the instructions, and then of the remarks upon them, which may be found in the Votes of the Times, and in the HISTORICAL REVIEW I afterwards published; but between us personally no enmity arose, we were often together; he was a man of letters, had seen much of the world, and was entertaining and pleasing in conversation. He gave me information that my old friend Ralph, was still alive, that he was esteemed one of the best political writers in England, had been employed in the dispute between prince Frederick, and the king, and had obtained a pension of three hundred pounds a-year; that his reputation was indeed small as a poet, *Pope* having damned his poetry in the Dunciad; but his prose was thought as good as any man's.

The assembly finally finding the proprietary obstinately persisted in shackling the deputies with instructions, inconsistent not only with the privileges of the people, but with the service of the crown, resolved to petition the king against them, and appointed me their agent to go over to England, to present and support the petition. The house had sent up a bill to the governor, granting a sum of sixty thousand pounds for the king's use, (ten thousand pounds of which was subjected to the orders of the then general, lord Loudon,) which the governor, in compliance with his instructions absolutely refused to pass. I had agreed with captain Morris, of the packet at New York, for my passage, and my stores were put on board; when lord Loudon, arrived at Philadelphia, expressly as he told me, to endeavour an accommodation between the governor and assembly, that his majesty's service might not be obstructed by their dissensions. Accordingly he desired the governor and myself to meet him, that he might hear what was to be said on both sides. We met and discussed the business: in behalf of the assembly, I urged the various arguments that may be found in the public papers of that time, which were of my writing, and are printed with the minutes of the assembly; and the governor pleaded his instructions, the bond he had given to observe them, and his ruin if he disobeyed; yet seemed not unwilling to hazard himself if lord Loudon would advise it. This his lordship did not choose to do, though I once thought I had nearly prevailed with him to do it; but finally he rather chose to urge the compliance of the assembly; and he intreated me to use my endeavours with them for that purpose, declaring that he would spare none of the king's troops for the defence of our frontiers, and that if we did not continue to provide for that defence ourselves, they must remain exposed to the enemy. I acquainted the house with what had passed, and presenting them with a set of resolutions I had drawn up, declaring our rights, that we did not relinquish our claim to those rights, but only suspended the exercise of them on this occasion, through *force*, against which we protested; they at length agreed to drop that bill, and frame another conformably to the proprietary instructions; this of course the governor passed, and I was then at liberty to proceed on my voyage. But in the mean time the packet had sailed with my sea stores, which was some loss to me, and my only recompense was his lordship's thanks for my service; all the credit of obtaining the accommodation falling to his share.

He set out for New York before me; and as the time for dispatching the packet boats was in his disposition, and there were two then remaining there, one of which, he said, was to sail very soon, I requested to know the precise time, that I might not miss her, by any delay of mine. The answer was, "I have given out that she is to sail on Saturday next, but I may let you know, *entre nous*, that if you are there by Monday morning, you will be in time, but do not delay longer!" By some accidental hindrance at a ferry, it was Monday noon before I arrived, and I was much afraid she might have sailed, as the wind was fair; but I was soon made easy by the information that she was still in the harbour, and would not move till next day. One would imagine that I was now on the very point of departing for Europe; I thought so, but I was not then so well acquainted with his lordship's character, of which *indecision* was one of the strongest features; I shall give some instances. It was about the beginning of April, that I came to New York, and I think it was near the end of June before we sailed. There were then two of the packet-boats which had been long in readiness, but were detained for the general's letters, which were always to be ready *to-morrow*. Another packet arrived, she too was detained, and before we sailed a fourth was expected. Ours was the first to be dispatched; as having been there longest. Passengers were engaged for all, and some extremely impatient to be gone, and the merchants uneasy about their letters, and for the orders they had given for insurance (it being war time) and for autumnal goods; but their anxiety availed nothing, his lordship's letters were not ready: and yet whoever waited on him found him always at his desk, pen in hand, and concluded he must needs write abundantly. Going myself one morning to pay my respects, I found in his anti-chamber, one Innis, a messenger of Philadelphia, who had come thence express, with a packet from governor Denny, for the general. He delivered to me some letters from my friends there, which occasioned my inquiring when he was to return, and where he lodged, that I might send some letters by him. He told me he was ordered to call to-morrow at nine for the general's answer to the governor, and should set off immediately; I put my letters into his hands the same day. A fortnight after I met him again in the same place. "So you are soon returned, Innis!" "Returned; no, I am not gone yet." "How so?" "I have called here this and every morning these two weeks past for his lordship's letters, and they are not yet ready." "Is it possible, when he is so great a writer; for I see him constantly at his escritoir." "Yes," said Innis, "but he is like St. George, on the signs, *always on horseback but never rides on*." This observation of the messenger was it seems well founded; for when in England, I understood, that Mr. Pitt, (afterwards lord Chatham,) gave it as one reason for removing this general, and sending generals Amherst and Wolf, *that the minister never heard from him, and could not know what he was doing*.

This daily expectation of sailing, and all the three packets going down to Sandy Hook, to join the fleet there, the passengers thought it best to be on board, lest by a sudden order, the ships should sail, and they be left behind. There, if I remember, we were about six weeks, consuming our sea stores, and obliged to procure more. At length the fleet sailed, the general and all his army on board bound to Louisburg, with intent to besiege and take that fortress; all the packet-boats in company, ordered to attend the general's ship, ready to receive his dispatches when they should be ready. We were out five days before we got a letter with leave to part; and then our ship quitted the fleet and steered for England. The other two packets he still detained, carried them with him to Halifax; where he staid some time to exercise his men in sham attacks upon sham forts; then altered his mind as to besieging Louisburg, and returned to New York, with all his troops, together with the two packets abovementioned, and all their passengers! During his absence the French and savages had taken Fort George, on the frontier of that province, and the Indians had massacred many of the garrison after capitulation. I saw afterwards in London, captain Bound, who commanded one of those packets; he told me that when he had been detained a month, he acquainted his lordship that his ship was grown foul, to a degree that must necessarily hinder her fast sailing, (a point of consequence for a packet-boat,) and requested an allowance of time to heave her down and clean her bottom. His lordship asked how long time that would require. He answered three days. The general replied, "if you can do it in one day, I give leave; otherwise not; for you must certainly sail the day after to-morrow." So he never obtained leave, though detained afterwards from day to day during full three months. I saw also in London, one of Bonell's passengers, who was so enraged against his lordship for deceiving and detaining him so long at New York, and then carrying him to Halifax and back again, that he swore he would sue him for damages. Whether he did or not I never heard; but as he represented it, the injury to his affairs was very considerable. On the whole, I wondered much how such a man came to be intrusted with so important a business as the conduct of a great army: but having since seen more of the great world, and the means of obtaining, and motives for giving places and employments, my wonder is diminished. General Shirley, on whom the command of the army devolved upon the death of Braddock, would in my opinion, if continued in place, have made a much better campaign than that of Loudon, in 1756, which was frivolous, expensive, and disgraceful to our nation beyond conception. For though Shirley was not bred a soldier, he was sensible and sagacious in himself, and attentive to good advice from others, capable of forming judicious plans, and quick and active in carrying them into execution. Loudon, instead of defending the colonies with his great army, left them totally exposed, while he paraded idly at Halifax; by which means Fort George was lost; besides, he deranged all our mercantile operations, and distressed our trade by a long embargo on the exportation of provisions, on pretence of keeping supplies from being obtained by the enemy, but in reality for beating down their price in favour of the contractors, in whose profits, it was said, (perhaps from suspicion only,) he had a share; and when at length the embargo was taken off, neglecting to send notice of it to Charleston, where the Carolina fleet was detained near three months; and whereby their bottoms were so much damaged by the worm, that a great part of them foundered in their passage home. Shirley was, I believe, sincerely glad of being relieved from so burdensome a charge, as the conduct of an army must be to a man unacquainted with military business. I was at the entertainment given by the city of New York, to lord Loudon, on his taking upon him the command. Shirley, though thereby superseded, was present also. There was a great company of officers, citizens, and strangers, and some chairs having been borrowed in the neighbourhood, there was one among them very low, which fell to the lot of Mr. Shirley. I sat by him, and perceiving it, I said, they have given you a very low seat. "No matter, Mr. Franklin, said he, I find *a low seat* the easiest."

While I was, as beforementioned, detained at New York, I received all the accounts of the provisions, &c., that I had furnished to Braddock, some of which accounts could not sooner be obtained from the different persons I had employed to assist in the business; I presented them to lord Loudon, desiring to be paid the balance. He caused them to be examined by the proper officer, who, after comparing every article with its voucher, certified them to be right; and his lordship promised to give me an order on the paymaster for the balance due to me. This was, however, put off from time to time, and though I called often for it by appointment, I did not get it. At length, just before my departure, he told me he had, on better consideration, concluded not to mix his accounts with those of his predecessors. "And you," said he, "when in England, have only to exhibit your accounts to the treasury, and you will be paid immediately." I mentioned, but without effect, a great and unexpected expense I had been put to by being detained so long at New York, as a reason for my desiring to be presently paid; and, on my observing that it was not right I should be put to any further trouble or delay in obtaining the money I had advanced, as I charged no commission for my service; "O," said he, "you must not think of persuading us that you are no gainer: we understand better those matters, and know that every one concerned in supplying the army, finds means in the doing it, to fill his own pockets." I assured him that was not my case, and that I had not pocketed a farthing: but he appeared clearly not to believe me; and, indeed, I afterwards learned, that immense fortunes are often made in such employments: as to my balance, I am not paid it to this day; of which more hereafter.

Our captain of the packet, boasted much before we sailed of the swiftness of his ship; unfortunately, when we came to sea, she proved the dullest of ninety-six sail, to his no small mortification. After many conjectures respecting the cause, when we were near another ship, almost as dull as ours, which however gained upon us, the captain ordered all hands to come aft, and stand as near the ensign staff as possible. We were, passengers included, about forty persons; while we stood there, the ship mended her pace, and soon left her neighbour far behind, which proved clearly what our captain suspected, that she was loaded too much by the head. The casks of water, it seems, had been placed forward; these he therefore ordered to be moved further aft, on which the ship recovered her character, and proved the best sailer in the fleet. The captain said she had once gone at the rate of thirteen knots, which is accounted thirteen miles per hour. We had on board, as a passenger, captain Archibald Kennedy, of the royal navy, afterwards earl of Cassilis, who contended that it was impossible, and that no ship ever sailed so fast, and that there must have been some error in the division of the log-line, or some mistake in heaving the log. A wager ensued between the two captains, to be decided when there should be sufficient wind: Kennedy, therefore examined the log-line, and being satisfied with it, he determined to throw the log himself. Some days after, when the wind was very fair and fresh, and the captain of the packet (Lutwidge) said, he believed she then went at the rate of thirteen knots; Kennedy made the experiment, and owned his wager lost. The foregoing fact I give for the sake of the following observation: it has been remarked, as an imperfection in the art of shipbuilding, that it can never be known till she is tried, whether a new ship will, or will not be a good sailer; for that the model of a good sailing ship has been exactly followed in a new one, which has been proved on the contrary remarkably dull. I apprehend that this may partly be occasioned by the different opinions of seamen respecting the modes of loading, rigging, and sailing of a ship; each has his method, and the same vessel laden by the method and orders of one captain, shall sail worse than when by the orders of another. Besides, it scarce ever happens that a ship is formed, fitted for the sea, and sailed by the same person; one man builds the hull, another rigs her, a third loads and sails her. No one of these has the advantage of knowing all the ideas and experience of the others, and therefore cannot draw just conclusions from a combination of the whole. Even in the simple operation of sailing when at sea, I have often observed different judgments in the officers who commanded the successive watches, the wind being the same. One would have the sails trimmed sharper or flatter than another, so that they seemed to have no certain rule to govern by. Yet I think a set of experiments might be instituted, first to determine the most proper form of the hull for swift sailing: next, the best dimensions, and properest place for the masts; then the form and quantity of sails, and their position as the winds may be; and lastly, the disposition of the lading. This is an age of experiments, and I think a set accurately made and combined would be of great use.

We were several times chased in our passage, but outsailed every thing; and in thirty days had soundings. We had a good observation, and the captain judged himself so near our port, (Falmouth,) that if we made a good run in the night, we might be off the mouth of that harbour in the morning; and by running in the night might escape the notice of the enemy's privateers, who often cruised near the entrance of the channel. Accordingly all the sail was set that we could possibly carry, and the wind being very fresh and fair, we stood right before it, and made great way. The captain, after his observation, shaped his course, as he thought, so as to pass wide of the Scilly rocks; but it seems there is sometimes a strong current setting up St. George's Channel, which formerly caused the loss of sir Cloudesley Shovel's squadron, (in 1707): this was probably also the cause of what happened to us. We had a watchman placed in the bow, to whom they often called, "*Look well out before there;*" and he as often answered, "*Aye, aye;*" but perhaps had his eyes shut, and was half asleep at the time; they sometimes answering, as is said, mechanically; for he did not see a light just before us, which had been hid by the studding sails from the man at the helm, and from the rest of the watch, but by an accidental yaw of the ship was discovered, and occasioned a great alarm, we being very near it; the light appearing to me as large as a cart wheel. It was midnight, and our captain fast asleep; but captain Kennedy, jumping upon deck, and seeing the danger, ordered the ship to wear round, all sails standing; an operation dangerous to the masts, but it carried us clear, and we avoided shipwreck, for we were running fast on the rocks on which the light was erected. This deliverance impressed me strong with the utility of light-houses, and made me resolve to encourage the building some of them in America, if I should live to return thither.

In the morning, it was found by the soundings, &c., that we were near our port, but a thick fog hid the land from our sight. About nine o'clock the fog began to rise, and seemed to be lifted up from the water, like the curtain of a theatre, discovering underneath the town of Falmouth, the vessels in the harbour, and the fields that surround it. This was a pleasing spectacle to those who had been long without any other prospect than the uniform view of a vacant ocean! and it gave us the more pleasure, as we were now free from the anxieties which had arisen.*

I set out immediately, with my son,† for London, and we only stopped a little by the way to view Stonehenge, on Salisbury plain; and lord Pembroke's house and gardens, with the very curious antiquities at Wilton.

We arrived in London, July 27th, 1757.

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* In a letter from Dr. Franklin to his wife, dated at Falmouth, the 17th July, 1757, after giving her a similar account of his voyage, escape, and landing; he adds, "The bell ringing for church, we went thither immediately, and with hearts full of gratitude, returned sincere thanks to God for the mercies we had received; were I a Roman Catholic, perhaps I should, on this occasion, vow to build a chapel to some saint; but as I am not, if I were to vow at all, it should be to build a *light-house.*"

† William Franklin, afterwards governor of New Jersey.

MEMOIRS

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

PART III.

That profound observer of men and manners, lord Bacon, hath observed on the advantages of Biographical writing, over other branches of historical composition, that "History of times representeth the magnitude of actions, and the public faces or deportments of persons, and passeth over in silence the smaller passages and motions of men and matters. But such being the workmanship of God, as he doth hang the greatest weights upon the smallest wires, *maxima é minimis suspendens;* it comes, therefore, to pass, that such histories do rather set forth the pomp of business, than the true and inward resorts thereof. But Lives, if they be well written, propounding to themselves a person to represent, in whom, actions both greater and smaller, public and private, have a commixture, must of necessity contain a more true, native, and lively representation." Of the truth of this sagacious remark, a more convincing evidence can hardly be adduced than the memoirs which Dr. Franklin hath left of himself; and the reader has to lament, that when the author resumed his narrative, at the request of some intelligent friends, he did it under the inconvenience of public business, and at a distance from his papers; but the greatest matter of regret is, that he did not bring the history of his own times down through the stormy and eventful period in which he made so conspicuous a figure, near to the close of his illustrious and exemplary career. Great light, and much curious and interesting information respecting the same, may, however, be collected from his "*Private and Political Correspondence*," forming a sequel to these memoirs.

The necessity of pursuing the narration with chronological precision, is obvious and imperative; but the only matter for concern is, the indispensable obligation of changing the style of the relation from the dignity of the first person, which diffuses exquisite beauty, and gives peculiar energy to the preceding parts of the history. This, however, will, in some instances, be avoided, Dr. Franklin having left, (written by himself,) several separate relations of events, or circumstances in which he was particularly concerned; these, together with some of his letters, elucidating similar objects, will be inserted (in his own language) in their proper places; which he probably would himself have done, had he lived to complete the narrative of his Life: where, however, this resource is wanting, all that remains to be done, is, to adhere scrupulously to the verity of facts, and to the evidence of authorities; with as close an attention to the simplicity of the preceding pages as may be, without falling into the error of servile imitation.

It will be proper here to enter into some detail on the state of Pennsylvania, at the period when the voyage to England took place, of which an account is given at the close of the last part of the author's own memoir; because, as he was obliged to trust solely to his memory, some slight inaccuracies escaped him, that would otherwise have been avoided.

In January, 1757, the house of assembly voted a bill for granting to his majesty the sum of *one hundred thousand pounds*, by a tax on all the estates, real and personal, and taxables, within the province; but on submitting it to governor Denny for his sanction, he refused it in a message, which, among other remarkable observations, contained the following avowal of his subservience to the Penn family:—"The proprietaries are willing their estates should be taxed in the manner that appears to them to be reasonable, and agreeable to the land tax acts of parliament in our mother country. I am not inclined to enter into any dispute with you on the subject, since it cannot be decided on this side the water; nor can I see what good end it can answer, as the proprietaries have positively enjoined me, not to pass any bill that is against their instruction. As his majesty's service, and the defence of this province, render it necessary to raise immediate supplies, I must earnestly recommend it to you to frame such a bill as it is in my power to pass, consistent with my honour and my engagements to the proprietaries, which, I am persuaded, you will not desire me to violate. I have some amendments to propose to particular parts of the bill now before me, which I shall communicate to you, as soon as I know whether you determine to prepare a new bill, free from the objection I have abovementioned." Upon this, the house of assembly came to a resolution which was digested in the form of a remonstrance, by Mr. Franklin, as the internal evidence of the language plainly demonstrates. It was as follows:—

"The representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met, do hereby humbly remonstrate to your honour, that the proprietaries' professed willingness to be taxed, mentioned by your honour, in your message of Tuesday last, can be intended only to amuse and deceive their superiors; since they have in their instructions excepted all their quitrents, located unimproved lands, purchase-money at interest, and, in short, so much of their vast estate, as to reduce their tax, as far as appears to us, below that of a common farmer or tradesman.

"That though the proprietaries' instructions are by no means laws in this province, we have so far complied with them, as to confine the sum given to be raised in one year. And had we complied with them in the other particulars, the raising any thing near the sum required by the present exigencies of the province, would be absolutely impossible.

"That the apparent necessity of so large a sum for his majesty's service, and the defence of this his province, founded upon the governor's own estimate, has obliged us to an effort beyond our strength, being assured, that hundreds of families must be distressed to pay this tax.

"That we have, in the due exercise of our just rights, by the royal and provincial charters, and the laws of this province, and as an English representative body, framed this bill, consistent with those rights.

"That the bill is agreeable to justice and equity with regard to the proprietaries, and is not repugnant to the laws of our mother country, but as nearly agreeable thereto as our different circumstances will permit; nor is it contrary to any royal instruction whatever. That great as the sum is, and hard for this people to pay, we freely offer it to our gracious king for his service, and the defence of this colony from his majesty's enemies.

"That the proprietaries refusing to permit us to grant money to the crown in this time of war, and imminent danger to the province, unless we will consent thus to exempt their estates from the tax, we conceive to be injurious to the interests of the crown, and tyrannical with regard to the people.

"That we do further humbly conceive, neither the proprietaries, nor any other power on earth, ought to interfere between us and our sovereign, either to modify, or refuse our free gifts and grants for his majesty's service.

"That though the governor may be under obligations to the proprietaries, we conceive he is under greater to the crown, and to the people he is appointed to govern; to promote the service of the former, preserve the rights of the latter, and protect them from their cruel enemies.

"We do, therefore, in the name of our most gracious sovereign, and in behalf of the distressed people we represent, unanimously DEMAND it of the governor as our RIGHT, that he give his assent to the bill we now present him, for granting to his majesty one hundred thousand pounds for the defence of this province, (and as it is a money-bill, without alteration or amendment, any instructions whatsoever from the proprietaries notwithstanding,) as he will answer to the crown for all the consequences of his refusal at his peril.

"(Signed by order of the house)
"ISAAC NORRIS, *Speaker*.
"January 28, 1757."

This spirited remonstrance, in which it might be almost said that argument and satire are blended, failed to produce any other effect upon the governor than of confirming his refusal, and of drawing from him a laboured justification, grounded upon parliamentary usage in England, and the supposed hardship of taxing the unimproved lands of the proprietaries. His objections were replied to *seriatim* by the house, and at considerable length, but with that perspicuity for which Franklin was ever distinguished. At the conclusion it was "ordered, February 28, 1757, that Mr. Roberdeau and Mr. Yorke do wait upon the governor with the bill for granting one hundred thousand pounds for the defence of the province, and acquaint him, that upon receiving his honour's message of the 12th instant, sent down with our last supply bill, the committee to whom that message was referred, have reported fully upon all the objections against that bill, which, after mature deliberation, the house have approved, and find those objections are rather excuses for not passing the bill, than reasons against it:

—That the bill itself is only a supplement to an act, which, after a full hearing before the lords of trade, has very lately received the royal assent; and we confined ourselves to that act, with as few alterations as possible, apprehending the bill would be free from all objections under the royal sanction so lately obtained:—That by the estimate the governor laid before us this session, he computes the sum of one hundred and twenty-seven thousand pounds as necessary to be raised for the defence of the province in the ensuing year; and yet upon the most exact computation we have been able to make, no more than thirty thousand pounds could be raised upon the province in one year by his restricted powers, and not one third of his proposed estimate, by the addition of all the other measures he has proposed, if the house were so insensible of the duty they owe to their constituents as to take their money laws from him only:—That therefore we desire to know his final result upon this bill, which we once more send up for his concurrence; and if he should, notwithstanding, continue to refuse his assent to it as it now stands, we must refer it to his honour to pay the forces by him raised, or to disband them, as he shall judge he can best answer for his conduct to his majesty, whose colony we apprehend to be in imminent danger, and for the defence whereof we have in vain endeavoured to make the necessary provision as far as lay in our power."

Great events it has been frequently observed spring from little causes, and though the contest between the governor and the assembly of Pennsylvania was far from being in itself of trivial import, considering the variety of interests which it involved, yet as being a local and private concern, no extensive consequences could reasonably have been expected to flow from it. To the philosophical historian, however, who watches the influence of casual occurrences upon the actions and opinions of eminent men, it will appear more than probable, that this struggle for an equalization of rights in one province, led the way, or at least incidentally prepared the people of America for a more general resistance to arbitrary impositions. The refusal of the proprietaries to take their part of the public burdens, while they enjoyed all the increasing advantages resulting from the security thereby afforded, brought questions under discussion which might otherwise have lain dormant. Certain it is that these disputes, by calling the energetic mind of Benjamin Franklin into a new field of inquiry, and clothing him with the diplomatic character, enlarged the sphere of his observation, and fitted him for those extraordinary services in which he acquired the greatest glory by contributing to that of his country.

On his arrival in England he found, that innumerable and weighty obstacles were thrown in his way, by the art and industry of those who had an interest in prejudicing the public mind against the force of his representations. For this purpose the newspapers were constantly supplied with paragraphs, under the form of *Intelligence from Pennsylvania*, but in reality manufactured in London, and conveying gross reflections upon the assembly and the inhabitants of the province, who were described as actuated by selfish motives and a refractory spirit, because they persisted in withstanding the claim of the proprietaries to an exemption from that taxation which was necessary to the defence of their own estates. To increase the mortification of the provincial agent, he saw that the people were so little acquainted with the internal condition of the colonies, as almost to regard with indifference any complaint of grievances which issued thence. Besides this, the public attention being fixed upon the progress of the war in Germany, rendered it a still more arduous task to remove the impressions produced by interested individuals, against the equitable claims of the inhabitants of a settlement in another part of the world. If to these formidable impediments be added the natural reluctance of government to interpose in local disputes, arising from the ambiguity, or even the abuse of royal grants, it will be seen that the representative of the Pennsylvania assembly had more to dishearten than to encourage him in the mission which had been entrusted to his zeal and management. Considering the complexion of European politics at that period, and the superior influence of those with whom he had to negotiate or contend, his situation was of a description that would have depressed men of vigorous intellect and of the most enlarged experience in the intrigues of public business. But it was well perhaps for the immediate benefit of the particular province to which he stood related, and also for the future advantage of the American states, that these difficulties occurred, as they not only brought into exercise the powers of him who was fitted to overcome them, but laid the foundation of connexions and improvements that in all probability would not otherwise have taken place.

One of the first objects attended to by Dr. Franklin, was the current of public opinion on the concern in which he was peculiarly interested, and to observe the means adopted to give that opinion a bias unfavourable to the cause which he had to support. Finding that the press was employed for this purpose, he resolved to avail himself of the same source of information, and fully aware of his own strength, no less than of the justice of what he defended, he entertained the confident assurance of being able to refute calumny by facts, and to correct the errors arising from misrepresentation by simple and conclusive reasoning.

An opportunity soon offered to bring the subject fairly before the public, in consequence of the insertion of an article in a paper called the "*Citizen, or General Advertiser*," stating that recent letters from Philadelphia brought dreadful accounts of the ravages committed by the Indians on the inhabitants of the back-provinces; and that notwithstanding these cruelties the disputes between the governor and the assembly were carried on to as great a height as ever, the messages on both sides being expressed in terms which gave very little hopes of a reconciliation. The intelligence then went into particulars, by saying the bill to raise money was clogged, so as to prevent the governor from giving his consent to it; and that the obstinacy of the Quakers in the assembly was such, that they would in no shape alter it; so that while the enemy was in the heart of the country, cavils prevented any thing being done for its relief. The evident object of this paragraph was to create general indignation against the assembly, by making it appear that the members of it were of so factious a disposition as to sacrifice the welfare of their country for the gratification of private ends, and so dead to all the finer feelings of humanity as to abandon their helpless fellow-creatures to savage ferocity, rather than lay aside their particular differences. It did not require the sagacity of Benjamin Franklin to discover that this fabrication originated in a spirit of alarm occasioned by the circumstance that an accredited agent on the part of the province was in London; but reflecting that, as such, it did not become him on the one hand to enter upon the public discussion of the concern which he was employed to bring to an amicable conclusion, nor on the other to preserve an absolute silence, which might prove detrimental to the interests of those whom he represented; he therefore judiciously caused a reply, bearing the name of his son, to be inserted in the same journal; from which he had the satisfaction of seeing it transplanted into other papers of greater importance and more extensive circulation. In this letter, dated from the Pennsylvania coffee house, London, September 16, 1757, the author repels the insinuation thrown out against one province, as if it quiescently suffered more from the Indians than any other, by showing that the contrary was the fact, and that the rest of the colonies were as much exposed to savage depredation as Pennsylvania. In the next place he observes, that the inhabitants on the frontiers of that province were not Quakers, and that so far from entertaining the passive principles of this sect, they were supplied with arms, and had frequently repelled the enemy. On the subject of the disputes so invidiously mentioned in the pretended news, it was shown that they were occasioned chiefly by new instructions or commands sent from England, forbidding the governors to sanction any laws imposing taxes for the defence of the country, unless the proprietary estate, or much the greatest part of it, was exempted from the burden. With respect to the Quakers, who had been represented as the instigators of the contention, the author of the letter satisfactorily proved, by the adduction of facts, that they constituted but a small part of the existing population of the province, and were no more active in the disputes than the rest of the inhabitants, who, with the exception of the *proprietary officers and their dependants*, had joined in opposing the instructions and contending for their rights. In farther vindication of the Quakers it was observed, that notwithstanding their scruple about bearing arms, they had contributed largely for the defence of the country; and that, to prevent any obstruction in the assembly from their peculiar opinions, they had for the most part declined sitting in the assembly. Having thus cleared unfounded objections, and illiberal aspersions, the letter proceeded to a statistical account of the province, and of the spirit of the people, from which the British public might see that every thing had been done there to secure the frontier and to protect the trade of the neighbouring governments, without any contributions, either from those colonies or the mother country.

This paper was well adapted to draw the attention of thinking men to the real state of Pennsylvania, and the nature of the grievances complained of by the great body of its inhabitants, whose misfortune it was to have their cause little understood, where only they had to look for a remedy. To remove this obstacle more effectually, and to bring the subject so fully before the public as to render all the arts of misrepresentation no longer availing to the selfish purposes of an interested party, Mr. Franklin, while engaged in negotiation with the proprietaries, employed his leisure hours in drawing up a minute account of the province for general information. The necessity of such a publication was obvious from the insidious attempts made, through various journals, to blacken the inhabitants of Pennsylvania with the foul charges of ingratitude to the founder of that colony, injustice to its present proprietors, and even disaffection to the parent country. Mr. Franklin saw with concern that this delusion prevailed to such a degree as to give him little chance of success in the object of his mission, until he could dispel the cloud of prejudice that craft had raised, and convince the British nation of the wrong which it countenanced, through ignorance and credulity. But knowing that it is in the nature of discussion to elicit truth, and of perseverance to defeat falsehood, he resolved to publish a volume that should attract notice by the manner of its composition, and produce effect by the importance of the matter which it contained. With this view he began to trace the history of the province from its primary settlement, and to exhibit the various changes which it had progressively undergone in the form of its government. Having sketched his design, he found that it grew upon his hands, as it not only obliged him to enter minutely into the detail of facts and the adduction of records, but to illustrate them by explanations and to apply them by reflections. This performance appeared at the beginning of 1759, with the title of "*An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania from its origin; so far as regards the several points of controversy which have from time to time arisen between the several governors of Pennsylvania and their several assemblies. Founded on authentic documents.*" To which was prefixed this motto: "*Those who give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety.*"* This work was necessarily anonymous; and the strictest circumspection appears to have been observed in regard to the author, who being at that time employed in negotiating with the proprietaries, as well as in bringing the business before the privy council, could not well publish any statement of the matters under discussion in his own name. The "Review," therefore, long passed as the production of *James Ralph*, the historian, who having long resided in Philadelphia, and being generally known as a political writer, was the more easily believed to have taken this deep interest in the concerns of a province with which he was well acquainted. There is little doubt indeed that this ascription of the book to Ralph, was a matter perfectly agreeable to the real author, if not actually concerted by him, for the purpose of diverting the attention of those persons who, from interested motives and resentment, might have been disposed to represent his appeal to the public as an injury to individuals, and an insult offered to government. Mr. Franklin was aware, that his mission excited jealousy, and that his conduct would therefore be closely watched, in order to take the advantage of any inadvertencies which he might commit. While, therefore, he saw the expediency of setting the nation right on the subject in dispute, in order to justify the colonists on the one hand, and to reduce the extravagant claims of those who lorded it over them on the other; he was careful to do this in such a manner as should not give offence to any party. At present the internal character of the book is too strongly marked to mislead any one that is at all conversant with the style of Franklin; but when it originally appeared, his reputation as a writer was not sufficiently established to render the discovery easy by the simple test of literary composition. Such, however, were its attractions in this respect, that notwithstanding the peculiar aridity of the subject, the work gained public notice, and was distinguished by the approbation of those who were most competent to decide upon its merits.

The dedication to Arthur Onslow, the venerable speaker of the house of commons, would alone be sufficient to ascertain the hand whence the review proceeded; for, independent of its epigrammatic turns and general terseness, it breathes the language of a person acting by the authority of the provincialists, whose cause he so powerfully pleaded.

That introduction, and a sprightly dedication, will be found in pages vii. viii, of Vol. II. This review abounds with original and vigorous ideas. "Power, like water is ever working its way; and wherever it can find or make an opening, is altogether as prone to overflow whatever is subject to it; and though matter of right overlooked may be reclaimed and restored at any time, it cannot be too soon reclaimed and restored."

A writer who was a contemporary, speaking of this "*Review*," says, "Pennsylvania had in our author a most zealous and able advocate. His sentiments are manly, liberal, and spirited. His style close, nervous, and rhetorical. By a forcible display of the oppression of his clients, he inclines the reader to pity their condition, and by an enumeration of their virtues he endeavours to remove the idea, which may be entertained of their unimportance; and that, abstracted from their consideration in a political light, they claim our regard by reason of their own personal merits."

The publication, though anonymous, undoubtedly produced a considerable effect; and by bringing the grievances of the colonists closely under the consideration of the British public, tended materially to facilitate the object of the author, and even to enlarge his views with regard to the inconvenience of the proprietary government. Finding that the family of the founder would not relax in their demands, and that the publication of this explicit statement had exasperated them in no ordinary degree, the agent for the province brought the cause of his clients in the shape of a petition before the privy council. Such indeed was his activity, and so confident were the provincialists of the success of their cause in his hands, that during his residence in England, the assembly passed a law for the imposition of a tax, in which no exemption was made in favour of the proprietary estates. This bill received the assent of governor Denny, which plainly evinced, that the governor felt not only the reasonableness of the measure itself, but the certainty that his employers must soon yield to the persevering efforts of their opponents. The proprietaries, on receiving the intelligence of this advance in the cause of independence, exerted themselves to prevent the royal sanction from being given to the money-bill, which their own governor had passed, but which they represented as subversive of their chartered rights, and tending to ruin themselves and their posterity, by bringing upon them all the expenses necessary for the defence and support of the province. The cause, however, proceeded before the lords of the council, and though the Penn family did not want powerful support, and very able advocates, such was the force of simple truth and the evidence of plain facts, that the agent of the colony soon perceived the advantage which had been gained by his prudent management and seasonable publication. After some delay and much tedious discussion, a proposal of accommodation was made on the part of the proprietaries, that Mr. Franklin should engage for his employers not to assess the estates in question beyond their due proportion. To this proposition no objection could be offered; for it, in fact, conceded the very ground of litigation, and established, by consent of the contending parties, and under the authority of government, all the rights to which the inhabitants of Pennsylvania laid claim, and of which they had been so long deprived. This termination of the controversy, brought the abilities of Franklin into full exercise, and the engagement into which he entered was so scrupulously fulfilled, as to raise him in the estimation of those persons who had for a considerable time looked upon him with jealousy, and considered him as inimical to their interests. The conspicuous light in which this business placed his talents and integrity, sufficiently appeared, indeed, by the circumstance, that when the conclusion of the dispute became known in America, the colonies of Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia, were anxious to have him for their agent in England; which appointment suiting his views and connexions was readily accepted, and as honourably discharged.

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* This historical review is in Vol. II. of this edition

His conduct, however, in the Pennsylvanian differences, though so unequivocally marked by the public approbation of those who were the most competent to judge of its merits, has not passed without censure; and the late biographer of William Penn, finding it necessary to vindicate that extraordinary character from the various charges and surmises brought against him by various writers, among the rest took notice of the *Historical Review*, published by Franklin, and the spirit in which it was composed. Mr. Clarkson observes, that this book was the production of Franklin, "though it was attributed to one Ralph, to prejudice the people against the proprietary family, in order to effect a change of government from proprietary to royal; which was afterwards attempted, but which, to his great chagrin, failed. This failure laid the foundation of his animosity to Great Britain, which was so conspicuous afterwards."*

Here the biographer, in his zeal to defend the founder of Pennsylvania, has committed the very fault which he has endeavoured to fasten as an error upon Franklin; for it certainly is not true that the latter wrote his book to effect a change in the government, which design there is every reason to believe had not been even conceived at the time, however it may have been long after. The work was drawn up for no other purpose than to exhibit the state of the province, and to make the nation clearly acquainted with the progressive grievances of which the inhabitants complained. Undoubtedly these grievances were, in a great measure, traced by the author to the manner in which William Penn had secured his property originally, and provided for an increase of it in the event of the prosperous advance of the colony.

The historian of Pennsylvania could not avoid noticing the double part which this celebrated legislator had played, as proprietary and governor; for the people of his own persuasion, who had embarked with him in this concern, had heavily and repeatedly complained of his conduct towards them, and their charges against him upon record, are infinitely more severe than the slight touches of sarcastic reflection scattered here and there in the REVIEW. Nor is it true, that the disappointment experienced in the failure of the projected alteration in the government from proprietary to royal, laid the foundation of any animosity in the mind of Franklin against Great Britain; for it is a well-known fact, that the differences between the parent country and the colonies, were the source of great uneasiness to him; and he endeavoured all that lay in his power to prevent the rupture which ensued. This will clearly appear in the sequel of these memoirs.

Mr. Clarkson very properly enters into a justification of Penn's moral character, and he has succeeded in a great degree in clearing up many doubtful points, which tended, on the authority of respectable writers, to bring the principles of that eminent man into suspicion; but the same love of justice ought to have prevented the biographer and panegyrist of Penn, from throwing illiberal reflections, and alleging unfounded accusations, against one who was not at least inferior to him in ability and integrity. Nevertheless Mr. Clarkson is willing to obtain the testimony of Franklin in favour of the object of his admiration; though it is to be regretted, that he could not even do this, without mixing with his quotation something disrespectful of the very authority which he cited. "Nay," says he, "if I mistake not, Dr. Franklin himself was among those who highly respected Penn."

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* Memoirs of the private and public life of William Penn. By Thomas Clarkson, M. A. Vol. II. p. 386.

The doctor had a satirical way of expressing himself when he was not pleased, and therefore when he found fault with William Penn, he could not get rid of his old habit; but the hostility he manifested, was far more in manner than in heart. He was assuredly more severe upon William Penn's grandsons, against whom (it is said) he published a small pamphlet, where, as if no other way had been left to expose them, it is singular that he contrasted their conduct with the virtuous example of their noble ancestor. The little ludicrous motto, prefixed to this work, and which was taken from John Rogers's primer, may enable the reader to judge, in part, of its contents:—

I send you here a little book,
For you to look upon:
That you may see your father's face,
Now he is dead and gone."

The ingenious eulogist of Penn, however, does not seem to have been aware, that in attempting to invalidate the testimony of Franklin, he had before completely destroyed the value of his praise. In the general view of the character of Penn, no doubt the latter concurred fully with the voice of the public;[*] but knowing, as he did, the minuter parts of the history of his connexions with the province which bears his name, it was impossible either to pass them over in absolute silence, or to speak of them without some observation on the want of consistency in so great a man.

Thus much it was proper here to remark, because if a necessity existed for the justification of Penn, from any reflections bestowed upon him by the historian of his settlement, it must be equally necessary to show that these reflections did not proceed from the wantonness of a satirical humour, or the malignity of wit, but from an attentive examination of the subject, and the paramount love of truth, in a concern which demanded an investigation in detail, and a full exposition for the ends of justice.

While Benjamin Franklin was engaged in this troublesome but important concern, at the court of Great Britain, he had opportunities of becoming acquainted with many persons of the first consequence in the state, who, on their side were not wanting in observing his extraordinary sagacity and comprehensive understanding. The war in which Great Britain was then involved, could not fail to excite much of his attention, and he was not alone in the opinion, that by pursuing the contest solely in Germany, England incurred an enormous expenditure, without either reaping any immediate advantage, or facilitating an honourable termination. There was something, indeed, peculiarly splendid in the achievements of the king of Prussia; and the nation, without knowing why, seemed to identify the cause of that monarch with the security of the Protestant religion, and the maintenance of the balance of power, the favourite delusions of that period. The judgment of Franklin was unbiassed by prejudices which had no foundation in reason, and too cool to be warmed by the report of victories, the result of which appeared to be little more than an occasion for renewed exertions and more sanguinary conflicts, without any definite object or satisfactory prospect. He contemplated the interests of Britain in a more dispassionate point of view, than those who made them dependant upon the success of subsidized allies; and knowing by experience, how desirous France was to gain a more extended footing in America, he thought it would be the wisest way to counteract her ambitious projects, by an attack upon her own colony. Franklin was no stranger to Canada, and he was thoroughly persuaded that the possession of that country gave to the French a commanding influence over the Indians, of which they never failed to take an advantage, to the annoyance of the English colonies. Looking upon France in relation to England as another Carthage, he formed the project of destroying her maritime ascendancy; as well to strengthen the political and commercial state of Great Britain, as to provide a permanent security for her foreign dependencies. The more he weighed the subject in his mind, the more was he satisfied that the true interest of Great Britain lay in weakening her rival on the side of America, rather than in Germany; and these sentiments he imparted to some of his friends, by whom they were reported to the indefatigable William Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham; who no sooner consulted him on the practicability of the conquest, than he was convinced by the force of his arguments, and determined by the simple accuracy of his statements. The enterprise was immediately undertaken, the command given to general Wolfe, and conducted with such celerity, as completely to deceive France, who had no apprehensions for the safety of Canada, till the intelligence reached Europe of its being irrevocably lost. This acquisition gave a new turn to the political interests of the English colonies, and followed as it soon was by a new reign, it contributed very materially to the restoration of peace. The brilliancy of the conquest of Canada, and the powerful pamphlet written about this time by Franklin's intimate friend, *Israel Mauduit*, a merchant of London, on the impolicy of German wars, drew the attention of the nation to the importance of that country, and the necessity of preserving it for the welfare of our own colonies. There were not wanting, however, some politicians who considered the possession of Canada in another light, and as less desirable than the retention of Guadaloupe, which about the same time surrendered to the British arms.

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[*] In a letter to Mr. David Barclay, dated Passy, January 8, 1783, Dr. Franklin thus expresses himself:—"Your friends on both sides the Atlantic, may be assured of whatever justice or favour I may be able to procure for them. My *veneration* for William Penn is not less than yours; and I have always had great esteem for the body of your people."

On the prospect of peace with France, the earl of Bath, addressed "*A Letter to two great Men*," (Mr. Pitt and the duke of Newcastle) on the terms necessary to be insisted on in the negotiations. He preferred the acquisition of Canada, to the acquisitions in the West Indies. In the same year (1760) there appeared, "*Remarks on the Letter addressed to two great Men*," (written by Messieurs Burke*) containing opposite opinions on this and other subjects. At this time Mr. Franklin stepped into the controversy, and wrote a pamphlet, in which he was assisted by his friend Mr. Richard Jackson, (who desired not to be known on the occasion) entitled, "*The Interest of Great Britain considered with regard to the Colonies, and the acquisition of Canada and Guadaloupe*," in which were pointed out in the most clear and forcible manner, the advantages that would result to Great Britain from the retention of Canada; demonstrating also, that the security of a dominion, is a justifiable and prudent ground upon which to demand cessions from an enemy;—that the erection of forts in the back settlements, was almost in no instance a sufficient security against the Indians and the French; but that the possession of Canada implied every security, and ought to be had while in the power of the British government:—and that the French retaining Canada, would be an encouragement to disaffection in the British colonies, &c.

These arguments appear to have had the desired effect, for at the treaty in 1762, France ceded Canada to Great Britain, and by the cession of Louisiana at the same time, relinquished all her possessions on the North American continent.

Mr. Franklin about this time made a journey to Scotland, whither his reputation as a philosopher had preceded him: he was greeted by the learned of that country, and the university of St. Andrews conferred upon him the degree of *doctor of laws*. Its example was followed by the universities of Edinburgh and Oxford. The entries of the honours conferred by the latter, on himself and son, are thus made:

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Esq. Provinc. Pensylvan. Deputat. ad Curiam Sereniss. Legat Tabellariorium per American Septentrionalem Præfectus Generalis et Veredariorum totius Novæ Angliæ, et R. S. S. cr. D. C. L Apr. 30, 1762.

FRANKLIN, (WILLIAM) Esq. Juris Municip. Consult. cr. M. A. Apr. 30, 1762.

Most of the other learned societies of Europe were equally ambitious of calling him a member, and nominated him as such: thus he was eventually consoled and rewarded for the neglect or opposition his discoveries in philosophy had originally experienced.

Soon after this period, a vacancy in the government of New Jersey having occurred, Dr. Franklin's son, without any solicitation whatever on the part of his father, but from his own personal merits, and in consideration of his military services in America during the last war, (backed by the powerful recommendation of lord Bute,) was appointed governor of that province.

Governor Franklin filled this high and honourable situation with equal credit to himself and advantage to the province, till the commencement of the American revolution; when, unlike most of the governors of the other provinces at that eventful period, he remained undismayed at his post, till he was seized by the revolutionary government, conveyed to Connecticut, and rigorously detained as a prisoner for near two years, when he was eventually liberated in 1778, in exchange for an American general officer. He retired to England and obtained from the British government a pension, which he enjoyed till his death, in 1813.

It has been frequently asserted, that Dr. Franklin held out every temptation and inducement to his son to quit his allegiance to Great Britain, and to take part with the colonies. This was not so: Dr. Franklin made no attempt of the sort, whatever may have been his secret wishes on that subject. In a letter to his son of Oct. 6, 1773,* he says: "I know your sentiments differ from mine on these subjects. You are a thorough government man, which I do not wonder at, *nor do I aim at converting you.* I only wish you to act uprightly and steadily, avoiding that duplicity, which in Hutchinson adds contempt to indignation. If you can promote the prosperity of your people, and leave them happier than you found them, *whatever your political principles are*, your memory will be honoured."

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* Of this name there were four, who obtained some eminence separately and associated. Edmund Burke the most celebrated of the four, and whose history is associated with the two great revolutions of the last century; his brother Richard, who became recorder of the city of Bristol; William Burke the cousin of these two, who was for a time secretary to general Conway, and an army paymaster in India, through whom Edmund received the most minute details of those events which enabled him to bring Hastings before the house of lords; the fourth was Richard the son of Edmund, most celebrated as a confidential agent of the British government in Ireland, and at the conferences of Pilnitz, in 1791.—*Edit.*

* See "Private Correspondence."

During the whole of the American contest, Dr. Franklin never had any communication whatever with his son, either directly or indirectly: but at the close of the war, in answer to an overture from him towards a reconciliation, the father thus feelingly expressed his sentiments on his son's late political conduct:—

" *Passy, August* 16, 1784.

" Dear Son,—I received your letter of the 22d ultimo, and am glad to find, that you desire to revive the affectionate intercourse that formerly existed between us. It will be very agreeable to me: indeed nothing has ever hurt me so much, and affected me with such keen sensations, as to find myself deserted in my old age, by my only son; and not only deserted, but to find him taking up arms* against me, in a cause wherein my good fame, fortune, and life, were all at stake. You conceived, you say, that your duty to your king and regard for your country required this. I ought not to blame you for differing in sentiment with me in public affairs. We are men all subject to errors. Our opinions are not in our own power; they are formed and governed much by circumstances, that are often as inexplicable as they are irresistible. Your situation was such, that few would have censured your remaining neuter, *though there are natural duties which precede political ones, and cannot be extinguished by them.* This is a disagreeable subject: I drop it. And we will endeavour, as you propose, mutually to forget what has happened relating to it, as well as we can. I send your son over to pay his duty to you. You will find him much improved. He is greatly esteemed and beloved in this country, and will make his way any where, &c."

In the summer of 1762, Dr. Franklin returned to Philadelphia, and shortly after received the thanks of the assembly of Pennsylvania, "*as well for the faithful discharge of his duty to that province in particular, as for the many and important services done to America in general, during his residence in Great Britain.*" A compensation of five thousand pounds, Pennsylvania currency, was also decreed him for his services during six years. Even in his absence, he had been annually elected a member of the assembly of representatives of the province, and he again took his seat in that body, and continued his exertions for the liberties and welfare of the country.

In December, 1762, considerable alarm was occasioned in the province, by what was called *the Paxton murders.* It is thus related: "A number of Indians had resided in the county of Lancaster, and conducted themselves uniformly as friends to the white inhabitants. Repeated depredations on the frontiers, had exasperated the inhabitants to such a degree, that they determined on revenge upon every Indian. A number of persons, to the amount of about one hundred and twenty, principally inhabitants of Donnegal and Peckstang, or *Paxton*, township, in the county of York, assembled, and, mounted on horseback, proceeded to the settlement of these harmless and defenceless Indians, whose number had now been reduced to about twenty. The Indians had received intelligence of the attack which was intended against them, but disbelieved it: considering the white people as their friends, they apprehended no danger from them. When the party arrived at the Indian settlement, they found only some women and children, and a few old men, the rest being absent at work. They murdered all whom they found, and amongst others, the chief *Shaheas*, who had always been distinguished for his friendship to the whites. This bloody deed excited much indignation in the well-disposed part of the community.

"The remainder of these unfortunate Indians, who by absence had escaped the massacre, were conducted to Lancaster, and lodged in the gaol as a place of security. The governor of Pennsylvania issued a proclamation, expressing the strongest disapprobation of the action, offering a reward for the discovery of the perpetrators of the deed, and prohibiting all injuries to the peaceable inhabitants in future. But notwithstanding this, a party of the same men shortly after marched to Lancaster, broke open the gaol, and inhumanly butchered the innocent Indians who had been placed there for security. Another proclamation was issued, but it had no effect. A detachment marched down to Philadelphia, for the express purpose of murdering some friendly Indians, who had been removed to the city for safety. A number of the citizens armed in their defence. The Quakers, whose principles are opposed to fighting, even in their own defence, were most active on this occasion. The rioters came to Germantown, within five miles of Philadelphia. The governor fled for safety to the house of Dr. Franklin, who, with some others, advanced, to meet the *Paxton-boys*, as they were called, and had influence enough to prevail upon them to relinquish their undertaking, and return to their homes."—Dr. Franklin wrote a pamphlet on this occasion, which had a considerable effect, in soothing the passions, and restoring tranquillity. His services, however, were but ill requited by the governor, who was, as well as the province, under great obligations to his active and successful exertions.

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* Governor Franklin (it is believed) formed and commanded the *corps of royalists* at New York.

The disputes between the proprietaries and the assembly, which had so long agitated the province, and which had for a time subsided, were again revived, and are thus accounted for:—

"The proprietaries were discontent at the concessions made in favour of the people, and again exerted themselves to recover the privilege of exempting their own estates from taxation, which they had been induced, with great reluctance, to relinquish.

"In 1763, the assembly passed a *Militia Bill*, to which the governor refused to give his assent, unless the assembly would agree to certain amendments which he proposed. These consisted in increasing the fines, and in some cases substituting *death* for fines. He wished, too, that the officers should be appointed altogether by himself, and not nominated by the people, as the bill had proposed. These amendments the assembly considered as inconsistent with the spirit of liberty: they would not adopt them—the governor was obstinate, and the bill was lost."

These, and various other circumstances, increased the uneasiness which subsisted between the proprietaries and the assembly, to such a degree, that in 1764, a petition to the king was agreed to by the house, praying an alteration from a *proprietary* to a *regal* government. The following draught of the same, was found in Dr. Franklin's papers:—

"To the king's most excellent majesty, in council, the *petition* of the representatives of the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met, most humbly showeth,

"That the government of this province by *proprietaries*, has, by long experience, been found inconvenient, attended with many difficulties and obstructions to your majesty's service, arising from the intervention of proprietary private interest in public affairs, and disputes concerning those interests.

"That the said proprietary-government is weak, unable to support its own authority, and maintain the common internal peace of the province, great riots having lately arisen therein, armed mobs marching from place to place, and committing violent outrages and insults on the government with impunity, to the great terror of your majesty's subjects. And these evils are not likely to receive any remedy here, the continual disputes between the proprietaries and people, and their mutual jealousies and dislikes preventing.

"We do therefore, most humbly pray, that your majesty would be graciously pleased to resume the government of this province, making such compensation to the proprietaries for the same as to your majesty's wisdom and goodness shall appear just and equitable, and permitting your dutiful subjects therein to enjoy, under your majesty's more immediate care and protection, the privileges that have been granted to them by and under your royal predecessors. By order of the house."

Great opposition was made to this measure, not only in the house, but in the public prints. A speech of Mr. Dickinson on the subject was published with a preface by Dr. Smith, in which great pains were taken to show the impropriety and impolicy of this proceeding. A speech of Joseph Galloway, Esquire, in reply to Mr. Dickinson, was also published, accompanied by a preface by Dr. Franklin, in which he ably opposed the principles laid down in the preface to Mr. Dickinson's speech. Among other pointed remarks, Dr. Franklin says:

"In the constitution of our government, and in that of one more, there still remains a particular thing that none of the other American governments have; to wit, the appointment of a governor by the *proprietors*, instead of an appointment by the *crown*. This particular in government has been found inconvenient; attended with contentions and confusions wherever it existed; and has therefore been gradually taken away from colony after colony, and every where greatly to the satisfaction and happiness of the people. Our wise first proprietor and founder William Penn, was fully sensible of this; and being desirous of leaving his people happy, and preventing the mischiefs that he foresaw must arise from that circumstance, if it was continued, he determined to take it away, if possible, during his own life-time. They accordingly entered into a contract for the sale of the proprietary right of government to the crown; and actually received a sum in part of the consideration. As he found himself likely to die before that contract (and with it his plan for the happiness of his people) could be completed, he carefully made it a part of his last will and testament; devising the right of the government to two noble lords, in trust, that they should release it to the crown. Unfortunately for us, this has never yet been done. And this is merely what the assembly now desire to have done. Surely he that formed our constitution, must have understood it. If he had imagined that all our privileges depended on the proprietary government, will any one suppose that he would himself have meditated the change; that he would have taken such effectual measures as he thought them, to bring it about speedily, whether he should live or die? Will any of those who now extol him so highly, charge him at the same time with the baseness of endeavouring thus to defraud his people of all the liberties and privileges he had promised them, and by the most solemn charters and grants assured to them, when he engaged them to assist him in the settlement of his province? Surely none can be so inconsistent!—And yet this proprietary right of governing or appointing a governor, has all of a sudden changed its nature; and the preservation of it become of so much importance to the welfare of the province, that the assembly's only petitioning to have their venerable founder's will executed, and the contract he entered into for the good of his people completed, is styled an 'attempt to violate the constitution for which our fathers planted a wilderness; to barter away our glorious plan of public liberty and charter privileges; a risking of the whole constitution; an offering up our whole charter rights; a wanton sporting with things sacred,' &c."

In addition to the preface just mentioned, Dr. Franklin wrote a pamphlet, entitled "*Cool Thoughts*," tending to promote the same views. The assembly's application to the throne however, produced no effect, and the proprietary government remained unchanged.

At the election for a new assembly, in the autumn of 1764, the friends of the proprietaries made great exertions to exclude those of the adverse party; and they obtained a small majority in the city of Philadelphia. Dr. Franklin on this occasion lost his seat in the house, which he had held for fourteen years. On the meeting of the assembly, however, it appeared that there was still a decided majority of his friends, and he was again appointed to resume his agency at the court of Great Britain, to the great chagrin of his enemies, who made a solemn protest against his appointment; but which was refused admission upon the minutes, as being unprecedented. It was, however, published in the papers, and produced a spirited reply, from him, entitled "*Remarks on a late Protest*," &c.

The opposition made to his re-appointment seems greatly to have affected his feelings; as it came from men with whom he had long been connected, both in public and private life, "*the very ashes of whose former friendship*," he declared, "*he revered*." His pathetic farewell to Pennsylvania, in the publication abovementioned, the day before his departure, is a strong proof of the agitation of his mind on this occasion.

"I am now," says he, "to take leave (perhaps a last leave) of the country I love, and in which I have spent the greatest part of my life. *Esto perpetua!*—I wish every kind of prosperity to my *friends*, and I forgive my *enemies*."

An eloquent divine, Dr. William Smith, has observed on this occasion, "That under whatsoever circumstances this second embassy was undertaken, it appears to have been a measure pre-ordained in the councils of Heaven; and it will be for ever remembered to the honour of Pennsylvania, that the agent selected to assert and defend the rights of a single province at the court of Great Britain, became the bold asserter of the rights of America in general; and beholding the fetters that were forging for her, conceived the magnanimous thought of rending them asunder before they could be rivetted."

The disturbances produced in America by Mr. Grenville's *Stamp Act*, and the opposition made to it are well known. But the origin thereof has generally been misunderstood. The following letter from Dr. Franklin on that subject, will correct some of the misrepresentations relative thereto.

"*To William Alexander, Esq.*

"Passy, March 12, 1778.

"Dear Sir,—In the pamphlet you were so kind as to lend me, there is one important fact misstated, apparently from the writer's not having been furnished with good information; it is the transaction between Mr. Grenville and the colonies, wherein he understands that Mr. Grenville demanded of them a specific sum; that they refused to grant any thing; and that it was on their refusal only that he made a motion for the *Stamp Act*. No one of these particulars is true. The fact was this.

"Some time in the winter of 1763–4, Mr. Grenville called together the agents of the several colonies, and told them that he purposed to draw a revenue from America, and to that end his intention was to levy a stamp duty on the colonies by act of parliament in the ensuing session, of which he thought it fit that they should be immediately acquainted, that they might have time to consider, and if any other duty equally productive would be more agreeable to them, they might let him know it. The agents were therefore directed to write this to their respective assemblies, and communicate to him the answers they should receive: the agents wrote accordingly.

"I was a member in the assembly of Pennsylvania, when this notification came to hand. The observations there made upon it were, that the ancient, established, and regular method of drawing aids from the colonies was this. The occasion was always first considered by their sovereign in his privy council, by whose sage advice, he directed his secretary of state to write circular letters to the several governors, who were directed to lay them before their assemblies. In those letters, the occasion was explained for their satisfaction, with gracious expressions of his majesty's confidence in their known duty and affection, on which he relied, that they would grant such sums as should be suitable to their abilities, loyalty, and zeal for his service. That the colonies had always granted liberally on such requisitions, and so liberally during the late war, that the king, sensible they had granted much more than their proportion, had recommended it to parliament, five years successively, to make them some compensation, and the parliament accordingly returned them two hundred thousand pounds a-year to be divided among them. That the proposition of taxing them in parliament, was therefore both cruel and unjust.* That by the constitution of the colonies their business was with the king in matters of aid, they had nothing to do with any financier, nor he with them; nor were the agents the proper channels through which requisitions should be made; it was therefore improper for them to enter into any stipulation, or make any proposition to Mr. Grenville about laying taxes on their constituents by parliament, which had really no right at all to tax them, especially as the notice he had sent them did not appear to be by the king's order, and perhaps was without his knowledge; as the king, when he would obtain any thing from them, always accompanied his requisition with good words, but this gentleman, instead of a decent demand, sent them a menace, that they should certainly be taxed, and only left them the choice of the manner. But all this notwithstanding, they were so far from refusing to grant money, that they resolved to the following purpose:—'That they always had, so they always should, think it their duty to grant aid to the crown, according to their abilities, whenever required of them in the usual constitutional manner.' I went soon after to England, and took with me an authentic copy of this resolution, which I presented to Mr. Grenville before he brought in the Stamp Act. I asserted in the house of commons (Mr. Grenville being present) that I had done so, and he did not deny it. Other colonies made similar resolutions. And had Mr. Grenville, instead of that act, applied to the king in council for such requisitional letters to be circulated by the secretary of state, I am sure he would have obtained more money from the colonies by their voluntary grants, than he himself expected from his stamps. But he chose compulsion rather than persuasion, and would not receive from their good-will what he thought he could obtain without it. And thus the golden bridge which the ingenious author thinks the Americans unwisely and unbecomingly refused to hold out to the minister and parliament, was actually held out to them, but they refused to walk over it. This is the true history of that transaction; and as it is probable there may be another edition of that excellent pamphlet, I wish this may be communicated to the candid author, who, I doubt not, will correct that error.—I am ever, with sincere esteem, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Dr. Franklin strenuously exerted himself to free America from this odious tax; the principal objection to which was, that it was imposed by a *British parliament*, which the Americans asserted had no right to tax them. Dr. Franklin thus expresses his sentiments on the subject, in a letter to a friend, dated London, January 6, 1766:—

"In my own private judgment, I think an immediate repeal of the Stamp Act would be the best measure for *this* country; but a suspension of it for three years, the best for *that*. The *repeal* would fill them with joy and gratitude, re-establish their respect and veneration for parliament, restore at once their ancient and natural love for this country, and their regard for every thing that comes from it hence; the trade would be renewed in all its branches; they would again indulge in all the expensive superfluities you supply them with, and their own new assumed home industry would languish. But the *suspension*, though it might continue their fears and anxieties, would, at the same time, keep up their resolutions of industry and frugality; which in two or three years would grow into habits, to their lasting advantage. However, as the repeal will probably not now be agreed to, from what I now think a mistaken opinion, that the honour and dignity of government is better supported by persisting in a wrong measure, once entered into, than by rectifying an error as soon as it is discovered; we must allow the next best thing for the advantage of both countries is, the *suspension* For as to executing the act by force, it is madness, and will be ruin to the whole."

Contrary to Dr. Franklin's surmise, shortly after the date of this letter, it began to appear expedient to the administration, then under the marquis of Rockingham, to endeavour to calm the minds of the colonists; and *the repeal of the Stamp Tax* was contemplated. Amongst other means of collecting information on the disposition of the people to submit to it, Dr. Franklin was (Feb. 3, 1766,) "ordered to attend the committee of the whole house of commons, to whom it was referred to consider further the several papers relative to America, which were presented to the house by Mr. secretary Conway, &c." It contains a striking account of the extent and accuracy of Dr. Franklin's information, and the facility and manliness with which he communicated his sentiments. He represented facts in so strong a point of view, that the inexpediency of the act must have appeared clear to every unprejudiced mind.

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* "There is neither king, nor sovereign lord on earth, who has, beyond his own domain, power to lay one farthing on the subjects, without the grant and consent of those who pay it; unless he does it by tyranny and violence."—(*Philippe de Commines, chap.* 108.)

Feb. 24. The resolutions of the committee were reported by the chairman, Mr. Fuller; their *seventh* and last resolution setting forth, "that it was their opinion that the house be moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to *repeal the Stamp Act.*" A proposal for re-committing this resolution, was negatived by two hundred and forty votes, to one hundred and thirty-three: and the act, after some opposition, was repealed about a year after it was enacted, and before it had ever been carried into execution.*

Dr. Franklin about this period, in addition to his agency for Pennsylvania, received the separate appointments of agent for the respective colonies of New Jersey, Georgia, and Massachusetts. All of which he continued to fill with equal credit to himself and advantage to his constituents, during his stay in England.

In the course of this year (1766) he visited Holland and Germany, and received the greatest marks of attention and respect from men of science in those countries. In his passage through Holland, he learned from the watermen the effect which a diminution of the quantity of water in canals has, in impeding the progress of boats. Upon his return to England he was induced to make a number of experiments, which tended to confirm the observation. These, with an explanation of the phenomenon, he communicated in a letter to his friend sir John Pringle, which will be found among his philosophical writings.

In the following year, as also in 1769, he visited Paris, where he was no less favourably received than he had been in Germany. He was introduced to the king (Louis XV.) and his sisters *Mesdames de France*, and particularly distinguished by them: as he was also by the Academy of Sciences (of which he was afterwards elected a foreign associate,) and many other scientific and literary characters.

Mons. Dubourg, a member of the same academy, undertook a French translation of Dr. Franklin's letters on his Discoveries in Electricity, and the third English edition of the same work was now published in London. With respect to the general merit and originality of the experiments and hypotheses of Dr. Franklin, as described and explained in these letters, that eminent natural philosopher, the late Dr. Priestly, bears the following testimony in his "*History of Electricity.*"

"Nothing was ever written upon the subject of electricity, which was more generally read and admired in all parts of Europe than these letters. There is hardly any European language into which they have not been translated; and, as if this were not sufficient to make them properly known, a translation of them has lately been made into Latin. It is not easy to say, whether we are most pleased with the simplicity and perspicuity with which these letters are written, the modesty with which the author proposes every hypothesis of his own, or the noble frankness with which he relates his mistakes, when they were corrected by subsequent experiments.

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* A ludicrous caricature was published on this occasion, of which the following description was given, annexed thereto:

"*An Account of a humorous political print, called*, The Repeal; *which* (*in the Painters' phrase*) *may be called* A Companion to the Tomb-stone, *a print not long since published.*

"The subject of this print is *the Funeral of Miss* AME STAMP, the favourite child and youngest daughter of the honourable Mr. *George Stamp*,* the well-known *Gentle Shepherd.* At one end of the print stands the *Family Vault*, with a mutilated inscription, signifying that 'within it lie (it is to be hoped never to rise again) the remains of ....Hearth Mon**,...... Ship Moo**,. . ..Excise B***,...... Jew B***,.... . Gen**** Warrants,......&c.' On the top of the vault are two heads on poles, like those on *Temple Bar*, marked on the skull with the numbers 1715 and 1745.† The vault is supposed to be situated on the side of the river, along the Strand, of which the funeral procession proceeds. The *Reverend* Mr. ANTI-SEJANUS,‡ that noted *Constitutionalist*, drawn to the life, appears first, reading the burial service: after him follow those two eminent pillars of the law, sir *Bullface Doublefee* § and Mr *Alexander Scatburn*.‖ supporting two black flags; on which are delineated the Stamps, with the *white rose* and *thistle* interweaved, with the old motto of *Semper eadem*; to which is annexed a new motto, consisting of those significant words, *Three Farthings* taken from the *budget*. Beneath this motto, as if meant to certify the number of the despicable *minority* fighting under these banners, appear on one flag the figures 71, and on the other 122, with a flying label surrounding both, bearing these words, *All of a* STAMP. Next appears the *sad father* of the deceased child, the honourable Mr. *George Stamp* himself, with grief and despair pictured on his countenance, carrying in his arms the infant's coffin, on which is written '*Miss* AME STAMP, born 1765, died 1766.' Immediately after follows the chief mourner, *Sejanus:* then his grace of *Spitalfields* ¶ and lord *Gawkee*:** after these *Jemmy Twitcher*,†† with a catch by way of funeral anthem; and by his side his friend and partner Mr. *Falconer Donaldson of Halifax.* At a little distance, to close the procession, are two worthy B****ps, Dr. *Squirt*, and another right reverend gentleman, who shall be nameless: and behind them lie, on this side of the river, two huge bales of returned commodities, one marked *Stamps from America*, the other *Black Cloth from America.*

"These *few* mourners are separated from the joyful scene that appears in the back ground, by the River *Thames*, in which are riding three first-rate ships, called, The ROCKINGHAM,‡‡ The GRAFTON,§§ and The CONWAY,‖‖ Along the shore stand open warehouses for the several goods of our principal manufacturing towns, from which cargoes are NOW shipping for *America:* among these is a large case, containing a *statue* of Mr PITT, which is heaving on board a boat *number* 250; and there is another boat taking in goods, nearer the first-rates, which is *numbered* 105; numbers which will ever remain sacred to liberty, and render the memory of the triumphant MAJORITY, *on this side* of the river, revered by our latest posterity.

* The right honourable George Grenville, author of the Stamp Act.

† Years of rebellion.

‡ Mr. Scott.

§ Sir Fletcher Norton.

‖ Mr. Alexander Wedderburn (afterwards lord Loughborough.)

¶ (Perhaps) the duke of Bedford.

** (Perhaps) lord Gower.

†† Lord Sandwich.

‡‡ The marquis of Rockingham.

§§ The duke of Grafton.

‖‖ Mr. secretary Conway.

"Though the English have not been backward in acknowledging the great merit of this philosopher, he has had the singular good fortune to be, perhaps, even more celebrated abroad than at home; so that, to form a just idea of the great and deserved reputation of Dr. Franklin, we must read the foreign publications on the subject of electricity; in many of which the terms *Franklinism*, *Franklinist*, and the *Franklinian system*, occur in almost every page. In consequence of this, Dr. Franklin's principles bid fair to be handed down to posterity as equally expressive of the true principles of electricity, as the Newtonian philosophy is of the true system of nature in general."

As Dr. Franklin has only mentioned his electrical discoveries in a very transient way, in the former part of these memoirs, and as they are of a most important and interesting nature, it has been thought a short digression on the subject would be excusable, and not void of entertainment. For this purpose the following account of the same, including the first experiment of the *Lightning Kite*, as given by Dr. Stuber, is here given.

"Dr. Franklin engaged in a course of electrical experiments, with all the ardour and thirst for discovery which characterized the philosophers of that day. Of all the branches of experimental philosophy, *Electricity* had been least explored. The attractive power of amber is mentioned by Theophrastus and Pliny, and, from them, by later naturalists. In the year 1600, Gilbert, an English physician, enlarged considerably the catalogue of substances which have the property of attracting light bodies. Boyle, Otto Guericke, a burgomaster of Magdeburg, (celebrated as the inventor of the air pump,) Dr. Wall, and sir Isaac Newton, added some facts. Guericke first observed the repulsive power of electricity, and the light and noise produced by it. In 1709, Hawkesbee communicated some important observations and experiments to the world. For several years electricity was entirely neglected, until Mr. Grey applied himself to it, in 1728, with great assiduity. He and his friend Mr. Wheeler, made a great variety of experiments; in which they demonstrated, that electricity may be communicated from one body to another, even without being in contact, and in this way may be conducted to a great distance. Mr. Grey afterwards found, that by suspending rods of iron by silk or hair lines, and bringing an excited tube under them, sparks might be drawn, and a light perceived at the extremities in the dark. M. Du Faye, intendant of the French king's gardens, made a number of experiments, which added not a little to the science. He made the discovery of two kinds of electricity, which he called *vitreous* and *resinous;* the former produced by rubbing glass, the latter from excited sulphur, sealing-wax, &c. But this idea he afterwards gave up as erroneous. Between the years 1739 and 1742, Desaguliers made a number of experiments, but added little of importance. He first used the terms *conductors* and *electrics, per se.* 1742, several ingenious Germans engaged in this subject. Of these the principal were; professor Boze of Wittemberg, professor Winkler of Leipsic, Gordon, a Scotch Benedictine monk, professor of philosophy at Erfurt, and Dr. Ludolf of Berlin. The result of their researches astonished the philosophers of Europe. Their apparatus was large, and by means of it they were enabled to collect large quantities of electricity, and thus to produce phenomena which had been hitherto unobserved. They killed small birds, and set spirits on fire. Their experiments excited the curiosity of other philosophers. Collinson, about the year 1745, sent to the library company of Philadelphia an account of these experiments, together with a tube, and directions how to use it. Franklin, with some of his friends, immediately engaged in a course of experiments; the result of which is well known. He was enabled to make a number of important *discoveries*, and to propose theories to account for various phenomena; which have been universally adopted, and which bid fair to endure for ages. His observations he communicated, in a series of letters, to his friend Collinson; the first of which is dated March 28, 1747. In these he makes known the power of points in drawing and throwing off the electrical matter, which had hitherto escaped the notice of electricians. He also made the grand discovery of a *plus* and *minus*, or of a *positive* and *negative* state of electricity. We give him the honour of this, without hesitation; although the English have claimed it for their countryman Dr. Watson. Watson's paper is dated Jan. 21, 1748; Franklin's, July 11, 1747; several months prior. Shortly after, Franklin, from his principles of *plus* and *minus* state, explained, in a satisfactory manner, the phenomena of the Leyden phial, first observed by Mr. Cuneus, or by professor Muschenbroeck of Leyden, which had much perplexed philosophers. He showed clearly that the bottle, when charged, contained no more electricity than before, but that as much was taken from one side as was thrown on the other; and that to discharge it, nothing was necessary but to make a communication between the two sides, by which the equilibrium might be restored, and that then no signs of electricity would remain. He afterwards demonstrated by experiments, that the electricity did not reside in the coating, as had been supposed, but in the pores of the glass itself. After a phial was charged, he removed the coating, and found that upon applying a new coating the shock might still be received. In the year 1749, he first suggested his idea of explaining the phenomena of thunder-gusts and of the aurora borealis, upon electrical principles. He points out many particulars in which lightning and electricity agree; and he adduces many facts, and reasonings from facts, in support of his positions. In the same year he conceived the astonishingly bold and grand idea of ascertaining the truth of his doctrine, by actually drawing down the forked lightning, by means of sharp-pointed iron rods raised into the region of the clouds. Even in this uncertain state, his passion to be useful to mankind displays itself in a powerful manner. *Admitting the identity of electricity and lightning*, and knowing the power of points in repelling bodies charged with electricity, and in conducting their fire silently and imperceptibly, he suggests the idea of securing houses, ships, &c., from being damaged by lightning, by erecting pointed iron rods, which should rise some feet above the most elevated part, and descend some feet into the ground or the water. The effect of these, he concluded, would be either to prevent a stroke by repelling the cloud beyond the striking distance, or by drawing off the electrical fire which it contained; or, if they could not effect this, they would at least conduct the stroke to the earth, without any injury to the building.

"It was not until the summer of 1752, that he was enabled to complete his grand and unparalleled discovery by experiment. The plan which he had originally proposed, was, to erect on some high tower, or other elevated place, a sentry-box, from which should rise a pointed iron rod, insulated by being fixed in a cake of resin. Electrified clouds passing over this, would, he conceived, impart to it a portion of their electricity, which would be rendered evident to the senses by sparks being emitted, when a key, a knuckle, or other conductor was presented to it. Philadelphia at this time afforded no opportunity of trying an experiment of this kind. Whilst Franklin was waiting for the erection of a spire, it occurred to him, that he might have more ready access to the region of clouds, by means of a common kite. He prepared one, by attaching two cross sticks to a silk handkerchief, which would not suffer so much from the rain as paper. To his upright stick, was affixed an iron point. The string was, as usual, of hemp, except the lower end, which was silk. Where the hempen string terminated, a key was fastened. With this apparatus, on the appearance of a thunder-gust approaching, he went out into the commons, accompanied by his son, to whom alone he communicated his intentions, well knowing the ridicule which, too generally for the interest of science, awaits unsuccessful experiments in philosophy. He placed himself under a shed to avoid the rain. His kite was raised. A thunder-cloud passed over it. No sign of electricity appeared. He almost despaired of success; when suddenly, he observed the loose fibres of his string to move towards an erect position. He now presented his knuckle to the key, and received a strong spark. How exquisite must his sensations have been at this moment! On this experiment depended the fate of his theory. If he succeeded, his name would rank high amongst those who have improved science; if he failed, he must inevitably be subjected to the derision of mankind, or what is worse, their pity, as a well-meaning man, but a weak, silly projector.—The anxiety with which he looked for the result of his experiment, may be easily conceived. Doubts and despair had begun to prevail, when the fact was ascertained in so clear a manner, that even the most incredulous could no longer withhold their assent. Repeated sparks were drawn from the key, a phial was charged, a shock given, and all the experiments made, which are usually performed with electricity.

"About a month before this period, some ingenious Frenchmen had completed the discovery in the manner originally proposed by Dr. Franklin. The letters which he sent to Mr. Collinson, it is said, were refused a place amongst the papers of the Royal Society of London. However this may be, Collinson published them in a separate volume, under the title of, *New Experiments and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia, in America.* They were read with avidity, and soon translated into different languages. A very incorrect French translation fell into the hands of the celebrated Buffon, who, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which the work laboured, was much pleased with it, and repeated the experiments with success. He prevailed upon his friend, M. D'Alibard, to give to his countrymen a more correct translation of the work of the American electrician. This contributed much towards spreading a knowledge of Franklin's principles in France. The king, Louis XV., hearing of these experiments, expressed a wish to be a spectator of them. A course of experiments was given at the seat of the Duc D'Ayen, at St. Germains, by M. De Lor. The applauses which the king bestowed upon Franklin, excited in Buffon, D'Alibard, and De Lor, an earnest desire of ascertaining the truth of his theory of thunder-gusts. Buffon erected his apparatus on the tower of Montbar, M. D'Alibard at Marly-la-ville, and De Lor at his house in the *Estrapade*, at Paris, some of the highest ground in that capital. D'Alibard's machine first showed signs of electricity. On the 10th of May, 1752, a thunder-cloud passed over it, in the absence of M D'Alibard; and a number of sparks were drawn from it by Coiffier, a joiner, with whom D'Alibard had left directions how to proceed, and by M. Raulet, the prior of Marly-la-ville. An account of this experiment was given to the royal academy of sciences, in a memoir of M. D'Alibard, dated May 13, 1752. On the 16th of May, M. De Lor proved equally successful with the apparatus erected at his own house. These discoveries soon excited the philosophers of other parts of Europe to repeat the experiment. Amongst these, none signalized himself more than father Beccaria of Turin, to whose observations, science is much indebted. Even the cold regions of Russia were penetrated, by the ardour for discovery. Professor Richmann bade fair to add much to the stock of knowledge on this subject, when an unfortunate flash from his rod put a period to his existence. The friends of science will long remember with regret, the amiable martyr to electricity.

"By these experiments, Franklin's theory was established in the most firm manner. When the truth of it could no longer be doubted, the vanity of men endeavoured to detract from its merit. That an American, an inhabitant of the obscure city of Philadelphia, the name of which was hardly known, should be able to make discoveries, and to frame theories, which had escaped the notice of the enlightened philosophers of Europe, was too mortifying to be admitted. He must certainly have taken the idea from some one else. An American, a being of an inferior order, make discoveries! Impossible. It was said, that the abbé Nollet, in 1748, had suggested the idea of the similarity of lightning and electricity, in his *Leçons de Physique*. It is true that the abbé mentions the idea; but he throws it out as a bare conjecture, and proposes no mode of ascertaining the truth of it. He himself acknowledges, that Franklin *first* entertained the bold thought of bringing lightning from the heavens, by means of pointed rods fixed in the air. The similarity of electricity and lightning is so strong, that we need not be surprised at notice being taken of it, as soon as electrical phenomena became familiar. We find it mentioned by Dr. Wall and Mr. Grey, while the science was in its infancy. But the honour of forming a regular theory of thunder-gusts, of suggesting a mode of determining the truth of it by experiments, and of putting these experiments in practice, and thus establishing his theory upon a firm and solid basis, is incontestibly due to Franklin. D'Alibard, who made the first experiments in France, says, that he only followed the track which Franklin had pointed out.

"It has been of late asserted, that the honour of completing the experiment with the electrical kite, does not belong to Franklin. Some late English paragraphs have attributed it to some Frenchman, whose name they do not mention; and the abbé Bertholon gives it to M. De Romas, assessor to the presideal of Nérac; the English paragraphs probably refer to the same person. But a very slight attention will convince us of the injustice of this procedure. Dr. Franklin's experiment was made in June, 1752; and his letter, giving an account of it, is dated October 19, 1752. M. De Romas made his first attempt on the 14th of May, 1753, but was not successful until the 7th of June, *a year after Franklin had completed the discovery*, and when it was known to all the philosophers in Europe.

"Besides these great principles, Franklin's letters on electricity contain a number of facts and hints, which have contributed greatly towards reducing this branch of knowledge to a science. His friend, Mr. Kinnersley, communicated to him a discovery of the different kinds of electricity excited by rubbing glass and sulphur. This we have said, was first observed by M. Du Faye; but it was for many years neglected. The philosophers were disposed to account for the phenomena, rather from a difference in the quantity of electricity collected; and even Du Faye himself seems at last to have adopted this doctrine. Franklin at first entertained the same idea; but upon repeating the experiments, he perceived that Mr. Kinnersley was right; and that the *vitreous* and *resinous* electricity of Du Faye were nothing more than the *positive* and *negative* states which he had before observed; that the glass globe charged *positively*, or increased the quantity of electricity on the prime conductor, whilst the globe of sulphur diminished its natural quantity, or charged *negatively*. These experiments and observations opened a new field for investigation, upon which electricians entered with avidity; and their labours have added much to the stock of our knowledge.

"In September, 1752, Franklin entered upon a course of experiments, to determine the state of electricity in the clouds. From a number of experiments he formed this conclusion: "that the clouds of a thunder-gust are most commonly in a negative state of electricity, but sometimes in a positive state;" and from this it follows, as a necessary consequence, "that, for the most part, in thunder-strokes, it is the earth that strikes into the clouds, and not the clouds that strike into the earth." The letter containing these observations, is dated in September, 1753; and yet the discovery of ascending thunder has been said to be of a modern date, and has been attributed to the abbé Bertholon, who published his memoir on the subject in 1776.

"Franklin's letters on electricity, have been translated into most of the European languages, and into Latin. In proportion as they have become known, his principles have been adopted. Some opposition was made to his theories, particularly by the abbé Nollet, who was, however, but feebly supported, whilst the first philosophers of Europe stepped forth in defence of Franklin's principles; amongst whom D'Alibard and Beccaria were the most distinguished. The opposition has gradually ceased, and the Franklinian system is now universally adopted, where science flourishes.

"The important practical use which Franklin made of his discoveries, the securing of houses from injury by lightning, has been already mentioned. Pointed conductors are now very common in America; but prejudice has hitherto prevented their general introduction into Europe, notwithstanding the most undoubted proofs of their utility have been given. But mankind can with difficulty be brought to lay aside established practices, or to adopt new ones. And perhaps we have more reason to be surprised that a practice, however rational, which was proposed about forty years ago, should in that time have been adopted in so many places, than that it has not universally prevailed. It is only by degrees that the great body of mankind can be led into new practices, however salutary their tendency. It is now nearly eighty years since innoculation was introduced into Europe and America; and it is so far from being general at present, that it will, perhaps, require one or two centuries to render it so."

To revert to Dr. Franklin's political transactions. His exertions and examination before the house of commons, having greatly contributed to the repeal of the *Stamp Act;* he now turned his attention towards obtaining the repeal of the *Act restraining the legal tender of paper money in the colonies.;* another grievance they complained of. The ministry had at one time agreed to the repeal; not so much to serve the colonies, as from the impression that they might raise a revenue from paper money lent on mortgage, by the parliament appropriating the *interest* arising therefrom. This notion was, however, removed, by Dr. Franklin's assuring them, that no colony would issue money on those terms; and that the advantage arising to the commerce of Great Britain in America, from a plentiful currency, would thereby be lost, and the repeal answer no end, if the assemblies were not allowed to appropriate the interest themselves. The measure was afterwards dropt, and the restraint unwisely continued.

As early as the period of these discussions between Great Britain and her colonies, the French government appear to have begun to take an interest in their affairs. The circumstance is thus alluded to in a letter of Dr. Franklin to his son, dated London, August 28, 1767.

"De Guerchy, the French ambassador, is gone home, and Mons. Durand is left minister plenipotentiary. He is extremely curious to inform himself in the affairs of America; pretends to have a great esteem for me, on account of the abilities shown in my examination; has desired to have all my political writings; invited me to dine with him, was very inquisitive, treated me with great civility, makes me visits, &c. I fancy that intriguing nation would like very well to meddle on this occasion, and blow up the coals between Great Britain and her colonies; but I hope we shall give them no opportunity."

Dr. Franklin was right in his conjectures, but his hopes were not realized; the *opportunity* was given, and they availed themselves of it,—eminently contributing to the separation of the two countries.

Certain resolutions of the town of Boston, respecting trade and manufactures, arrived in London about the commencement of the year 1768, and occasioned a considerable clamour they gave Dr. Franklin and the friends of America great concern. He endeavoured by every means to palliate the affair, by various writings in the newspapers; and the discontents of the British colonies being much the subject of general discussion at the time, and greatly misunderstood, he, with a view to elucidate the same, and soften the prevalent animosity against America, wrote and published (in the Chronicle of January 7th,) a piece signed F—S. intitled "*Causes of the American discontents before* 1768," with this inscription: "*The waves never rise but when the winds blow.*" Prov.

This short tract, together with his "*Answer* (in Nov. 1769,) *to the queries of Mr. Strahan*," (which were probably made under the dictation of administration,) give the best account of the then existing complaints of the colonies, and (from their not being attended to,) of the *primitive cause* of the disputes, that produced civil war, and terminated in their separation from Great Britain.* These papers, interesting for the historian, form, in some degree, a complement to these memoirs; and constitute sufficient proofs of Dr. Franklin's candour and foresight.

At this time a change of ministry took place, in which the American business was taken from lord Shelburne, and given to lord Hillsborough, as *secretary of state for America*, a new distinct apartment. There was a talk at the time of getting Dr. Franklin appointed under secretary of state for that department; but it fell through, he being considered too much of an American.

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* See also a letter of Dr. Franklin's, *On the rise and progress of the differences between Great Britain and her American colonies:* signed "*A well wisher to the king and all his dominions*," and addressed to the printer of the Public Advertiser --*Private Correspondence.*

Lord Hillsborough had formerly, at sundry times, discoursed with Dr. Franklin on the subject of the restraining act, relative to paper-money: the latter now waited on the new minister, in order again to press the repeal of the same; but he found he had not altered in the sentiments concerning it, which he entertained when at the head of the board of trade, and which still continued adverse to it.

Dr. Franklin took this opportunity of conversing with his lordship concerning the particular affair with which he was charged by his Pennsylvania constituents, relative to the change of government in that province; giving him a detail of all the proceedings hitherto, the delays it had experienced, and its present situation. He promised him he would inquire into the matter, and would talk with him further upon it: his lordship expressed great satisfaction at the good disposition that he said appeared now to be general in America, with regard to the British government, according to his last advices; and added, that he had by his majesty's order, written the most healing letters to the several governors, which if shown to the assemblies, as he supposed they would be, could not but confirm that good disposition.

These expectations were not however realized: the Americans began to be sensible of their own consequence, and the inhabitants of Boston, at a public meeting on the 27th October, 1767, entered into a variety of resolutions for encouraging manufactures, promoting economy, and restraining the use of foreign superfluities. These resolutions, all of which were highly prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain, contained a long list of articles which it was either determined not to use at all, or at least in the smallest possible quantities. A subscription was opened at the same time, and a committee appointed, for the increase of their old manufactures, and the establishment of new ones. Among other things, it was determined to give particular encouragement to the making of paper, glass, and other commodities that were liable to the payment of the new duties upon importation. It was also resolved to restrain the expense of funerals, to reduce dress to a degree of primitive simplicity and plainness, and, in general, not to purchase any commodities from the mother country, that could be procured in any of the colonies.

All these resolutions were either adopted, or similar ones entered into, by most, if not all the other colonies on the continent.

Though the colonies never pretended an exemption, from contributing to the common expenses necessary to the prosperity of the empire, they continued to assert, that having parliaments of their own, and not having representatives in that of Great Britain, their own parliaments were the only proper judges of what they could and ought to contribute in this case; and that the English parliament had no right to take their money without their consent. They considered the British empire, not as a single state, but as comprehending many; and though the parliament of Great Britain had arrogated to itself the power of taxing the colonies, it had no more right to do so, than it had to tax Hanover: both countries had the same king, but not the same legislatures. The Americans, conceiving their rights thus established, were determined to maintain them; and they accordingly, opposed to the acts of a venal court, resolved to subjugate them to its authority, that calm, steady perseverance, worthy of men who were determined to be free.

In 1772, lord Hillsborough gave in his resignation, occasioned, as was supposed, from some mortification he had experienced, or the evident dislike of the king to his administration, which he conceived had tended to weaken the affection and respect of the colonies for a royal government—a sentiment which Dr. Franklin had taken every proper means to encourage, by the communication of suitable information, and convincing proofs derived from America. But the doctor was not only instrumental in the dismissal of this minister, but perhaps in the appointment of his successor: for complaining of lord Hillsborough one day at court, to a person of considerable influence, that person told him, that the Americans were represented by his lordship as an unquiet people, not easily satisfied with any ministry; that however it was thought too much occasion had been given them to dislike the present; and he asked him, whether, in case he should be removed, he could name another likely to be more acceptable to the colonies? Dr. Franklin instantly replied, "Yes, there is *lord Dartmouth*—we liked him very well when he was at the head of the board formerly, and in all probability should again." This was probably reported: what influence it may have had is uncertain; but shortly after, lord Dartmouth was actually appointed to succeed lord Hillsborough, to the great satisfaction of all the friends of America.

Dr. Franklin, it appears, had, about this time, a strong inclination to return to America, though well pleased with his residence in England, where, as he writes to his son, "Nothing can be more agreeable than my situation, more especially as I hope for less embarrassment from the new administration. A general respect paid me by the learned—a number of friends and acquaintance among them, with whom I have a pleasing intercourse; a character of so much weight, that it has protected me, when some in power would have done me injury, and continued me in an office* they would have deprived me of; my company so much desired, that I seldom dine at home in winter, and could spend the whole summer in the country-houses of inviting friends, if I chose it. Learned and ingenious foreigners that came to England, almost all make a point of visiting me, (for my reputation is still higher abroad than here); several of the foreign ambassadors have assiduously cultivated my acquaintance, treating me as one of their *corps*, partly I believe, from the desire they have from time to time of hearing something of American affairs, an object become of importance in foreign courts, who begin to hope Britain's alarming power will be diminished by the defection of her colonies; and partly, that they may have an opportunity of introducing me to the gentlemen of their country who desire it. The king, too, has lately been heard to speak of me with regard. These are flattering circumstances; but a violent longing for home sometimes seizes me, which I can no otherwise subdue, but by promising myself a return next spring, or next autumn, and so forth. As to returning hither, if I once go back, I have no thoughts of it. I am too far advanced in life, to propose three voyages more.† I have some important affairs to settle at home; and considering my double expenses here and there, I hardly think my salaries fully compensate the disadvantages. The late change, however, (of the American minister) being thrown into the balance, determines me to stay another winter."

Lord Dartmouth had heretofore expressed great personal regard for Dr. Franklin, who now found himself upon very good terms with this new minister.

As an explanatory introduction to a transaction of much interest and importance in the annals of Dr. Franklin, which made a considerable noise at this time, (1773–4,) and which has not hitherto been satisfactorily developed to the public, it may be proper to revert a few years back to the history of the colony of Massachusetts; for which purpose the following short sketch, from an unknown hand, is submitted:—

"From the royal and ministerial assurances given in favour of America in the year 1769, the subsequent repeal in 1770, of five-sixths of the duties which had been imposed in 1767, together with the renewal of the mercantile intercourse between Great Britain and her colonies, many hoped that the contention between the two countries was finally closed. In all the provinces excepting Massachusetts, appearances seemed to favour that opinion. Many incidents operated there to the prejudice of that harmony which had began elsewhere to return. The stationing a military force among them was a permanent source of uneasiness. The royal army had been brought thither with the avowed design of enforcing submission to the mother country. Speeches from the throne, and addresses from both houses of parliament, had taught them to look upon the inhabitants as factious turbulent citizens, who aimed at throwing off all subordination to Great Britain; they on the other hand were accustomed to look upon the soldiery as instruments of tyranny, sent on purpose to dragoon them out of their liberties. Mutual insults and provocations were the consequence.

"On the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, a tumult between the town's-people and a party of the soldiers took place. In this the latter fired on the former and killed several of them. Moderate men interposed and prevented a general carnage. The events of this tragical night sunk deep in the minds of the citizens. The anniversary of it was observed with great solemnity. Their ablest speakers were successively employed to deliver an annual oration, to preserve the remembrance of it fresh in their minds. On these occasions, the blessings of liberty—the horrors of slavery—and a variety of such popular topics were displayed in elegant language, and presented to the public view in their most pleasing or most hideous forms.

"The obstacles to returning harmony, which have already been mentioned, were increased by making the judges in Massachusetts independent of the province. Formerly they had been paid by yearly grants from the assembly; but from the year 1772, Peter Oliver, the chief justice of the superior court, received his salary from the crown. This was resented by the assembly as a species of bribery, tending to bias his judicial determinations in favour of the mother country. They made it the foundation of an impeachment; but this produced no other consequence than a dissolution of the assembly which prosecuted the uncourtly measure.

"A personal animosity between governor Bernard, lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, and some distinguished patriots in Massachusetts, contributed to perpetuate a flame of discontent in that province, though elsewhere it had visibly abated. This was worked up in the year 1773 to a high pitch by a singular combination of circumstances. Some letters had been written in the course of the dispute by lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, Mr. Oliver, and others in Boston, to persons in power and office in England, which contained a very unfavourable representation of public affairs, and tended to show the necessity of coercive measures, and of changing the chartered system of provincial government. These letters fell into the hands of Dr. Franklin, agent of the province, who transmitted them to his constituents. The indignation and animosity which was excited on their perusal, knew no bounds. The house of representatives agreed on a petition and remonstrance to his majesty, in which they charged their governor and lieutenant-governor with being betrayers of their trust, and of the people they governed; and of giving private, partial, and false information. They also declared them enemies to the colonies, and prayed for justice against them, and for their speedy removal from their places.

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* Deputy postmaster-general of America.

† After his return to America, in the spring of 1775, the welfare of his country again induced him to cross the Atlantic in 1776, and undertake, at the age of seventy-one, infirm, and exposed to be captured, a winter's voyage, to France; he returned in 1785 then in his eightieth year.

"This petition and remonstrance being transmitted to England, the merits of it were discussed before his majesty's privy council. After a hearing before that board, in which Dr. Franklin represented the province of Massachusetts, the governor and lieutenant-governor were acquitted. Mr. Wedderburn, (afterwards lord Loughborough,) who defended the accused royal servants, in the course of his pleadings, inveighed against Dr. Franklin in the bitterest language, as the fomenter of the disputes between the two countries. It was no protection to this venerable sage, that being the agent of Massachusetts, he conceived it his *duty* to inform his constituents of letters written on public affairs, calculated to overturn their chartered constitution. The age, respectable character, and highly literary rank of the subject of the philippic of—'*The pert, prim, prater of the northern race*,' (as the satiric poet *Churchill* designates *Wedderburn*,) turned the attention of the public on the transaction. The insult offered to one of their public agents, and especially to one who was both the idol and ornament of his country, sunk deep into the minds of the Americans: that a faithful servant, whom they loved and almost adored, should be insulted for discharging his official duty, rankled in their hearts."*

Dr. Franklin told Mr. Lee, one of his counsel, after the business was concluded, that he was indifferent to Mr. Wedderburn's speech, but that he was indeed sincerely sorry to see the lords of council behave so indecently; manifesting, in the rudest manner, the great pleasure they received from the solicitor's speech; that *dernier* court, he said, before whom all the colony affairs were tried, was not likely to act in a candid and impartial manner upon any future American question. They showed, he added, that the coarsest language can be grateful to the politest ear.

The following short statement of Dr. Franklin's behaviour before the privy council, from the pen of Dr. Priestly, (who was present) may not be deemed uninteresting.

Extract of a letter from Dr. Priestly, dated Northumberland, *United States*, Nov. 10, 1802.

"I shall proceed to relate some particulars respecting Dr. Franklin's behaviour, when lord Loughborough, (then Mr. Wedderburn,) pronounced his violent invective against him at the privy council, on his presenting the complaints of the province of Massachusetts against their governor. Some of the particulars may be thought amusing.

"On the morning of the day on which the cause was to be heard, I met Mr. Burke, in Parliament-street, accompanied by Dr. Douglas, afterwards bishop of Carlisle; and after introducing us to each other as men of letters, he asked me whither I was going? I said I could tell him where I *wished* to go. He then asking me where it was, I said to the privy-council, but that I was afraid I could not get admission. He then desired me to go along with him. Accordingly I did; but when we got into the anti-room, we found it quite filled with persons as desirous of getting admission as ourselves. Seeing this, I said we should never get through the crowd. He said, 'give me your arm;' and locking it fast in his, he soon made his way to the door of the privy-council. I then said, 'Mr. Burke, you are an excellent leader:' he replied, 'I wish other persons thought so too.'

"After waiting a short time, the door of the privy-council opened, and we entered the first, when Mr. Burke took his stand behind the first chair next to the president, and I behind that the next to his. When the business was opened, it was sufficiently evident, from the speech of Mr. Wedderburn, who was counsel for the governor, that the real object of the court was to insult Dr. Franklin. All this time he stood in a corner* of the room, not far from me, without the least apparent emotion.

"Mr. Dunning, who was the leading counsel on the part of the colony, was so hoarse, that he could hardly make himself heard; and Mr. Lee, who was the second, spoke but feebly in reply; so that Mr. Wedderburn had a complete triumph. At the sallies of his sarcastic wit, all the members of the council, the president himself (lord Gower) not excepted, frequently laughed outright. No person belonging to the council behaved with decent gravity, except lord North, who, coming late, took his stand behind the chair opposite to me.

"When the business was over, Dr. Franklin, in going out, took me by the hand, in a manner that indicated some feeling. I soon followed him, and going through the anti-room, saw Mr. Wedderburn there, surrounded with a circle of his friends and admirers. Being known to him, he stepped forwards, as if to speak to me; but I turned aside, and made what haste I could out of the place.

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* See the Examinations, in this edition.

* *Error.* He stood close to the fire, and in front of the council-table.

"The next morning I breakfasted with the doctor, when he said, 'he had never before been so sensible of the power of a good conscience; for if he had not considered the thing for which he had been so much insulted, as one of the best actions of his life, and what he should certainly do again in the same circumstances, he could not have supported it.' He was accused of clandestinely procuring certain letters, containing complaints of the governor, and sending them to America, with a view to excite their animosity against him, and thus to embroil the two countries. But he assured me, that he did not even know that such letters existed, till they were brought to him as *agent for the colony*, in order to be sent to his constituents; and the cover of the letters on which the direction had been written, being lost, he only guessed at the person to whom they were addressed, by the contents.

"That Dr. Franklin, notwithstanding he did not show it at the time, was much impressed by the business of the privy-council, appeared from this circumstance: when he attended there, he was dressed in a suit of Manchester velvet; and Silas Deane told me, when they met at Paris, to sign the treaty between France and America, he purposely put on that suit.

"The publication of the letters of Hutchinson and Oliver, by the legislature of Massachusetts, and the transmission of attested copies of the same, with their address, eventually produced a duel between Mr. William Whately, (brother of the deceased Mr. Thomas Whately, secretary to the treasury, to whom the letters were originally addressed, and in whose possession they were supposed to have been at the time of his death, in 1772,) and Mr. John Temple,* of Boston, New England; each of whom had been suspected of having been instrumental in procuring the letters, and sending them to America. This tragical event, which Dr. Franklin could not foresee, nor had an opportunity of preventing, was maliciously made use of by his enemies, to cast an odium on his character."

The following account is from a manuscript in Dr. Franklin's hand-writing, found among his papers; evidently drawn up with a view to justify his conduct with respect to those famous letters, and the unfortunate event that resulted therefrom, and probably with the intent of inserting it in his memoirs; for it is embodied in the present work, as well for justification, as an historical document, important in the American annals.

Dr. Franklin may be considered as thus again continuing his own memoirs.

Having been from my youth more or less engaged in public affairs, it has often happened to me in the course of my life, to be censured sharply for the part I took in them. Such censures I have generally passed over in silence, conceiving, when they were just, that I ought rather to amend than defend; and when they were undeserved, that a little time would justify me. Much experience has confirmed my opinion of the propriety of this conduct; for notwithstanding the frequent, and sometimes the virulent, attacks which the jostlings of party interests have drawn upon me, I have had the felicity of bringing down to a good old age as fair a reputation (may I be permitted to say it) as most public men that I have known, and have never had reason to repent my neglecting to defend it.

I should, therefore, (persisting as old men ought to do in old habits,) have taken no notice of the late invective of the solicitor-general, nor of the abundant abuse in the papers, were I not urged to it by my friends, who say, that the first being delivered by a public officer of government, before a high and most respectable court, the privy council, and countenanced by its report, and the latter having that for its foundation, it behoves me, more especially as I am about leaving this country, to furnish them with the knowledge of such facts as may enable them to justify to others their good opinion of me. This compels me to the present undertaking; for, otherwise, having, for some time past, been gradually losing all public connections, declining my agencies, determining on retiring to my little family, that I might enjoy the remainder of life in private repose, indifferent to the opinion of courtiers, as having nothing to seek or wish among them; and being secure, that time would soon lay the dust which prejudice and party have so lately raised, I should not think of giving myself the trouble of writing, and my friends of reading, an apology for my political conduct.

That this conduct may be better understood, and its consistency more apparent, it seems necessary that I should first explain the principles on which I have acted. It has long appeared to me that the only true British policy was that which aimed at the good of the *whole British empire*, not that which sought the advantage of *one part* in the disadvantage of the others; therefore all measures of procuring gain to the mother country, arising from loss to her colonies, and all of gain to the colonies, arising from or occasioning loss to Britain, especially where the gain was small, and the loss great, every abridgment of the power of the mother country, where that power was not prejudicial to the liberties of the colonists, and every diminution of the privileges of the colonists, where they were not prejudicial to the welfare of the mother country, I, in my own mind, condemned as improper, partial, unjust, and mischievous; tending to create dissensions, and weaken that union, on which the strength, solidity, and duration of the empire greatly depended; and I opposed, as far as my little powers went, all proceedings either here or in America, that in my opinion had such tendency. Hence it has often happened to me, that while I have been thought here too much of an American, I have in America been deemed too much of an Englishman.

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* Afterwards sir John Temple, and for several years British consul in the United States.

From a thorough inquiry (on occasion of the stamp act) into the nature of the connection between Britain and the colonies, I became convinced, that the bond of their union is not the parliament but the king. That in removing to America, a country out of the realm, they did not carry with them the statutes then existing; for if they did, the Puritans must have been subject *there* to the same grievous act of conformity, tithes, spiritual courts, &c., which they meant to be free from by going thither; and in vain would they have left their native country, and all the conveniences and comforts of its improved state, to combat the hardships of a new settlement in a distant wilderness, if they had taken with them what they meant to fly from, or if they had left a power behind them capable of sending the same chains after them, to bind them in America. They took with them, however, by compact, their allegiance to the king, and a legislative power for the making a new body of laws with his assent, by which they were to be governed. Hence they became distinct states, under the same prince, united as Ireland is to the *crown*, but not to the *realm* of England, and governed each by *its* own laws, though with the same sovereign, and having each the right of granting its own money to that sovereign.

At the same time, I considered the king's supreme authority over all the colonies, as of the greatest importance to them, affording a *dernier resort* for settling all their disputes, a means of preserving peace among them with each other, and a centre in which their common force might be united against a common enemy: this authority, I therefore thought, when acting within its due limits, should be ever as carefully supported by the colonists as by the inhabitants of Britain.

In conformity with these principles, and as agent for the colonies, I opposed the stamp act, and endeavoured to obtain its repeal, as an infringement of the rights of the colonists, of no real advantage to Britain, since she might ever be sure of greater aids from our voluntary grants, than she could expect from arbitrary taxes, as by losing our respect and affection, on which much of her commerce with us depended, she would lose more in that commerce than she could possibly gain by such taxes, and as it was detrimental to the harmony which had till then so happily subsisted, and which was so essential to the welfare of the whole. And to keep up as much as in me lay, a reverence for the king, and a respect for the British nation on that side of the water, and on this, some regard for the colonies (both tending to promote that harmony,) I industriously on all occasions, in my letters to America, represented the measures that were grievous to them, as being neither *royal* nor *national* measures, but the schemes of an administration, which wished to recommend itself for its ingenuity in finance, or to avail itself of new revenues in creating, by places and pensions, new dependencies; for that the king was a good and gracious prince, and the people of Britain their real friends. And on this side the water, I represented the people of America as fond of Britain, concerned for its interests and its glory, and without the least desire of a separation from it. In both cases, I thought and still think, I did not exceed the bounds of truth, and I have the heart-felt satisfaction attending good intentions, even when they are not successful.

With these sentiments I could not but see with concern the sending of troops to Boston; and their behaviour to the people there, gave me infinite uneasiness, as I apprehended from that measure the worst of consequences;—a breach between the two countries. And I was the more concerned when I found, that it was considered there as a national measure, (since none here opposed it,) and as a proof that Britain had no longer a parental regard for them. I myself in conversation sometimes spoke of it in this light, and I own with some resentment, (being myself a native of that country) till I was, to my great surprise, assured by a gentleman of character and distinction, (whom I am not permitted to name)* that not only the measure I particularly censured so warmly, but all the other grievances we complained of, took their rise, not from the government here, but were projected, proposed to administration, solicited, and obtained. by some of the most respectable among the Americans themselves; as necessary measures for the welfare of that country. As I could not readily assent to the probability of this, he undertook to convince me, and he hoped through me (as their agent here) my countrymen. Accordingly, he called on me some days after, and produced to me these very letters from lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, secretary Oliver, and others, which have since been the subject of so much discussion.

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* Dr. Williamson, of South Carolina, has avowed himself as the communicator.

Though astonished, I could not but confess myself convinced, and I was ready, as he desired, to convince my countrymen; for I saw, I felt indeed by its effect upon myself, the tendency it must have towards a reconciliation; which for the common good I earnestly wished; it appeared, moreover, my *duty* to give my constituents intelligence of such importance to their affairs;—but there was some difficulty, as this gentleman would not permit copies to be taken of the letters; and if that could have been done, the authenticity of those copies might have been doubted and disputed. My simple account of them, as papers I had seen, would have been still less certain; I therefore wished to have the use of the originals for that purpose, which I at length obtained, on these express conditions: that they should not be printed, that no copies should be taken of them, that they should be shown only to a few of the leading people of the government, and that they should be carefully returned.

I accepted those conditions, and under the same transmitted the original letters to the committee of correspondence at Boston, without taking or reserving any copy of them for myself. I agreed the more willingly to the restraint, from an apprehension that a publication might, considering the state of irritation in which the minds of the people there had long been kept, occasion some riot of mischievous consequence. I had no other scruple in sending them, for as they had been handed about here to injure that people, why not use them for their advantage? The writers, too, had taken the same liberty with the letters of others, transmitting hither those of Rosne and Auchmuty, in confirmation of their own calumnies against the Americans; copies of some of mine too, had been returned here by officers of government; why then should theirs be exempt from the same treatment! To whom they had been directed here I could only conjecture; for I was not informed, and there was no address upon them when I received them. My letter, in which I inclosed them, expressed more fully the motives abovementioned for sending them, and I shall presently give an extract of so much as related to them.

But as it has, on the contrary, been roundly asserted, that I *did not*, as agent, transmit those letters to the assembly's committee of correspondence; that I sent them to a junto, *my peculiar* correspondents; that fearing to be known as the person who sent them, I had insisted on the keeping that circumstance a secret; that I had "shown the utmost solicitude to have that secret kept;" and as this has been urged as a demonstrative proof, that I was conscious of guilt in the manner of obtaining them, and therefore feared a discovery so much as to have been afraid of putting my name to the letter in which I inclosed them, and which only appeared to be mine by my well-known hand writing; I would here, previous to that extract, observe, that on the same paper was first written the copy of a preceding letter, which had been first signed by me as usual; and, accordingly, the letter now in question began with these words, "*The above is a copy of my last;*" and all the first part of it was on business transacted by me relating to the affairs of the province, and particularly to two petitions sent to me as agent by the assembly, to be presented to the king. These circumstances must to every person there have as clearly shown me to be the writer of that letter, as my *well-known hand* must have done to those *peculiar correspondents* of my own, to whom it is said I sent it. If then I hoped to be concealed by not signing my name to such a letter, I must have been as silly as that bird, which is supposed to think itself unseen when it has hid only its head. And if I could depend on my correspondents keeping secret, a letter and a transaction which they must needs know were mine, I might as well have trusted them with my name, and could have had no motive for omitting it. In truth, all I insisted on was, (in pursuance of my engagement,) that the letters should not be printed or copied; but I had not at the time the least thought or desire of keeping my part in that transaction a secret; and, therefore, so far from requesting it, I did not so much as give the smallest intimation, even that it would be agreeable to me not to be mentioned on the occasion. And if I had had that inclination, I must have been very weak indeed to fancy, that the person I wrote to, all the rest of the committee of correspondence, five other persons named, and "*such others* as the committee might think fit to show them to," with three gentlemen here to whom I had communicated the matter, should all keep as a secret on my account what I did not state as a secret, or request should be concealed.

So much of the letter as relates to the governor's letter, is as follows:

"On this occasion I think it fit to acquaint you, that there has lately fallen into my hands part of a correspondence that I have reason to believe laid the foundation of most, if not all our present grievances. I am not at liberty to tell through what channel I received it; and I have engaged that it shall not be printed, nor any copies taken of the whole, or any part of it; but I am allowed to let it be seen by some men of worth in the province, for their satisfaction only. In confidence of your preserving inviolably my engagement, I send you inclosed the original letters, to obviate every pretence of unfairness in copying, interpolation, or omission. The hands of the gentlemen will be well known. Possibly they may not like such an exposal of their conduct, however tenderly and privately it may be managed. But if they are good men, or pretend to be such, and agree that *all good men wish a good understanding and harmony to subsist between the colonies and their mother country*, they ought the less to regret, that at the small expense of their reputation for sincerity and public spirit among their compatriots, *so desirable an event may in some degree be forwarded.* For my own part, I cannot but acknowledge, that my resentment against this country, for its arbitrary measures in governing us, conducted by the late minister, has, since my conviction by these papers, that those measures were projected, advised, and called for, by men of character among ourselves, and whose advice must therefore be attended with all the weight that was proper to mislead, and which could therefore scarce fail of misleading; my own resentment, I say, has by this means been exceedingly abated. *I think they must have the same effect with you;* but I am not, as I have said, at liberty to make the letters public. I can only allow them to be seen by yourself, by the other gentlemen of the committee of correspondence, by Messrs. Bowdoin and Pitts of the council, and doctors Chauncey, Cooper, and Winthrop, with a few such other gentlemen as you may think fit to show them to. After being some months in your possession, you are requested to return them to me.

"As to the writers, I can easily, as well as charitably, conceive it possible, that a man educated in prepossessions of the unbounded authority of parliament, &c., may think unjustifiable every opposition even to its unconstitutional exactions, and imagine it their duty to suppress, as much as in them lies, such opposition. But when I find them bartering away the liberties of their native country for posts, and negotiating for salaries and pensions extorted from the people; and conscious of the odium these might be attended with, calling for troops to protect and secure the enjoyment of them; when I see them exciting jealousies in the crown, and provoking it to work against so great a part of its faithful subjects; creating enmities between the different countries of which the empire consists; occasioning a great expense to the *old* country, for suppressing or preventing imaginary rebellions in the *new*, and to the new country, for the payment of needless gratifications to useless officers and enemies; I cannot but doubt their sincerity, even in the political principles they profess, and deem them mere time-servers, seeking their own private emolument, through any quantity of public mischief; betrayers of the interest, not of their native country only, but of the government they pretend to serve, and of the whole English empire.

"With the greatest esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, sir, your and the committee's most obedient humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

My next letter is of January 5th, 1773, to the same gentleman, beginning with these words:—"I did myself the honour of writing to you on the 2d of December past, inclosing some original letters from persons at Boston, which I hope got safe to hand."—And then goes on with other business transacted by me as agent, and is signed with my name as usual. In truth, I never sent an anonymous letter to any person in America, since my residence in London, unless where two or more letters happened to be on the same paper, the first a copy of a preceding letter, and the subsequent referring to the preceding; in that case, I may possibly have omitted signing more than one of them as unnecessary.

The first letter, acknowledging the receipt of the papers, is dated Boston, March 24, 1773, and begins thus: "I have just received your favour of the 2d December last, with the several papers inclosed, for which I am much obliged to you. I have communicated them to some of the gentlemen you mentioned. They are of opinion, that though it might be inconvenient to publish them, yet it might be expedient to have copies taken and left on this side the water, as there may be a necessity to make some use of them hereafter: however, I read to them what you had wrote to me upon the occasion, and told them I could by no means consent copies of them or any part of them should be taken without your express leave; that I would write to you upon the subject, and should strictly conform to your directions."

The next letter, dated April 20th, 1773, begins thus:—"I wrote you in my last, that the gentlemen to whom I had communicated the papers you sent me under cover of yours of the 2d of December last, were of opinion that they ought to be retained on this side the water, to be hereafter employed as the exigency of our affairs may require, or at least, that authenticated copies ought to be taken before they are returned: I shall have, I find, a very difficult task properly to conduct this matter, unless you obtain leave for their being retained or copied. I shall wait your directions on this head, and hope they will be such as will be agreeable to all the gentlemen, who unanimously are of opinion, that it can by no means answer any valuable purpose to send them here for the inspection of a few persons, barely to satisfy their curiosity."

On the 9th of March, I wrote to the same person, not having then received the preceding letters, and mentioned my having written to him on the 2d of December and 5th of January; and knowing what use was made against the people *there*, of every trifling mob; and fearing lest if the letters should, contrary to my directions, be made public, something more serious of the kind might happen, I concluded that letter thus:—"I must hope that great care will be taken to keep our people quiet, since nothing is more wished for by our enemies, than that by insurrections, we should give a good pretence for increasing the military among us, and putting us under more severe restraints. And it must be evident to all, that by our rapidly increasing strength, we shall soon become of so much importance, that none of our just claims or privileges will be, as heretofore, unattended to, nor any security we can wish for our rights be denied us."

Mine of May 6th, begins thus:—"I have received none of your favours since that of Nov. 28th. I have since written to you of the following dates, Dec. 2d, Jan. 5th, March 9th, and April 3d, which I hope got safe to hand." Thus in two, out of three letters subsequent to that of Dec. 2d, which inclosed the governor's letters, I mentioned my writing that letter, which shows I could have no intention of concealing my having written it; and that therefore the assertion of my sending it anonymously is without probability.

In mine of June 2d, 1773, I acknowledge the receipt of his letter of March 24th, and not being able to answer immediately, his request of leave to copy the letters, I said nothing of them then, postponing that subject to an opportunity which was expected two days after, viz: June 4th, when my letter of that date concludes thus:—"As to the letters I communicated to you, though I have not been able to obtain leave to take copies or publish them, I have permission to let the originals remain with you, as long as you may think it of any use to have the originals in possession."

In mine of July — 1773, I answer the above of April 20, as follows:—"The letters communicated to you were not merely to satisfy the curiosity of any, but it was thought there might be a use in showing them to some friends of the province, and *even to some of the governor's party*, for their more certain information concerning his conduct and politics, though the letters were not made quite public. I believe I have since written to you, that there was no occasion to return them speedily; and though I cannot obtain leave as yet to suffer copies to be taken of them, I am allowed to say, that they may be shown and read to whom and as many as you think proper."

The same person wrote to me, June 14th, 1773, in these terms: "I have endeavoured inviolably to keep to your injunctions with respect to the papers you sent me; I have shown them only to such persons as you directed; no one person, except Dr. Cooper, and one of the committee, knows from whom they came, or to whom they were sent. I have constantly avoided mentioning your name upon the occasion, so that it never need be known (if you incline to keep it a secret) who they came from, and to whom they were sent; and *I desire, so far as I am concerned, my name may not be mentioned; for it may be a damage to me.* I thought it, however, my duty to communicate them as permitted, as they contained matters of importance that very nearly affected the government; and notwithstanding all my care and precaution, it is now publicly known that such letters are here. Considering the number of persons who were to see them, (not less than ten or fifteen) it is astonishing they did not get air before." Then he goes on to relate how the assembly having heard of them, obliged him to produce them, but engaged not to print them; and that they afterwards did nevertheless print them, having got over that engagement by the appearance of copies in the house, produced by a member who it was reported had just received them from England. This letter concludes, "I have done all in my power strictly to conform to your restrictions, but from the circumstances above related, you must be sensible it was impossible to prevent the letters being made public, and therefore hope I shall be free from all blame respecting this matter."

This letter accounts for its being *unexpectedly to me*, made a secret in Boston that I had sent the letters. The gentleman, to whom I sent them, had his reasons for desiring not to be known as the person who received and communicated them; but as this would have been suspected, if it were known that I sent them, that circumstance was to be kept a secret. Accordingly, they were given to another, to be by him produced by the committee.*

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* When Dr. Franklin put in his answer to the bill in Chancery, which had been filed against him in the name of Mr. Whately, he demurred to two of the interrogatories which it contained, and by which he was required to name the person in England from whom he had received the letters in question, and also the person in America to whom they had by him been transmitted; and declined making any disclosure of their names. This demurrer was however overruled; and he was ordered to answer these interrogatories: but feeling that his doing so would be a *violation* of his engagement to the person from whom he had received the letters, and probably injurious to the person to whom they had been sent, he thought it incumbent on him to return to America, and thereby avoid the breach of his engagement, and he appears to have done this conscientiously; and so completely, that the

My answer to this was of July 25th, 1773, as follows: "I am favoured with yours of June 14th, containing some copies of the resolves of the committee upon the letters. I see by your account of the transaction, that you could not well prevent what was done. As to the report of other copies being come from England, I think that could not be. It was an expedient to disengage the house.* I hope the possession of the originals, and the proceedings upon them, will be attended with salutary effects to the province, and then I shall be well pleased.—I observe what you mention, that no person besides Dr. Cooper, and one of the committee, knew they came from me. I did not accompany them with any request of being myself concealed, for believing what I did, to be in the way of my *duty* as agent, though I had no doubt of its giving offence, not only to the parties exposed, but to administration here, I was regardless of the consequences. However, since the letters themselves are now copied and printed, contrary to the promise I made, I am glad my name has not been heard on the occasion; and as I do not see it could be of any use to the public, I now wish it may continue unknown, though I hardly expect it. As to yours, you may rely on my never mentioning it, except that I may be obliged to show your letter in my own vindication, to the person only who might otherwise think he had reason to blame ME for breach of engagement."

With the abovementioned letter of the 14th of June, I received one from another of the gentlemen to whom the papers had been communicated, which says, "By whom and to whom they were sent, is still a secret, known only to three persons here, and may still remain so if you desire it." My answer to him of July 25th, was, "I accompanied them with no restriction relating to myself; my duty to the province as their agent, I thought required the communication of them so far as I could. I was sensible I should make enemies there, and perhaps might offend government here; but these apprehensions I disregarded. I did not expect, and hardly still expect, that my sending them could be kept a secret. But since it is such hitherto, I now wish it may continue so, because the publication of the letters, contrary to my engagement, has changed the circumstances."—His reply to this of the 10th of November, is, "After all the solicitous inquiries of the governor and his friends respecting his letters, it still remains a secret from and to whom they were sent here. This is known among us, to two only besides myself; and will remain undiscovered, unless further intelligence should come from your side the water, than I have reason to think has yet been obtained. I cannot, however, but admire your honest openness in this affair, and noble negligence of any inconveniencies that might arise to yourself in this essential service to our injured country."

To another friend I wrote of the same date, July 25th, what will show the apprehensions I was constantly under, of the mischiefs that might attend a breach from the exasperated state of things, and the arguments I used to prevent it, viz. "I am glad to see that you are elected into the council, and are about to take part in our public affairs. Your abilities, integrity, and sober attachment to the liberties of our country, will be of great use at this tempestuous time, in conducting our little bark into a safe harbour. By the Boston newspapers, there seem to be among us some violent spirits who are for an immediate rupture. But I trust the general prudence of our countrymen will see, that by our growing strength we advance fast to a situation in which our claims must be allowed; that by a premature struggle we may be crippled and kept down another age; that as between friends every affront is not worth a duel, and between nations every injury is not worth a war; so between the governed and the governing, every mistake in government, every encroachment on rights, is not worth a rebellion: it is, in my opinion, sufficient for the present, that we hold them forth on all occasions, not giving up any of them, using at the same time every means to make them generally understood and valued by the people; cultivating a harmony among the colonies, that their union in the same sentiments may give them greater weight; remembering, withal, that this Protestant country (our mother, though of late an unkind one,) is worth preserving, and that her weight in the scale of Europe, her safety in a great degree, may depend on our union with her. Thus conducting, I am confident, we may within a few years, obtain every allowance of, and

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person from whom the letters were received, was never ascertained, till declared by Dr. W. himself; nor were any of the conjectures respecting that person founded upon, or suggested by, any infidelity or indiscretion on the part of Dr. Franklin. He was not, however under an equal obligation to secrecy, in regard to the person to whom the letters were *immediately* transmitted; and he therefore confidentially informed a friend of his, (Dr. Bancroft,) that they had been sent to Mr. Cushing, then speaker of the house of representatives of the Massachusetts' Bay; with whom it was Dr. Franklin's duty, as agent for the assembly of that province, to correspond:—a fact now ascertained in his PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE, Part II., and which there is no longer any motive for concealing.

* Men sometimes think it allowable to act improperly for what they consider as *good* purposes. This was done at Boston, in regard to the letters under consideration:—a publication of these letters was deemed of the *highest importance*, by the leading members of the house of representatives; and copies of them were therefore made unwarrantably; and these, the late Mr. Hancock was induced to bring forward in that house, of which he was a member, and to declare that they had been sent to him from England; a declaration which could not have been true.

every security for, our inestimable privileges, that we can wish or desire."—His answer of December 31st, is, "I concur perfectly with you in the sentiments expressed in your last. No considerate person, I should think, can approve of desperate remedies, except in desperate cases. The people of America are extremely agitated by the repeated efforts of administration to subject them to absolute power. They have been amused with accounts of the pacific disposition of the ministry, and flattered with assurances that upon their humble petitions all their grievances would be redressed. They have petitioned from time to time; but their petitions have had no other effect than to make them feel more sensibly their own slavery. Instead of redress, every year has produced some new manœuvre, which could have no tendency but to irritate them more and more. The last measure of the East India company's sending their tea here, subject to a duty, seems to have given the finishing stroke to their patience. You will have heard of the steps taken at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, to prevent the payment of this duty, by sending the tea back to its owners; but as this was found impossible at Boston, the destruction of the tea was the consequence. What the event of these commotions will be, God only knows. The people through the colonies appear immovably fixed in their resolution, that the tea duty shall never be paid; and if the ministry are determined to enforce these measures, I dread the consequences. I verily fear they will turn America into a field of blood. But I will hope for the best."

I am told that administration is possessed of most of my letters sent or received on public affairs for some years past. Copies of them having been obtained from the files of the several assemblies, or as they passed through the post office. I do not condemn their ministerial industry, or complain of it. The foregoing extracts may be compared with those copies; and I can appeal to them with confidence, that upon such comparison these extracts will be found faithfully made. And that the whole tenor of my letters has been, to persuade patience and a careful guarding against all violence, under the grievances complained of, and this from various considerations, such as that the welfare of the empire depended upon the union of its parts, that the sovereign was well disposed towards us, and the body of this nation, our friends and well-wishers; that it was the ministry only who were prejudiced against us; that the sentiments of ministers might in time be changed, or the ministers themselves be changed; or that if those chances failed, at least time would infallibly bring redress, since the strength, weight, and importance of America was continually and rapidly increasing, and its friendship of course daily becoming more valuable, and more likely to be cultivated by an attention to its rights. The newspapers have announced, that *treason* is found in some of my letters. It must then be of some new species. The invention of court lawyers has always been fruitful in the discovery of new treasons: and perhaps it is now become treason to censure the conduct of ministers. None of any other kind, I am sure, can be found in my correspondence.

The effect of the governor's letters on the minds of the people in New England, when they came to be read there, was precisely what had been expected, and proposed, by sending them over. It was now seen that the grievances, which had been so deeply resented, as measures of the mother country, were, in fact, the measures of two or three of their own people; of course all that resentment was withdrawn from her, and fell where it was proper it should fall, on the heads of those caitiffs, who were the authors of the mischief. Both houses took up the matter in this light. The council resolved that

[*This piece is wanting.*]

and the house of representatives agreed to the following resolves, reported by the committee appointed to consider the letters, viz :—

"*The Committee appointed to consider certain Letters, laid before the House of Representatives, reported the following Resolves.*

"*Tuesday, June 15th*, 1773.

"Resolved, That the letters signed *Thomas Hutchinson*, and *Andrew Oliver*, now under the consideration of this house, appear to be the genuine letters of the present governor and lieutenant-governor of this province, whose hand-writing and signatures are well known to many of the members of this house: and that they contain aggravated accounts of facts, and misrepresentations: and that one *manifest design* of them was to represent the matters they treat of in a light *highly injurious* to this province, and the persons against whom they were written.

"Resolved, That though the letters aforesaid, signed *Thomas Hutchinson*, are said by the governor in his message to this house of *June 9th*, to be, 'private letters written to a gentleman in *London*, since deceased,' and 'that all except the last were written many months before he came to the chair; yet that they were written by the present governor, *when he was lieutenant-governor and chief justice* of this province; who has been represented abroad, as *eminent for his abilities*, as for his exalted station; and was under no official obligation to transmit private intelligence: and that they *therefore must be considered* by the person to whom they were sent, as *documents of solid intelligence:* and that this gentleman in *London* to whom they were written, was then a member of the British parliament, and one who was very active in *American* affairs; and therefore that these letters, however secretly written, *must naturally be supposed to have, and really had, a public operation.*

"Resolved, That these 'private letters' being written 'with express confidence of secrecy,' was only to prevent the contents of them being known *here*, as appears by said letters; and this rendered them the more injurious in their tendency, and really insidious.

"Resolved, That the letters signed *Thomas Hutchinson*, considering the person by whom they were written, the matters they expressly contain, the express reference in some of them for 'full intelligence' to Mr Hallowell, a person deeply interested in the measures so much complained of, and recommendatory notices of divers other persons, whose emoluments arising from our public burdens must excite them to unfavourable representations of us, *the measures they suggest*, the temper in which they were written, the manner in which they were sent, and the person to whom they were addressed, had a natural and *efficacious* tendency to interrupt and alienate the affections of our most gracious sovereign King George the Third, from this his loyal and affectionate province; to destroy that harmony and good will between Great Britain and this colony, which every friend to either would wish to establish; to excite the resentment of the British administration against this province; to defeat the endeavours of our agents and friends to serve us by a fair representation of our state of grievances; to prevent our humble and repeated petitions from reaching the royal ear of our common sovereign; and *to produce the severe and destructive measures* which have been taken against this province, and others still more so, which have been threatened.

"Resolved, As the opinion of this house, that it clearly appears from the letters aforesaid, signed *Thomas Hutchinson* and *Andrew Oliver*, that it was the desire and endeavour of the writers of them, that *certain acts* of the British parliament, for raising a revenue in America, *might be carried into effect by military force;* and by introducing a fleet and army into this his majesty's loyal province, to intimidate the minds of his subjects here, and to prevent every constitutional measure to obtain the repeal of those acts, so justly esteemed a grievance to us, and to suppress the very spirit of freedom.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this house, that as the salaries lately appointed for the governor, lieutenant-governor, and judges of this province, directly repugnant to the charter, and subversive of justice, are founded on this revenue; and as these letters were written *with a design*, and *had a tendency* to *promote* and *support* that revenue, therefore, there is great reason to suppose the writers of those letters *were well-knowing to, suggested and promoted* the enacting said revenue acts, and the establishments founded on the same.

"Resolved, That while the writer of these letters signed *Thomas Hutchinson*, has been thus exerting himself, by his 'secret confidential correspondence,' to introduce measures destructive of our constitutional liberty, he has been practising every method among the people of this province, to fix in their minds an exalted opinion of his warmest affection for them, and his unremitted endeavours to promote their best interests at the court of Great Britain.

"Resolved, as the opinion of this house, That by comparing these letters signed THO. HUTCHINSON, with those signed AND. OLIVER, CHAS. PAXTON, and NATH. ROGERS, and considering what has since in fact taken place conformable thereto, *that there have been for many years past, measures contemplated, and a plan formed, by a set of men born and educated among us*, to raise their own fortunes, and advance themselves to posts of honour and profit, not only to the destruction of the charter and constitution of this province, but at the expense of the rights and liberties of the American colonies. And it is further the opinion of this house, that the said persons have been some of the *chief instruments in the introduction* of a military force into the province, to carry their plans into execution; and therefore *they have been not only greatly instrumental* in disturbing the peace and harmony of the government and causing and promoting great discord and animosities, but are *justly chargeable* with the great corruption of morals, and *all that confusion, misery, and bloodshed, which have been the natural effects of the introduction of troops.*

"Whereas, for many years past, measures have been taken by the British administration, very grievous to the good people of this province; which this house have now reason to suppose, were promoted, if not originally suggested by the writers of these letters; and many efforts have been made by the people to obtain the redress of their grievances: Resolved,

"That it appears to this house, that the writers of these letters have availed themselves of disorders that naturally arise in a free government under such oppressions, as arguments to prove, that it was originally necessary such measures should have been taken, and that they should now be continued and increased

"Whereas, in the letter singed Cha. Paxton, dated Boston Harbour, June 20, 1768, it is expressly declared, that 'unless we have immediately two or three regiments, 'tis the opinion of all the friends of government, that Boston will be in open rebellion.'

"Resolved, That this is a most wicked and injurious representation, designed to inflame the minds of his majesty's ministers, and the nation; and to excite in the breast of our sovereign, a jealousy of his loyal subjects of said town, without the least grounds therefor, as enemies of his majesty's person and government.

"Whereas, certain letters by two private persons, signed, T. Moffat and G. Rome, have been laid before the house, which letters contain many matters highly injurious to government, and to the national peace: Resolved, That it has been the misfortune of this government, from the earliest period of it, from time to time, to be secretly traduced and maliciously represented to the British ministry, by persons who were neither friendly to this colony, nor to the English constitution.

"Resolved, That this house have just reason to complain of it as a very great grievance, that the humble petitions and remonstrances of the commons of this province, are not allowed to reach the hands of our most gracious sovereign, merely because they are presented by an agent, to whose appointment the governor, with whom our chief dispute may subsist, doth not consent; while the *partial* and *inflammatory letters* of individuals who are greatly interested in the revenue acts, and the measures taken to carry them into execution, *have been laid before administration, attended to, and determined upon*, not only to the injury of the reputation of the people, but to the depriving them of their invaluable rights and liberties.

"Whereas this house are humbly of opinion, that his majesty will judge it to be incompatible with the interest of his crown, and the peace and safety of the good people of this his loyal province, that persons should be continued in places of high trust and authority in it, who are known to have with great industry, though secretly, endeavoured to undermine, alter, and overthrow the constitution of the province.

"Therefore,

"Resolved, That this house is bound in duty to the king and their constituents, humbly to remonstrate to his majesty, the conduct of his excellency Thomas Hutchinson, esq. governor, and the honourable Andrew Oliver, esq. lieutenant-governor of this province; and to pray that his majesty would be pleased to remove them for ever from the government thereof."

Upon these resolutions was founded a petition, transmitted to me to be presented to his majesty.

Lord Dartmouth, secretary of state for the colonies, being in the country when I received this petition, I transmitted it to his lordship, inclosed in a letter.

No one who knows lord Dartmouth, can doubt of the sincerity of the good wishes expressed in his letter to me; and if his majesty's other servants had fortunately been possessed of the same benevolent dispositions, with as much of that attention to the public interest, and dexterity in managing it, as statesmen of this country generally show in obtaining and securing their *places*, here was a fine opportunity put into their hands of "re-establishing the union and harmony that formerly subsisted between Great Britain and her colonies," so necessary to the welfare of both, and upon the easy condition of only "restoring things to the state they were in at the conclusion of the late war." This was a solemn declaration sent over from the province most aggrieved, in which they acquitted Britain of their grievances, and charged them all upon a few individuals of their own country. Upon the heads of these very mischievous men they deprecated no vengeance, though that of the whole nation was justly merited;

they considered it as a hard thing for an administration to punish a governor who had acted from orders, though the orders had been procured by his misrepresentations and calumnies; they, therefore, only petitioned, "that his majesty would be pleased to remove T. Hutchinson, esquire, and A. Oliver, esquire, from their posts in that government, and place good and faithful men in their stead." These men might have been placed or pensioned elsewhere, as others have been; or like the scape-goats of old, they might have carried away into the wilderness all the offences which had arisen between the two countries, with the burden of which, they, having been the authors of these mischiefs, were most justly chargeable.

But this opportunity, ministers had not the wisdom to embrace; they chose rather to reject it, and to abuse and punish me for giving it. A court clamour was raised against me as an incendiary; and the very action upon which I valued myself, as it appeared to me a means of lessening our differences, I was unlucky enough to find charged upon me, as a wicked attempt to increase them. Strange perversion![*]

I was, it seems, equally unlucky in another action, which I also intended for a good one, and which brought on the abovementioned clamour. The news being arrived here, of the publication of those letters in America, great inquiry was made who had transmitted them. Mr. Temple, a gentleman of the customs, was accused of it in the papers. He vindicated himself. A public altercation ensued upon it, between him and a Mr. Whately, brother and executor to the person to whom it was supposed the letters had been originally written, and who was suspected by some of communicating them, on the supposition, that by his brother's death, they might have fallen into his hands. As the gentleman to whom I sent them, had, in his letter to me above recited, given an important reason for his desiring it should be concealed, that he was the person who received them; and had, for the same reason, chosen not to let it be known I sent them, I suffered that altercation to go on without interfering, supposing it would end, as other newspaper controversies usually do, when the parties and the public should be tired of them. But this dispute unexpectedly and suddenly produced a duel. The gentlemen were parted; Mr. Whately was wounded, but not dangerously. This, however, alarmed me, and made me wish I had prevented it; but imagining all now over between them, I still kept silence, till I heard that the duel was understood to be unfinished, (as having been interrupted by persons accidentally near,) and that it would probably be repeated as soon as Mr. Whately, who was mending daily, had recovered his strength. I then thought it high time to interpose; and as the quarrel was for the public opinion, I took what I thought the shortest way to settle that opinion, with regard to the parties, by publishing an explanation in the PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

This declaration of mine, was, at first, generally approved, except that some blamed me for not having made it sooner, so as to prevent the duel; but I had not the gift of prophecy: I could not foresee that the gentlemen would fight; I did not even foresee that either of them could possibly take it ill of me. I imagined I was doing them a good office, in clearing both of them from suspicion, and removing the cause of their difference. I should have thought it natural for them both to have thanked me, but I was mistaken as to one of them; his wound, perhaps, at first prevented him, and afterwards he was tutored probably to another kind of behaviour by his court connections. My only acquaintance with this gentleman, Mr. William Whately, was from an application he made to me to do him the favour of inquiring after some land in Pennsylvania, supposed to have been purchased anciently from the first proprietor, by a major Thomson, his grandfather, of which they had some imperfect memorandums in the family, but knew not whether it might not have been sold or conveyed away by him in his life-time, as there was no mention of it in his will. I took the trouble of writing accordingly, to a friend of mine, an eminent lawyer there, well acquainted with such business, desiring him to make the inquiry. He took some pains in it at my request, and succeeded; and, in a letter informed me, that he had found the land; that the proprietary claimed it, but he thought the title was clear to the heir of Thomson; that he could easily recover it for him, and would undertake it if Mr. Whately should think fit to employ him; or if he rather chose to sell it, my friend empowered me to make him an offer of five thousand pounds sterling for it. With this letter, I waited upon him about a month before the duel, at his house in Lombard street, the first time I had ever been in it. He was pleased with the intelligence, and called upon me once or twice afterwards to concert the means of making out his title. I mention some of these circumstances to show, that it was not through any previous acquaintance with him that I came to the knowledge of the famous letters; for they had been in America near a year before I so much as knew where he lived:—and the others

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[*] "We must not, in the course of public life, expect *immediate* approbation, and *immediate* grateful acknowledgment of our services. But let us persevere through *abuse*, and even *injury*. The internal satisfaction of a good conscience is always present, and time will do us justice in the minds of the people, even those at present the most prejudiced against us."—*Franklin's Private Correspondence.*

I mention to show his gratitude. I could have excused his not thanking me for sparing him a second hazard of his life; for though he might feel himself served, he might also apprehend, that to seem pleased, would look as if he was afraid of fighting again; or perhaps he did not value his life at any thing; but the addition to his fortune, one would think of some value to a banker; and yet the return this worthy gentleman made me for both favours, was, without the smallest previous notice, warning, complaint, or request to me, directly or indirectly, to clap upon my back a chancery suit. His bill set forth, "That he was administrator of the goods and chattles of his late brother, Thomas Whately; that some letters had been written to his said brother, by the governors Hutchinson and Oliver; that those letters had been in the custody of his said brother at the time of his death, *or had been by him delivered to some other person for perusal*, and to be by such person safely kept and returned to said Thomas Whately; that the same had by some means come into my hands; that to prevent a discovery, I, or some person by my order, had erased the address of the letters to the said Thomas Whately; that, carrying on the trade of a printer, I had by my agents or *confederates*, printed and published the same letters in America, and disposed of great numbers; that I threatened to print and sell the same in England; and that *he had applied to me* to deliver up to him the said letters, and all copies thereof, and desist from printing and publishing the same, and *account with him* for the *profits* thereof; and he was in hopes I would have complied with such request, but *so it was that I had refused*, &c., contrary to equity and good *conscience*, and to the manifest *injury* and *oppression* of him, the complainant; and praying my lord chancellor, that I might be obliged to discover how I came by the letters, what number of copies I had printed and sold, and to *account with him for the profits*, &c. &c." The gentleman himself, must have known, that *every circumstance* of this was *totally false;* that of his brother's having *delivered the letters to some other person for perusal*, excepted. Those as little acquainted with law as I was, (who, indeed, never before had a law-suit of any kind,) may wonder at this as much as I did; but I have now learned, that in chancery, though the *defendant* must swear to the truth of every point in his answer, the *plaintiff* is not put to his oath, or obliged to have the least regard to truth in his bill, but is allowed to lie as much as he pleases. I do not understand this, unless it be for the encouragement of business.

My answer, upon oath, was, "That the letters in question were given to me, and came into my hands, *as agent for the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay;* that when given to me, I did not know to whom they had been addressed, no address appearing upon them; nor did I know before, that any such letters existed; that I had not been for many years concerned in printing; that I did not cause the letters to be printed, nor direct the doing it; that I did not erase any address that might have been on the letters; nor did I know that any other person had made such erasure; that I did, as agent to the province, transmit (as I apprehended it my duty to do) the said letters to one of the committee, with whom I had been directed to correspond, inasmuch as, in my judgment, they related to matters of great public importance to that province, and were put into my hands for that purpose; that I had never been applied to by the complainant, as asserted in his bill, and had made no profits of the letters, nor intended to make any, &c."

It was about this time become evident, that all thoughts of reconciliation with the colony of the Massachusetts Bay, by attention to their petitions and a redress of their grievances, was laid aside; that severity was resolved; and that the decrying and villifying the people of that country, and me their agent among the rest, was quite a court measure. It was the *ton* with all the ministerial folks to abuse them and me, in every company, and in every newspaper; and it was intimated to me as a thing settled, long before it happened, that the petition for removal of the governors was to be rejected, the assembly censured, and myself who had presented it, was to be punished by the loss of my place in the post office. For all this I was therefore prepared; but the attack from Mr. Whately was, I own, a surprise to me; under the abovementioned circumstances of obligation, and without the slightest provocation, I could not have imagined any man base enough to commence, *of his own motion*, such a vexatious suit against me. But a little accidental information served to throw some light upon the business: an acquaintance* calling on me, after having just been at the treasury, showed me what he styled a *pretty thing*, for a friend of his; it was an order for one hundred and fifty pounds, payable to Dr. Samuel Johnson, said to be one half of his yearly pension, and drawn by the secretary of the treasury on this same Mr. Whately. I then considered him as a banker to the treasury for the pension money, and thence as having an interested connection with administration, that might induce him to act *by direction* of others in harassing me with this suit; which gave me if possible a *still meaner* opinion of him, than if he had done it of his own accord.

What further steps he or his *confederates*, the ministers, will take in this cause, I know not: I do not believe the banker himself, finding there are no profits to be shared, would willingly lay out a sixpence more upon the suit; but then my finances are not sufficient to cope at law with the *treasury* here; especially when administration has taken care to prevent my constituents of New England from paying me any salary, or reimbursing me any expenses, by a special instruction to the governor, *not to sign any warrant for that purpose on the treasury there.*

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* This was the late William Strahan, Esq M. P. and king's printer.

The injustice of thus depriving the people there of the use of their own money, to pay an agent acting in their defence, while the governor, with a large salary out of the money extorted from them by act of parliament, was enabled to pay plentifully Mauduit and Wedderburn to abuse and defame them and their agent, is so evident as to need no comment. But this they call GOVERNMENT!!

Here closes the tract, as written by Dr. Franklin.

It appears by the foregoing faithful account of the proceedings before the lords of the privy council, that when Dr. Franklin, as agent for the province of Massachusetts Bay, presented the petition for removing the governor and lieutenant-governor, the ministry made the cause of those gentlemen their own; and Wedderburn, in defiance of the common law and custom of the realm, was ordered to change the object of the court; and, instead of entering into the merits of the question, to abuse a man who had offended them:

> "Search earth, search hell, the devil could not find,
> An agent like LOTHARIO, to his mind."—*Churchill.*

This, like all odious proceedings, raised the indignation of the people. In the first transports of it, even corruption and venality spoke the sentiments of virtue. Wedderburn was every where mentioned with detestation, which was doing him too much honour. It was generous in the public to be angry with him. Those who were somewhere behind the scenes, and who ordered the exhibitions which the ostensible people were only acting, were the proper objects of indignation; and if there had been virtue enough in the nation, they would have been dragged into light.

Administration having at this time succeeded in their plans in the *east*, turned their views *westward*, where alone, liberty seemed to have any refuge, and where therefore their principal efforts must be directed. The same art and the same chicane had been practised there; but it was not likely to be attended with the same success. America was not disposed to become, like the East Indies, an *appendage* to administration. It had raised itself into wealth by a kind industry which produced virtues, of which administration had little or no conception: they therefore denominated them vices.

It was evident, that the contest with America was merely an affair of administration, with a view to increase the number of places at its disposal, and to facilitate the only method they knew of to govern the people. It will not be wondered at, therefore, that those persons who appeared in behalf of the Americans, should undergo all the rage and malice of administration. Dr. Franklin had been the most distinguished of those, and would long before have been sacrificed to their resentment, if he had not been protected by real integrity and by very superior talents. He was sent over to England to oppose the stamp act; and the virtuous and noble strain of all his answers at his examination before the house of commons, in February, 1776, seemed to reproach the times: they were like the sentiments of an Aristides, and they left deep impressions on the minds of men. For that very reason he was watched, tried, and tempted. Cunning, allied even with power, cannot commit wickedness in a manly manner. At last, something like an occasion arose, and the whole wisdom of government was employed to make the most of it. Dr. Franklin had got into his possession the letters of governor Hutchinson and lieutenant-governor Oliver, in a manner which he has shown to have been very consistent with the highest honour and honesty. These letters, which Wedderburn called *private* and *confidential* ones, were used by *public* men to produce *public* measures. Dr. Franklin thought it his *duty* as an agent, to send them to Boston, to remove the misapprehensions of his friends there concerning all the motives of government, and to direct their resentment to its proper objects. A further use was made of the letters than he intended; and they produced the *petition* which he was ordered to present. The conduct of administration on the occasion was most extraordinary! The rulers of a great people might have been expected, even with any principles, to have had some regard to *decency.* The petition of a large and important province was going to be considered; administration thought fit to turn it into a pastime; they invited their friends in great numbers to partake of the entertainment. This serious business was converted into a bull-baiting; the noble creature was to be taken by surprise, to be secured from assistance, and to be yelped and bit at by a little noisy cur. This was proper matter of diversion for a solemn committee of the privy council, and a large audience of the wise and virtuous senators of the country!

But it served to *amuse.* The Boston petition had the *appearance* of a hearing; and some noise was made about *virtue*, and *truth*, and *honour*, in ill-grounded invectives against Dr. Franklin. That truly great and good man beheld the childish tricks with thorough compassion; resolved himself not to break in upon the proper decorum of public business; as he had not come there to squabble with Mr. Wedderburn, and was not, like him, a wrangler by profession. He therefore let the diversion go on; and went home fully determined to make his appeal to a higher and more competent tribunal.

But cunning deals in something like plans and schemes of mischief, which Franklin did not suspect from the talents of his abusers; and if he had, he could not have provided against them. On the first rumour of a petition from Boston, against these good friends of administration, *Hutchinson* and *Oliver*, they determined on the whole plan. When the matter came to a hearing, it was to be converted into abuse of Dr. Franklin, who was to be dismissed from his place the next morning, loaded with all the ignominy and disgrace they could lay upon him.—But what was to be done with his understanding and talents?—This man, though in years, and of a philosophical and peaceable turn, might not take all these injuries in good part; and Wilkes had given an instance that the people will favour the oppressed. Yes, and Wilkes had taught administration,—caution and prudence in committing violence. Wedderburn's talents would serve on this occasion; and he advised them to a suit in chancery. Whately, banker to the treasury, was accordingly ordered *to file a bill in chancery* against Dr. Franklin, for taking away his brother's letters. This it seems effectually tied up the doctor's hands, and was undoubtedly done with that sole view. For a man cannot even defend his own reputation, when the question on which it depends is what they call, pendant before my lord chancellor. The treasury is rich enough to keep this matter pendant a long while; and an offender against administration must not expect to disobey the rules of chancery, unnoticed by the lord chancellor. This fact, at the same time that it exhibited the great wisdom and equity of administration, accounted to the public for what seemed very strange: "That while a man of Dr. Franklin's character and abilities was daily and maliciously traduced, he had not published a line in his own defence." The essays which appeared for him in the public papers, were without his participation, and without his knowledge. He had however written a full and clear account of the part he had taken in all public measures, and the motives and views on which he acted, probably with the intention of submitting it to the consideration of the world, whenever he could do it with safety. In the mean time it was the duty of his friends, to do what they could to prevent the effects of the most deliberate and rancorous malice that had ever been exerted against an innocent and praiseworthy man.

Every objection to his conduct was answered at the time, and generally well answered; except the plausible one, which was triumphantly made by the friends of administration. They said—that a man holding a place under a government, should be faithful to that government; and that Dr. Franklin, having a lucrative office, should not have embroiled government, on any account, with the Americans. This was suffering to be taken for granted, what indeed it would not have been difficult to prove—that the interest of administration is one thing, and the interest of the people another. It does not signify where the people reside, whether in America or in Middlesex. This being the case, it is avowing the plainest principle of tyranny, to maintain that the king's servants are his own, and have no duty or relation to the people! despotic governments perhaps may be alarmed to find this doctrine now condemned even in the army, which they consider as immediately depending on themselves, and perfectly separate from the public interest. To the honour of the military gentlemen, however, it is a fact, that many officers define their obligations with an integrity and public spirit which would have pleased a Cato. "We are the king's servants," say they, "but it is only while the king is the servant of the people." Apply this glorious principle to the case of Dr. Franklin; and the *Mauduits* and *Wedderburns* are prostrated.

Shortly after the proceedings before the privy council, Dr. Franklin was dismissed from the office of deputy postmaster-general, which he held under the crown. It was not only by his transmission of the letters of governor Bernard and lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, that he had given offence to the British ministry, but by his popular writings in favour of America. Two pieces in particular had lately attracted a large share of public attention on both sides of the Atlantic. The one purported to be an edict from the king of Prussia, for taxing the inhabitants of Great Britain, as descendants of emigrants from his dominions. The other was entitled, "Rules for reducing a great empire to a small one;" in both of which he exposed the claims of the mother country and the proceedings of the British ministry, with the severity of poignant satire.

Pending these transactions, another antagonist to Dr. Franklin's fame started up. A publication by Josiah Tucker, D. D. and dean of Gloucester, appeared, and occasioned the following correspondence; by which it will be seen, that Dr. Franklin endeavoured to obtain from the dean, an open and fair communication of the grounds and reasons upon which the latter had relied, in making certain charges against the former; and that he did this in the fullest confidence of being able completely to justify himself against them. But Dr. Tucker most uncandidly endeavours to avoid *that* communication, and *that* discovery of the truth which it was likely to produce.

"*To Dean Tucker.*

"London, February 12, 1774.

"Reverend Sir,—Being informed by a friend, that some severe strictures on my conduct and character had appeared in a book published under your respectable name, I purchased and read it. After thanking you for those parts of it that are so instructive on points of great importance to the common interest of mankind, permit me to complain, that if by the description you give in pages 180, 181, of a certain American patriot, whom you say you need not name, you do, as is supposed, mean myself, nothing can be further from the truth than your assertion, that I applied or used any interest directly or indirectly to be appointed one of the stamp officers for America. I certainly never expressed a wish of the kind to any person whatever, much less was I, as you say, 'more than ordinarily assiduous on this head.' I have heretofore seen in the newspapers, insinuations of the same import, naming me expressly; but being without the name of the writer, I took no notice of them. I know not whether they were yours, or were only your authority for your present charge. But now that they have the weight of your name and dignified character, I am more sensible of the injury; and I beg leave to request, that you would reconsider the grounds on which you have ventured to publish an accusation, that, if believed, must prejudice me extremely in the opinion of good men, especially in my own country, whence I was sent expressly to oppose the imposition of that tax. If on such reconsideration and inquiry, you find, as I am persuaded you will, that you have been imposed upon by false reports, or have too lightly given credit to hearsays in a matter that concerns another's reputation, I flatter myself that your equity will induce you to do me justice, by retracting that accusation.

"In confidence of this, I am with great esteem, reverend sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Dr. Franklin.*

"Monday, February 21, 1774.

"Sir,—The letter which you did me the honour to send to Gloucester, I have just received in London, where I have resided many weeks, and am now returning to Gloucester. On inquiry I find, that I was mistaken in *some circumstances* relating to your conduct about the stamp act, though right as to *substance*. These errors shall be rectified the first opportunity. After having assured you, that I am no dealer in anonymous newspaper paragraphs, nor have a connection with any who are, I have the honour to be, sir, your humble servant, J. TUCKER."

"*To Dean Tucker.*

"Reverend Sir,—I received your favour of yesterday. If the *substance* of what you have charged me with is right, I can have but little concern about any mistakes in the *circumstances*: whether they are rectified or not, will be immaterial. But knowing the substance to be wrong, and believing that you can have no desire of continuing in an error, prejudicial to any man's reputation, I am persuaded you will not take it amiss, if I request you to communicate to me the particulars of the information you have received, that I may have an opportunity of examining them; and I flatter myself, I shall be able to satisfy you that they are groundless. I propose this method as more decent than a public altercation, and suiting better the respect due to your character.

"With great regard, I have the honour to be, reverend sir, your most obedient humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Dr. Franklin.*

"Gloucester, Feb. 27, 1774.

"Sir,—The request made in your last letter, is so very just and reasonable, that I shall comply with it very readily. It has long appeared to me, that you much exceeded the bounds of morality in the methods you pursued for the advancement of the supposed interests of America. If it can be proved, that I have unjustly suspected you, I shall acknowledge my error, with as much satisfaction as you can have in reading my recantation of it. As to the case more immediately referred to in your letters, I was repeatedly informed, that you had solicited the late Mr. George Grenville for a place or agency in the distribution of stamps in America. From which circumstance, I myself concluded, that you had made interest for it on your own account: whereas, I am now informed, there are no positive proofs of your having solicited to obtain such a place for yourself, but there is sufficient evidence still existing of your having applied for it in favour of another person. If this latter should prove to be the fact, as I am assured it will, I am willing to suppose, from several expressions in both your letters, that you will readily acknowledge, that the difference in this case between yourself and your friend, is very immaterial to the general merits of the question. But if you should have distinctions in this case, which are above my comprehension, I shall content myself with observing, that your great abilities and happy discoveries deserve universal regard; and that as on these accounts I esteem and respect you, so I have the honour to be, sir, your very humble servant,

"J. TUCKER."

"*To Dean Tucker.*

"London, Feb. 26, 1774.

"Reverend Sir,—I thank you for the frankness with which you communicated to me the particulars of the information you had received, relating to my supposed application to Mr. Grenville for a place in the American stamp office. As I deny that either your former or latter informations are true, it seems incumbent on me, for your satisfaction, to relate all the circumstances fairly to you, that could possibly give rise to such mistakes.

"Some days after the stamp act was passed, to which I had given all the opposition I could, with Mr. Grenville, I received a note from Mr. Whately, his secretary, desiring to see me the next morning. I waited upon him accordingly, and found with him several colony agents. He acquainted us that Mr. Grenville was desirous to make the execution of the act as little inconvenient and disagreeable to America as possible; and therefore did not think of sending stamp officers from this country, but wished to have discreet and reputable persons appointed in each province from among the inhabitants, such as would be acceptable to them; for as they were to pay the tax, he thought strangers should not have the emolument. Mr. Whately therefore wished us to name for our respective colonies, informing us that Mr. Grenville would be obliged to us for pointing out to him honest and responsible men, and would pay great regard to our nominations. By this plausible and apparently candid declaration, we were drawn in to nominate; and I named for our province Mr. Hughes, saying at the same time, that I knew not whether he would accept of it, but if he did, I was sure he would execute the office faithfully. I soon after had notice of his appointment. We none of us, I believe, foresaw or imagined that this compliance with the request of the minister, would or could have been called an *application* of ours, and adduced as a proof of our *approbation* of the act we had been opposing; otherwise I think few of us would have named at all—I am sure I should not. This, I assure you, and can prove to you by living evidence, is a true account of the transaction in question, which, if you compare with that you have been induced to give of it in your book, I am persuaded you will see a *difference* that is far from being '*a distinction above your comprehension*.'

"Permit me further to remark, that your expression of there being 'no *positive proofs* of my having solicited to obtain such a place *for myself*,' implies that there are, nevertheless, some *circumstantial* proofs, sufficient at least to support a suspicion; the latter part, however, of the same sentence, which says, 'there are sufficient evidence still existing, of my having *applied for it* in favour of another person,' must, I apprehend, if credited, destroy that suspicion, and be considered as *positive* proof of the contrary; for, if I had interest enough with Mr. Grenville to obtain that place for another, is it likely that it would have been refused me, had I asked it for myself?

"There is another circumstance which I would offer to your candid consideration.—You describe me as 'changing sides, and appearing at the bar of the house of commons to cry down the very measure I had espoused, and direct the storm that was falling upon that minister.' As this must have been after my supposed solicitation of the favour for myself or my friend, and Mr. Grenville and Mr. Whately were both in the house at the time, and both asked me questions, can it be conceived, that offended as they must have been with such a conduct in me, neither of them should put me in mind of this my sudden changing of sides, or remark it to the house, or reproach me with it, or require my reasons for it? and yet all the members then present, know that not a syllable of the kind fell from either of them, or from any of their party.

"I persuade myself, that by this time you begin to suspect you may have been misled by your informers. I do not ask who they are, because I do not wish to have particular motives for disliking people, who, in general, may deserve my respect. They, too, may have drawn *consequences* beyond the information they received from others, and hearing the office had been *given* to a person of my nomination, might as naturally suppose *I had solicited it*; as Dr. Tucker, hearing that I had *solicited it*, might '*conclude*' it was for myself.

"I desire you to believe that I take kindly, as I ought, your freely mentioning to me 'that it has long appeared to you, that I much exceeded the bounds of morality in the methods I pursued for the advancement of the supposed interests of America.' I am sensible there is a good deal of truth in the adage that *our sins and our debts are always more than we take them to be*; and though I cannot at present, on examination of my conscience, charge myself with any immorality of that kind, it becomes me to suspect, that what has *long appeared* to you, may have some foundation. You are so good as to add, that 'if it can be proved you have unjustly suspected me, you shall have a satisfaction in acknowledging the error.' It is often a thing hard to *prove*, that suspicions are unjust, even when we know what they are; and harder when we are unacquainted with them. I must presume, therefore, that in mentioning them, you had an intention of communicating the grounds of them to me, if I should request it, which I now do, and, I assure you, with a sincere desire and design of amending what you may show me to have been wrong in my conduct, and to thank you for the admonition.

"In your writings I *appear* a bad man; but if I am such, and you can thus help me to become *in reality* a good one, I shall esteem it more than a sufficient reparation to, reverend sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

[Note by Dr. Franklin, on the rough draft of the foregoing letter.]

Feb. 7, 1775. No answer has been received to the above letter. B. F.

From the preceding correspondence, it is fully evident, that this *reverend divine* was not willing to acknowledge, or even find that he had *substantially* erred in regard to Dr. Franklin. His prejudices indeed, appear to have been so deeply rooted, and his desire to do justice to one whom he had wronged, appears to have been so dormant, that he betrays an evident disinclination to ascertain the truth, or *allow it to approach him*, in opposition to these prejudices. With other more equitable dispositions, it would have been impossible for the dean to abstain so pertinaciously from giving any answer to Dr. Franklin's last letter. The facts and explanations which it contained were so important, and they were stated with so much candour and civility, that the dean must have felt it to be highly incumbent on him, either to meet those facts by others equally conclusive, or to acknowledge that he had wrongfully accused Dr. Franklin. The former he *could* not do, the latter he *would* not. The only expedient then remaining, was the unworthy and evasive one of *giving no answer!*

But to return to objects of more public interest. All the expectations that Dr. Franklin had then entertained from the good character and disposition of the then minister, lord Dartmouth, in favour of America, began to wither: none of the measures of his predecessor had even been attempted to be changed, but on the contrary new ones had been continually added, further to exasperate the colonies, render them desperate, and drive them into open rebellion.

In a paper written by Dr. Franklin, "*On the rise and progress of the differences between Great Britain and her American colonies*," and supposed to have been published about this time (1774,) he states, that soon after the late war, it became an object with the British ministers to draw a revenue from America: the first attempt was by a stamp act. It soon appeared, that this step had not been well considered; and that the rights, the ability, the opinions, and temper of that great and growing people, had not been sufficiently attended to. They complained, that the tax was *unnecessary*, because their assemblies had ever been ready to make voluntary grants to the crown in proportion to their abilities, when duly required so to do; and *unjust*, because they had no representative in the British parliament, but had parliaments of their own, wherein their consent was given, as it *ought to be*, in *grants* of their own money.

The parliament repealed the act as inexpedient, but in another asserted a *right* of taxing the colonies, and binding them in all cases whatsoever! In the following year they laid duties on British manufactures exported to America. On the repeal of the stamp act, the Americans had returned to their wonted good humour and commerce with Great Britain; but this new act for laying duties renewed their uneasiness. These and other grievances complained of by the colonies are succinctly enumerated in Dr. Franklin's paper abovementioned; and the progressive history of the causes of the American discontents in general.

The whole continent of America now began to consider the Boston port bill, as striking essentially at the liberty of *all* the colonies; and these sentiments were strongly urged and propagated in the American newspapers.

Even those colonies which depended most upon the mother country for the consumption of their productions, entered into associations with the others; and nothing was to be heard of but resolutions for the encouragement of their own manufactures, the consumption of home products, the discouragement of foreign articles, and the retrenchment of all superfluities.

Virginia resolved not to raise any more tobacco, unless the grievances of America were redressed. Maryland followed that example: Pennsylvania, and almost all the other colonies, entered into resolutions in the same spirit, with a view to enforce a general redress of grievances.

During these disputes between the two countries, Dr. Franklin invented an *emble-*

matical design, intended to represent the supposed state of Great Britain and her colonies, should the former persist in her oppressive measures, restraining the latter's trade, and taxing their people by laws made by a legislature in which they were not represented. It was engraved on a copper-plate, from which the annexed is a fac simile. Dr. Franklin had many of them struck off on cards, on the back of which he occasionally wrote his notes. It was also printed on a half sheet of paper, with the *explanation* and *moral* which follow it. [*See p.* 104.]

These sentiments, applied to the picture which they are annexed to, were well calculated to produce reflection; they form part of the same system of political ethics, with the following fragment of a sentence, which Dr. Franklin inserted in a political publication of one of his friends:—"The attempts to establish *arbitrary power* over so great a part of the British empire, are to the imminent hazard of our most valuable commerce, and of that national strength, security, and felicity, which depend on *union* and *liberty*;"—The preservation of which, he used to say, "had been the great object and labour of his life; the WHOLE being such a thing *as the world before never saw!*"

In June, 1774, a general congress of deputies from all the colonies, began to be universally looked forward to. This had a year before been suggested by Dr. Franklin, in a letter to Thomas Cushing, dated July 7, 1773, in which he says,—"But as the strength of an empire depends, not only on the *union* of its parts, but on their *readiness* for united exertion of their common force; and as the discussion of rights may seem unseasonable in the commencement of actual war, and the delay it might occasion be prejudicial to the common welfare; as, likewise, the refusal of one or a few colonies, would not be so much regarded if the others granted liberally, which perhaps by various artifices and motives they might be prevailed on to do; and as this want of concert would defeat the expectation of general redress, that otherwise might be justly formed; perhaps it would be best and fairest for the colonies, in a GENERAL CONGRESS, now in peace to be assembled, (or by means of the correspondence lately proposed,) after a full and solemn *assertion and declaration of their* RIGHTS, to engage firmly with each other, that they will never grant aids to the crown in any general war, till those rights are recognised by the king and both houses of parliament; communicating to the crown this their resolution. Such a step, I imagine, will bring the dispute to a crisis; and whether our demands are immediately complied with, or compulsory measures thought of to make us rescind them, our ends will finally be obtained; for even the odium accompanying such compulsory attempts, will contribute to unite and strengthen us; and, in the mean time, all the world will allow that our proceeding has been honourable."

Such had been the advice of Dr. Franklin; and, as he observes somewhere, "*a good motion never dies*;" so this was eventually acted upon in all its bearings, and was the first step to the union of the colonies, and their final emancipation from Great Britain.

The first congress assembled at Philadelphia, September 17, 1774. Their first public act was a declaratory resolution, expressive of their disposition with respect to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and immediately intended to confirm and encourage that people in their opposition to the oppressive acts of the British parliament. This, and other analogous resolutions relative to Massachusetts, being passed, the congress wrote a letter to general Gage, governor and commander of the king's troops in that province, in which, after repeating the complaints formerly made by the town of Boston, they declared the determined resolution of the colonies to unite for the preservation of their common rights, in opposition to the late acts of parliament, under the execution of which the unhappy people of Massachusetts were oppressed; that the colonies had appointed them the guardians of their rights and liberties, and that they felt the deepest concern, that whilst they were pursuing every dutiful and peaceable measure to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies, his excellency should proceed in a manner that bore so hostile an appearance, and which even the oppressive acts complained of did not warrant. They represented the tendency this conduct must have to irritate, and force a people, however well disposed to peaceable measures, into hostilities, which might prevent the endeavours of the congress to restore a good understanding with the parent state, and involve them in the horrors of a civil war.

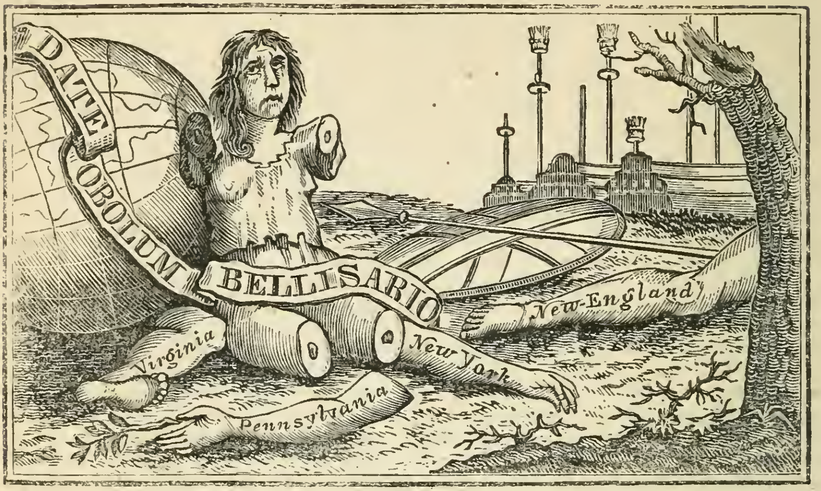
The congress also published a DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, to which they asserted the English colonies of North America were entitled, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and their several charters or compacts.

They then proceeded to frame a petition to the king, a memorial to the people of Great Britain, an address to the colonies in general, and another to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec.

These several acts were drawn up with uncommon energy, address, and ability: they well deserve the attention of statesmen, and are to be found in the annals of American history.

The petition to his majesty contained an enumeration of the grievances of the colonies, humbly praying redress. It was forwarded to

MAGNA BRITANNIA:—HER COLONIES REDUCED.



EXPLANATION.

Great Britain is supposed to have been placed upon the globe; but the Colonies, (that is, her limbs,) being severed from her, she is seen lifting her eyes and mangled stumps to heaven: her shield, which she is unable to wield, lies useless by her side; her lance has pierced *New England:* the laurel branch has fallen from the hand of *Pennsylvania:* the English oak has lost its head, and stands a bare trunk, with a few withered branches; briars and thorns are on the ground beneath it; the British ships have brooms at their topmast heads, denoting their being on sale; and Britannia herself is seen sliding off the world, (no longer able to hold its balance,) her fragments overspread with the label, Date Obolum Bellisario.

The Moral.

History affords us many instances of the ruin of states, by the prosecution of measures ill suited to the temper and genius of their people. The ordaining of laws in favour of *one* part of the nation, to the prejudice and oppression of *another*, is certainly the most erroneous and mistaken policy. An *equal* dispensation of protection, rights, privileges, and advantages, is what every part is entitled to, and ought to enjoy; it being a matter of no moment to the state, whether a subject grows rich and flourishing on the Thames or the Ohio, in Edinburgh or Dublin. These measures never fail to create great and violent jealousies and animosities between the people favoured and the people oppressed: whence a total separation of affections, interests, political obligations, and all manner of connexions, necessarily ensue, by which the whole state is weakened, and perhaps ruined for ever!

England, by the secretary of congress, Charles Thomson, under cover to Dr. Franklin. The proceedings thereon, as a document of great interest, will be inserted in another part of this edition, and will be circumstantially noticed in the progress of these memoirs.

Dr. Franklin, at this momentous period, was unceasing in his endeavours to induce the British government to change its measures with respect to the colonies. In private conversations, in letters to persons connected with government, and in writings in the public prints, he continually expatiated upon the *impolicy* and *injustice* of its conduct towards America; and stated, in the most energetic manner, that notwithstanding the sincere attachment of the colonists to the mother country, a continuance of ill treatment must ultimately alienate their affections. The ministers listened not to his advice, and solemn warnings; they blindly persevered in their own schemes, and left to the Americans no alternative but opposition, or unconditional submission. The latter accorded not with the principles of freedom which they had been taught to revere; to the former they were compelled, though reluctantly, to have recourse.

Dr. Franklin, thus finding all his efforts to restore harmony between Great Britain and her colonies ineffectual; and being looked upon by government with a jealous eye, who, it was said, entertained some thoughts of arresting him, under the pretence of his having fomented a rebellion in the colonies, (of which he received private intimation,) determined on immediately returning to America, and to this effect embarked from England in March, 1775.

During the passage, he committed to paper a statement of his efforts *to effect a reconciliation, and prevent a breach between Great Britain and her colonies.* This was a narration of the negotiations he had been concerned in, to bring about so desirable an object. Like the first part of these memoirs, it was addressed to his son, governor Franklin; and intended, no doubt, to be incorporated in them, had he lived to proceed so far in his history. It forms a complement to his political transactions while in England, justifies his character, and is a document of no mean interest in the annals of the American revolution.

"*On board the Pennsylvania Packet, Capt. Osborne, bound to Philadelphia, March* 22, 1775.

"Dear Son,—Having now a little leisure for writing, I will endeavour, as I promised you, to recollect what particulars I can of the negotiations I have lately been concerned in, with regard to the *misunderstandings between Great Britain and America.*

"During the recess of the last parliament, which had passed the severe acts against the province of the Massachusetts Bay, the minority having been sensible of their weakness as an effect of their want of union among themselves, began to think seriously of a coalition. For they saw in the violence of these American measures, if persisted in, a hazard of dismembering, weakening, and perhaps ruining the British empire. This inclined some of them to propose such an union with each other, as might be more respectable in the ensuing session, have more weight in opposition, and be a body out of which a new ministry might easily be formed, should the ill success of the late measures, and the firmness of the colonies in resisting them, make a change appear necessary to the king.

"I took some pains to promote this disposition, in conversation with several of the principal among the minority of both houses, whom I besought and conjured most earnestly, not to suffer, by their little misunderstandings, so glorious a fabric as the present British empire to be demolished by these blunderers; and for their encouragement assured them, as far as my opinions could give any assurance, of the *firmness* and *unanimity* of America, the continuance of which was what they had frequent doubts of, and appeared extremely apprehensive and anxious concerning it.

"From the time of the affront given me at the council board in January, 1774, I had never attended the levee of any minister. I made no justification of myself from the charges brought against me: I made no return of the injury by abusing my adversaries; but held a cool sullen silence, reserving myself to some future opportunity; for which conduct I had several reasons, not necessary here to specify. Now and then I heard it said, that the reasonable part of the administration was ashamed of the treatment they had given me. I suspected, that some who told me this, did it to draw from me my sentiments concerning it, and perhaps my purposes; but I said little or nothing upon the subject. In the mean time, their measures with regard to New England failing of the success that had been confidently expected, and finding themselves more and more embarrassed, they began (as it seems) to think of making use of me, if they could, to assist in disengaging them. But it was too humiliating to think of applying to me openly and directly, and therefore it was contrived to obtain what they could of my sentiments through others.

"The accounts from America, during the recess, all manifested, that the measures of administration had neither divided nor intimidated the people there; that on the contrary they were more and more united and determined; and that a non-importation agreement was likely to take place. The ministry thence apprehending that this, by distressing the trading and manufacturing towns, might influence votes against the court in the elections for a new parliament, (which were in course to come on the succeeding year,) suddenly and unexpectedly dissolved the old one, and ordered the choice of a new one within the shortest time admitted by law, before the inconveniencies of that agreement could begin to be felt, or produce any such effect.

"When I came to England in 1757, you may remember I made several attempts to be introduced to lord Chatham, (at that time first minister) on account of my Pennsylvania business, but without success. He was then too great a man, or too much occupied in affairs of greater moment. I was therefore obliged to content myself with a kind of non-apparent and unacknowledged communication through Mr. Potter and Mr. Wood, his secretaries, who seemed to cultivate an acquaintance with me by their civilities, and drew from me what information I could give relative to the American war, with my sentiments occasionally on measures that were proposed or advised by others, which gave me the opportunity of recommending and enforcing the utility of conquering Canada. I afterwards considered Mr. Pitt as an *inaccessible;* I admired him at a distance, and made no more attempts for a nearer acquaintance. I had only once or twice the satisfaction of hearing, through lord Shelburne, and I think lord Stanhope, that he did me the honour of mentioning me sometimes as a person of respectable character.

"But towards the end of August last, returning from Brighthelmstone, I called to visit my friend Mr. Sargent, at his seat, Halsted, in Kent, agreeably to a former engagement. He let me know, that he had promised to conduct me to lord Stanhope's at Chevening, who expected I would call on him when I came into that neighbourhood. We accordingly waited on lord Stanhope that evening, who told me that lord Chatham desired to see me, and that Mr. Sargent's house, where I was to lodge, being in the way, he would call for me there the next morning, and carry me to Hayes. This was done accordingly. That truly great man received me with abundance of civility, inquired particularly into the situation of affairs in America, spoke feelingly of the severity of the late laws against the Massachusetts, gave me some account of his speech in opposing them, and expressed great regard and esteem for the people of that country, who he hoped would continue firm and united in defending, by all peaceable and legal means, their constitutional rights. I assured him, that I made no doubt they would do so; which he said he was pleased to hear from me, as he was sensible I must be well acquainted with them. I then took occasion to remark to him, that in former cases great empires had crumbled first at their extremities, from this cause—that countries remote from the seat and eye of government, which therefore could not well understand their affairs, for want of full and true information, had never been well governed, but had been oppressed by bad governors, on presumption that complaint was difficult to be made and supported against them at such a distance: hence, such governors had been encouraged to go on, till their oppressions became intolerable: but that this empire had happily found and long been in the practice of a method, whereby every province was well governed, being trusted in a great measure with the government of itself, that hence had risen such satisfaction in the subjects, and such encouragement to new settlements, that had it not been for the late wrong politics, (which would have parliament to be *omnipotent*, though it ought not to be, unless it could at the same time be *omniscient*,) we might have gone on extending our western empire, adding province to province as far as the South Sea: that I lamented the ruin which seemed impending over so fine a plan, so well adapted to make all the subjects of the greatest empire happy; and I hoped, that if his lordship, with the other great and wise men of the British nation, would unite and exert themselves, it might yet be rescued out of the mangling hands of the present set of blundering ministers; and that the union and harmony between Britain and her colonies, so necessary to the welfare of both, might be restored.—He replied with great politeness, that my idea of extending our empire in that manner was a sound one, worthy of a great, benevolent, and comprehensive mind: he wished with me for a good understanding among the different parts of the opposition here, as a means of restoring the ancient harmony of the two countries, which he most earnestly desired; but he spoke of the coalition of our domestic parties as attended with difficulty, and rather to be desired than expected: he mentioned an opinion prevailing here, that America aimed at setting up for itself as an *independent state;* or, at least, to get rid of the *navigation acts.*—I assured him, that having more than once travelled almost from one end of the continent to the other, and kept a great variety of company, eating, drinking, and conversing with them freely, I never had heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for a separation, or a hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America: and as to the navigation act, the main material part of it, that of carrying on trade in

British or plantation bottoms, excluding foreign ships from our ports, and navigating with three quarters British seamen, was as acceptable to us as it could be to Britain: that we were even not against regulations of the general commerce by parliament, provided such regulations were *bona fide* for the benefit of the *whole empire;* not for the small advantage of one part to the great injury of another, such as the obliging our ships to call in England with our wine and fruit, from Portugal or Spain; the restraints on our manufactures, in the woollen and hat-making branches, the prohibiting of slitting-mills, steel-works, &c. He allowed that some amendment might be made in those acts; but said those relating to the slitting-mills, trip-hammers, and steel-works, were agreed to by our agents in a compromise on the opposition made here to abating the duty.

"In fine, he expressed much satisfaction in my having called upon him, and particularly in the assurances I had given him, that America did not aim at *independence;* adding, that he should be glad to see me again as often as might be. I said, I should not fail to avail myself of the permission he was pleased to give me, of waiting upon his lordship occasionally, being very sensible of the honour, and of the great advantages and improvement I should reap from his instructive conversation; which indeed was not a mere compliment.

"The new parliament was to meet the 29th of November, (1774.) About the beginning of that month, being at the Royal Society, Mr. Raper, one of our members, told me there was a certain lady who had a desire of playing with me at chess, fancying she could beat me, and had requested him to bring me to her: it was, he said, a lady with whose acquaintance he was sure I should be pleased, a sister of lord Howe's, and he hoped I would not refuse the challenge. I said, I had been long out of practice, but would wait upon the lady when he and she should think fit. He told me where her house was, and would have me call soon and without further introduction, which I undertook to do; but thinking it a little awkward, I postponed it; and on the 30th, meeting him again at the feast of the society election, being the day after the parliament met, he put me in mind of my promise, and that I had not kept it, and would have me name a day, when he said he would call for me and conduct me. I named the Friday following. He called accordingly: I went with him, played a few games with the lady, whom I found of very sensible conversation and pleasing behaviour, which induced me to agree most readily to an appointment for another meeting a few days afterwards: though I had not the least apprehension that any political business could have any connection with this new acquaintance.

"On the Thursday preceding this chess party, Mr. David Barclay called on me, to have some discourse concerning the meeting of merchants to petition parliament. When that was over, he spoke of the dangerous situation of American affairs, the hazard that a civil war might be brought on by the present measures, and the great merit that person would have who could contrive some means of preventing so terrible a calamity, and bring about a reconciliation. He was then pleased to add, that he was persuaded, from my knowledge of both countries, my character and influence in one of them, and my abilities in business, no man had it so much in his power as myself. I naturally answered, that I should be very happy if I could in any degree be instrumental in so good a work, but that I saw no prospect of it; for, though I was sure the Americans were always willing and ready to agree upon any equitable terms, yet I thought an accommodation impracticable, unless both sides wished it; and by what I could judge from the proceedings of the ministry, I did not believe they had the least disposition towards it; that they rather wished to provoke the North American people into an open rebellion, which might justify a military execution, and thereby gratify a grounded malice which I conceived to exist here against the whigs and dissenters of that country. Mr. Barclay apprehended I judged too hardly of the ministers; he was persuaded they were not all of that temper, and he fancied they would be very glad to get out of their present embarrassment on any terms, only saving the honour and dignity of government. He wished, therefore, that I would think of the matter, and he would call again and converse with me further upon it. I said I would do so, as he requested it, but I had no opinion of its answering any purpose. We parted upon this. But two days after I received a letter from him, inclosed in a note from Dr. Fothergill, both which follow.

"YOUNGSBURY, near Ware, 3d 12 mo. 1774.

"ESTEEMED FRIEND,—After we parted on Thursday last, I accidentally met our mutual friend Dr. Fothergill, in my way home, and intimated to him the subject of our discourse; in consequence of which, I received from him an invitation to a further conference on this momentous affair, and I intend to be in town to-morrow accordingly, to meet at his house between four and five o'clock; and we unite in the request of thy company. We are neither of us insensible, that the affair is of that *magnitude* as should almost deter private persons from meddling with it; at the same time we are respectively such well-wishers to the cause, that nothing in our power ought to be left undone, though the utmost of our efforts may be unavailable. I am thy respectful friend, DAVID BARCLAY.

"*Dr. Franklin, Craven street.*"

"Dr. Fothergill, presents his respects to Dr. Franklin, and hopes for the favour of his company in Harper street, to-morrow evening, to meet their mutual friend David Barclay, to confer on American affairs. As near five o'clock as may be convenient.

"*Harper street, 3d inst.*"

The time thus appointed was the evening of the day on which I was to have my second chess party with the agreeable Mrs. Howe, whom I met accordingly. After playing as long as we liked, we fell into a little chat, partly on a mathematical problem,* and partly about the new parliament then just met, when she said, "And what is to be done with this dispute between Great Britain and the colonies? I hope we are not to have a civil war." They should kiss and be friends, said I; what can they do better? Quarrelling can be of service to neither, but is ruin to both. "I have often said," replied she, "that I wished government would employ you to settle the dispute for them; I am sure nobody could do it so well. Do not you think that the thing is practicable?" Undoubtedly, madam, if the parties are disposed to reconciliation; for the two countries have really no clashing interests to differ about. It is rather a matter of punctilio, which two or three reasonable people might settle in half an hour. I thank you for the good opinion you are pleased to express of me; but the ministers will never think of employing me in that good work; they choose rather to abuse me. "Ay," said she, "they have behaved shamefully to you. And indeed some of them are now ashamed of it themselves."—I looked upon this as accidental conversation, thought no more of it, and went in the evening to the appointed meeting at Dr. Fothergill's, where I found Mr. Barclay with him.

The doctor expatiated feelingly on the mischiefs likely to ensue from the present difference, the necessity of accommodating it, and the great merit of being instrumental in so good a work; concluding with some compliments to me; that nobody understood the subject so thoroughly, and had a better head for business of the kind; that it seemed therefore a duty incumbent on me, to do every thing I could to accomplish a reconciliation; and that as he had with pleasure heard from David Barclay, that I had promised to think of it, he hoped I had put pen to paper, and formed some plan for consideration, and brought it with me. I answered, that I had formed no plan; as the more I thought of the proceedings against the colonies, the more satisfied I was that there did not exist the least disposition in the ministry to an accommodation; that therefore all plans must be useless. He said, I might be mistaken; that whatever was the violence of some, he had reason, *good reason*, to believe others were differently disposed; and that if I would draw a plan which we three upon considering should judge reasonable, it might be made use of, and answer some good purpose, since he believed that either himself or David Barclay could get it communicated to some of the most moderate among the ministers, who would consider it with attention; and what appeared reasonable to us, two of us being Englishmen, might appear so to them. As they both urged this with great earnestness, and when I mentioned the impropriety of my doing any thing of the kind at the time we were in daily expectation of hearing from the congress, who undoubtedly would be explicit on the means of restoring a good understanding, they seemed impatient, alleging that it was uncertain when we should receive the result of the congress, and what it would be; that the least delay might be dangerous; that additional punishments for New England were in contemplation, and accidents might widen the breach, and make it irreparable; therefore, something preventive could not be too soon thought of and applied. I was, therefore, finally prevailed with to promise doing what they desired, and to meet them again on Tuesday evening at the same place, and bring with me something for their consideration.

Accordingly, at the time, I met with them, and produced the following paper:—

HINTS FOR CONVERSATION

Upon the subject of terms that might probably produce a durable union between Britain and the colonies.

1. The tea destroyed to be paid for.
2. The tea-duty act to be repealed, and all the duties that have been received upon it to be repaid into the treasuries of the several provinces from which they have been collected.
3. The acts of navigation to be all re-enacted in the colonies.
4. A naval officer appointed by the crown to reside in each colony, to see that those acts are observed.
5. All the acts restraining manufactures in the colonies, to be repealed.

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* This lady (which is a little unusual in ladies,) has a good deal of mathematical knowledge. [*Note of Dr. Franklin.*]

6. All duties arising on the acts for regulating trade with the colonies, to be for the public use of the respective colonies, and paid into their treasuries. The collectors and custom-house officers to be appointed by each governor, and not sent from England.

7. In consideration of the Americans maintaining their own peace establishment, and the monopoly Britain is to have of their commerce, no requisition to be made from them in time of peace.

8. No troops to enter and quarter in any colony, but with the consent of its legislature.

9. In time of war, on requisition made by the king, with the consent of parliament, every colony shall raise money by the following rules or proportions, viz. If Britain, on account of the war, raises 3*s.* in the pound to its land tax, then the colonies to add to their last general provincial peace tax, a sum equal to one fourth thereof; and if Britain, on the same account pays 4*s.* in the pound, then the colonies to add to their said last peace tax, a sum equal to half thereof; which additional tax is to be granted to his majesty, and to be employed in raising and paying men for land or sea service, furnishing provisions, transports, or for such other purposes as the king shall require and direct: and though no colony may contribute less, each may add as much by voluntary grant as they shall think proper.

10. Castle William to be restored to the province of the Massachusetts Bay, and no fortress built by the crown in any province, but with the consent of its legislature.

11. The late Massachusetts and Quebec acts to be repealed, and a free government granted to Canada.

12. All judges to be appointed during good behaviour, with equally permanent salaries, to be paid out of the province revenues by appointment of the assemblies; or, if the judges are to be appointed during the pleasure of the crown, let the salaries be during the pleasure of the assemblies, as heretofore.

13. Governors to be supported by the assemblies of each province.

14. If Britain will give up its monopoly of the American commerce, then the aid abovementioned to be given by America in time of peace, as well as in time of war.

15. The extension of the act of Henry VIII. concerning treasons to the colonies, to be formally disowned by parliament.

16. The American admiralty-courts reduced to the same powers they have in England, and the acts establishing them to be reenacted in America.

17. All powers of internal legislation in the colonies to be disclaimed by parliament.

In reading this paper a second time, I gave my reasons at length for each article

On the *first*, I observed, that when the injury was done, Britain had a right to *reparation*, and would certainly have had it on demand, as was the case when injury was done by mobs in the time of the stamp act: or, she might have a right to return an equal injury, if she rather chose to do that; but she could not have a right *both* to *reparation* and to return an *equal injury*, much less had she a right to return the injury ten or twenty fold, as she had done by blocking up the port of Boston: all which extra injury ought, in my judgment, to be repaired by Britain: that, therefore, if paying for the tea was agreed to by me, as an article fit to be proposed, it was merely from a desire of peace, and in compliance with their opinion expressed at our first meeting, that this was a *sine qua non*, that the dignity of Britain required it, and that if this were agreed to, every thing else would be easy: this reasoning was allowed to be just; but still the article was thought necessary to stand as it did.

On the 2d, That the act should be repealed, as having never answered any good purpose, as having been the cause of the present mischief, and never likely to be executed. That the act being considered as unconstitutional by the Americans, and what the parliament had no right to make, they must consider all the money *extorted* by it as so much wrongfully taken, and of which therefore restitution ought to be made; and the rather as it would furnish a fund, out of which the payment for the tea destroyed might best be defrayed. The gentlemen were of opinion, that the first part of this article, viz: the repeal, might be obtained, but not the refunding part, and therefore advised striking that out: but as I thought it just and right, I insisted on its standing.

On the 3d and 4th articles, I observed, we were frequently charged with views of abolishing the navigation act. That, in truth, those parts of it which were of most importance to Britain, as tending to increase its naval strength, viz. those restraining the trade, to be carried on only in ships belonging to British subjects, navigated by at least three quarters British or colony seamen, &c., were as acceptable to us as they could be to Britain, since we wished to employ our own ships in preference to foreigners, and had no desire to see foreign ships enter our ports. That indeed the obliging us to land some of our commodities in England before we could carry them to foreign markets, and forbidding our importation of some goods directly from foreign countries, we thought a hardship, and a greater loss to us than gain to Britain, and therefore proper to be repealed: but as Britain had deemed it an equivalent for her protection, we had never applied or proposed to apply for such repeal; and if they must be continued, I thought it best (since the power of parliament to make them was now disputed) that they should be re-enacted in all the colonies, which would demonstrate their consent to them: and then if, as in the sixth article, all the duties arising on them were to be collected by officers appointed and salaried in the respective governments, and the produce paid into their treasuries, I was sure the acts would be better and more faithfully executed, and at much less expense, and one great source of misunderstanding removed between the two countries, viz. the calumnies of low officers appointed from home, who were for ever abusing the people of the country to government, to magnify their own zeal, and recommend themselves to promotion. That the extension of the admiralty jurisdiction, so much complained of, would then no longer be necessary; and that besides its being the interest of the colonies to execute those acts, which is the best security, government might be satisfied of its being done, from accounts to be sent home by the naval officers of the 4th article. The gentlemen were satisfied with these reasons, and approved the 3d and 4th articles; so they were to stand.

The 5th they apprehended would meet with difficulty. They said, that restraining manufactures in the colonies was a favourite idea here; and therefore they wished that article to be omitted, as the proposing it would alarm and hinder, perhaps, the considering and granting others of more importance: but as I insisted on the equity of allowing all subjects in every country to make the most of their natural advantages, they desired I would at least alter the last word from *repealed* to *reconsidered*, which I complied with.

In maintaining the 7th article, (which was at first objected to, on the principle that all under the care of government should pay towards the support of it,) my reasons were, that if every distinct part of the king's dominions supported its own government in time of peace, it was all that could justly be required of it; that all the old or confederated colonies had done so from their beginning; that their taxes for that purpose were very considerable; that new countries had many public expenses which old ones were free from, the works being done to their hands by their ancestors, such as making roads and bridges, erecting churches, court-houses, forts, quays, and other public buildings, founding schools and places of education, hospitals and alms-houses, &c. &c.; that the voluntary and legal subscriptions and taxes for such purposes, taken together, amounted to more than was paid by equal estates in Britain. That it would be best for Britain, on two accounts, not to take money from us as contribution to its public expense, in time of peace; first, for that just so much less would be got from us in commerce, since all we could spare was already gained from us by Britain in that way; and secondly, that coming into the hands of British ministers, accustomed to prodigality of public money, it would be squandered and dissipated, answering no good general purpose. That if we were to be taxed towards the support of government in Britain, as Scotland has been since the union, we ought then to be allowed the same privileges in trade as she has been allowed. That if we are called upon to give to the sinking fund or the national debt, Ireland ought to be likewise called upon; and both they and we, if we gave, ought to have some means established of inquiring into the application, and securing a compliance with the terms on which we should grant. That British ministers would, perhaps, not like our meddling with such matters; and that hence might arise new causes of misunderstanding. That upon the whole, therefore, I thought it best on all sides, that no aids shall be asked or expected from the colonies in time of peace; that it would then be their interest to grant bountifully, and exert themselves vigorously in time of war, the sooner to put an end to it. That specie was not to be had to send to England, in supplies, but the colonies could carry on war with their own paper money; which would pay troops, and for provisions, transports, carriages, clothing, arms, &c. So this 7th article was at length agreed to without further objection.

The 8th, the gentlemen were confident would never be granted. For the whole world would be of opinion that the king, who is to defend all parts of his dominions, should have, of course, a right to place his troops where they might best answer that purpose. I supported the article upon principles equally important in my opinion to Britain as to the colonies: for that if the king could bring into one part of his dominions, troops raised in any other part of them, without the consent of the legislatures of the part to which they were brought, he might bring armies raised in America into England without consent of parliament, which probably would not like it, as a few years since they had not liked the introduction of the Hessians and Hanoverians, though justified by the supposition of its being a time of danger. That if there should be at any time real occasion for British troops in America, there was no doubt of obtaining the consent of the assemblies there; and I was so far from being willing to drop this article, that I thought I ought to add another, requiring all the present troops to be withdrawn, before America could be expected to treat or agree upon any terms of accommodation; as what they should now do of that kind might be deemed the effect of compulsion, the appearance of which, ought as much as possible to be avoided, since those reasonable things might be agreed to, where the parties seemed at least to act freely, which would be strongly refused under threats, or the semblance of force. That the withdrawing the troops was therefore necessary to make any treaty durably binding on the part of the Americans, since proof of having acted under force, would invalidate any agreement: and it could be no wonder that we should insist on the crown's having no right to bring a standing army among us in time of peace; when we saw now before our eyes a striking instance of the ill use to be made of it, viz. to distress the king's subjects in different parts of his dominions, one part after the other, into a submission to arbitrary power, which was the avowed design of the army and fleet now placed at Boston.—Finding me obstinate, the gentlemen consented to let this stand, but did not seem quite to approve of it: they wished, they said, to have this a paper or plan, that they might show as containing the sentiments of considerate impartial persons, and such as they might as Englishmen support, which they thought could not well be the case with this article.

The 9th article was so drawn, in compliance with an idea of Dr. Fothergill's, started at our first meeting, viz. that government here would probably not be satisfied with the promise of voluntary grants in time of war from the assemblies, of which the quantity must be uncertain; that, therefore, it would be best to proportion them in some way to the shillings in the pound raised in England; but how such proportion could be ascertained, he was at a loss to contrive; I was desired to consider it. It had been said, too, that parliament was become jealous of the right claimed and heretofore used by the crown, of raising money in the colonies without parliamentary consent; and therefore, since we would not pay parliamentary taxes, future requisitions must be made with consent of parliament, and not otherwise. I wondered that the crown should be willing to give up that separate right, but had no objection to its limiting itself, if it thought proper: so I drew the article accordingly, and contrived to proportion the aid by the tax of the last year of peace. And since it was thought that the method I should have liked best, would never be agreed to, viz. a continental congress to be called by the crown, for answering requisitions and proportioning aids; I chose to leave room for voluntary additions by the separate assemblies, that the crown might have some motive for calling them together, and cultivating their good will. and they have some satisfaction in showing their loyalty and their zeal in the common cause, and an opportunity of manifesting their disapprobation of a war, if they did not think it a just one. This article therefore met with no objection from *them*, and I had another reason for liking it, viz. that the view of the proportion to be given in time of war, might make us the more frugal in time of peace.

For the 10th article, I urged the injustice of seizing that fortress, (which had been built at an immense charge by the province, for the defence of their port against national enemies,) and turning it into a citadel for awing the town, restraining their trade, blocking up their port, and depriving them of their privileges: that a great deal had been said of their injustice in destroying the tea, but here was a much greater injustice uncompensated, that castle having cost the province three hundred thousand pounds: and that such a use made of a fortress they had built, would not only effectually discourage every colony from ever building another, and thereby leave them more exposed to foreign enemies, but was a good reason for their insisting that the crown should never erect any hereafter in their limits without the consent of the legislature: the gentlemen had not much to say against this article; but thought it would hardly be admitted.

The 11th article it was thought would be strongly objected to; that it would be urged the old colonists could have nothing to do with the affairs of Canada, whatever we had with those of the Massachusetts; that it would be considered as an officious meddling merely to disturb government; and that some even of the Massachusetts acts were thought by administration to be improvements of that government, viz. those altering the appointment of counsellors, the choice of jurymen, and the forbidding of town meetings. I replied, that we having assisted in the conquest of Canada, at a great expense of blood and treasure, had some right to be considered in the settlement of it: that the establishing an arbitrary government on the back of our settlements might be dangerous to us all; and that loving liberty ourselves, we wished it to be extended among mankind, and to have no foundation for future slavery laid in America. That as to amending the Massachusetts government, though it might be shown that every one of these pretended amendments were real mischiefs, yet that charters being compacts between two parties, the king and the people, no alteration could be made in them, even for the better, but by the consent of both parties. That the parliament's claim and exercise of a power to alter our charters, which had always been deemed inviolable but for forfeiture, and to alter laws made in pursuance of these charters which had received the royal approbation, and thenceforth deemed fixed and unchangeable, but by the powers that made them, had rendered all our constitutions uncertain, and set us quite afloat that as by claiming a right to tax us *ad libitum*, they deprived us of all property; so by this claim of altering our laws and charters at will, they deprived us of all privilege and right whatever; but what we should hold at their pleasure: that this was a situation we could not be in, and must risk life and every thing rather than submit to it:—so this article remained.

The 12th article I explained, by acquainting the gentlemen with the former situation of the judges in most colonies, viz. that they were appointed by the crown, and paid by the assemblies: that the appointment being during the pleasure of the crown, the salary had been during the pleasure of the assembly: that when it has been urged against the assemblies, that their making judges dependant on them for their salaries, was aiming at an undue influence over the courts of justice; the assemblies usually replied, that making them dependant on the crown for continuance in their places, was also retaining an undue influence over those courts; and that one undue influence was a proper balance for the other; but that whenever the crown would consent to acts making the judges during *good behaviour*, the assemblies would at the same time grant their salaries to be permanent during their continuance in office. This the crown has however constantly refused: and this equitable offer is now again here proposed; the colonies not being able to conceive why their judges should not be rendered as independent as those in England: that, on the contrary, the crown now claimed to make the judges in the colonies dependant on its favour for both place and salary, both to be continued at its pleasure: this the colonies must oppose as inequitable, as putting both the weights into one of the scales of justice: if therefore the crown does not choose to commission the judges during good behaviour, with equally permanent salaries, the alternative proposed, that the salaries continue to be paid during the pleasure of the assemblies as heretofore. The gentlemen allowed this article to be reasonable.

The 13th was objected to, as nothing was generally thought more reasonable here, than that the king should pay his own governor, in order to render him independent of the people, who otherwise might aim at influencing him against his duty, by occasionally withholding his salary. To this I answered, that governors sent to the colonies were often men of no estate or principle, who came merely to make fortunes, and had no natural regard for the country they were to govern: that to make them quite independent of the people, was to make them careless of their conduct, whether it was beneficial or mischievous to the public, and giving a loose to their rapacious and oppressive dispositions: that the influence supposed could never extend to operate any thing prejudicial to the king's service, or the interest of Britain: since the governor was bound by a set of particular instructions, which he had given surety to observe; and all the laws he assented to were subject to be repealed by the crown if found improper: that the payment of the salaries by the people was more satisfactory to them, as it was productive of a good understanding, and mutual good offices between governor and governed, and therefore the innovation lately made in that respect at Boston and New York, had in my opinion better be laid aside:—so this article was suffered to remain.

But the 14th was thought totally inadmissible. The monopoly of the American commerce could never be given up, and the proposing it would only give offence without answering any good purpose. I was therefore prevailed on to strike it wholly out.

The 15th was readily agreed to.

The 16th it was thought would be of little consequence, if the duties were given to the colony treasuries.

The 17th it was thought could hardly be obtained, but might be tried.

Thus having gone through the whole, I was desired to make a fair copy for Dr. Fothergill, who now informed us, that having an opportunity of seeing daily lord Dartmouth, of whose good disposition he had a high opinion, he would communicate the paper to him, as the sentiments of considerate persons who wished the welfare of both countries. Suppose, said Mr. Barclay, I were to show this paper to lord Hyde; would there be any thing amiss in so doing? He is a very knowing man, and though not in the ministry, properly speaking, he is a good deal attended to by them. I have some acquaintance with him, we converse freely sometimes, and perhaps if he and I were to talk these articles over, I should communicate to him our conversation upon them, some good might arise out of it. Dr. Fothergill had no objection; and I said I could have none. I knew lord Hyde a little, and had an esteem for him. I had drawn the paper at their request, and it was now theirs to do with it what they pleased. Mr. Barclay then proposed, that I should send the fair copy to him, which after making one for Dr. Fothergill and one for himself, he would return to me. Another question then arose, whether I had any objection to their mentioning that I had been consulted? I said, none that related to myself; but it was my opinion, if they wished any attention paid to the propositions, it would be better not to mention me; the ministry having, as I conceived, a prejudice against me and every thing that came from me. They said on that consideration it might be best not to mention me, and so it was concluded. For my own part, I kept this whole proceeding a profound secret; but I soon after discovered that it had taken air by some means or other.

Being much interrupted the day following, I did not copy and send the paper. The next morning I received a note from Mr. Barclay, pressing to have it before twelve o'clock. I accordingly sent it to him. Three days after I received the following note from him:—

"D. Barclay presents his respects, and acquaints Dr. Franklin, that being informed a pamphlet, entitled 'A Friendly Address,' has been dispersed to the *disadvantage* of America, (in particular by the dean of Norwich) he desires Dr. Franklin will peruse the inclosed, just come to hand from America; and if he approves of it, republish it, as D. Barclay wishes something might be properly spread at Norwich. D. Barclay saw to-day a person with whom he had been yesterday, (before he called on Dr. Franklin,) and had the satisfaction of walking part of the way with him to another noble person's house, to meet on the *business*, and he told him, that he could say, that he saw some *light*.

"*Cheapside*, 11*th inst.*"

The person so met and accompanied by Mr. Barclay, I understood to be lord Hyde, going either to lord Dartmouth's or lord North's, I knew not which.

In the following week arrived the proceedings of the congress, which had been long and anxiously expected, both by the friends and adversaries of America.

The petition of congress to the king, was inclosed to me, and accompanied by the following letter from their president, addressed to the American agents in London, as follows:—

"To Paul Wentworth, Esq., Dr. Benjamin Franklin, William Bollen, Esq., Dr. Arthur Lee, Thomas Life, Esq., Edmund Burke, Esq., Charles Garth, Esq.

"*Philadelphia*, *October* 26, 1774.

"Gentlemen,—We give you the strongest proof of our reliance on your zeal and attachment to the happiness of America, and the cause of liberty, when we commit the inclosed papers to your care.

"We desire you will deliver the petition into the hands of his majesty; and after it has been presented, we wish it may be made public through the press, together with the list of grievances. And as we hope for great assistance from the spirit, virtue, and justice of the nation; it is our earnest desire, that the most effectual care be taken, as early as possible, to furnish the trading cities and manufacturing towns throughout the united kingdom, with our memorial to the people of Great Britain.

"We doubt not but that your good sense and discernment will lead you to avail yourselves of every assistance that may be derived from the advice and friendship of all great and good men, who may incline to aid the cause of liberty and mankind.

"The gratitude of America, expressed in the inclosed vote of thanks,* we desire may be conveyed to the deserving objects of it, in the manner that you think will be most acceptable to them.

"It is proposed, that another congress be held on the 10th of May next, at this place; but in the mean time we beg the favour of you, gentlemen, to transmit to the speakers of the several assemblies, the earliest information of the most authentic accounts you can collect, of all such conduct and designs of ministry or parliament, as it may concern America to know.

"We are, with unfeigned esteem and regard, gentlemen, by order of the congress,

"HENRY MIDDLETON, *President.*"

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

Most Gracious Sovereign:

WE, your majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of those colonies who have deputed us to represent them in general congress, by this our humble petition, beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

A standing army has been kept in these colonies, ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies: and this army with a considerable naval armament has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

The authority of the commander in chief, and under him, of the brigadiers-general has in time of peace been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.

The commander in chief of all your majesty's forces in North America has, in time of peace, been appointed governor of a colony.

The charges of usual offices have been greatly increased; and new, expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied.

The judges of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves. The officers of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses, without the authority of any civil magistrate, founded on civil information.

The judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependant on one part of the legislature for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.

Counsellors holding their commissions during pleasure, exercise legislative authority.

Humble and reasonable petitions from the represensatives of the people have been fruitless. The agents of the people have been discountenanced, and governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of their salaries.

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* This piece is wanting; but it was a vote of congress declaratory, in their own names, and in the behalf of all those whom they represented of their most grateful acknowledgments, to those truly noble, honourable, and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who had so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America both in and out of parliament.

Assemblies have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved.

Commerce has been burdened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

By several acts of parliament, made in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth years of your majesty's reign, duties are imposed on us, for the purpose of raising a revenue, and the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are extended beyond their ancient limits, whereby our property is taken from us without our consent, the trial by jury in many civil cases is abolished, enormous forfeitures are incurred for slight offences, vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages, to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

Both houses of parliament have resolved, that colonists may be tried in England, for offences alleged to have been committed in America, by virtue of a statute passed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry the Eighth; and in consequence thereof, attempts have been made to enforce that statute. A statute was passed in the twelfth year of your majesty's reign, directing that persons charged with committing any offence therein described, in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm, whereby inhabitants of these colonies may, in sundry cases by that statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage.

In the last sessions of parliament, an act was passed for blocking up the harbour of Boston; another, empowering the governor of the Massachusetts Bay to send persons indicted for murder in that province, to another colony, or even to Great Britain, for trial; whereby such offenders may escape legal punishment; a third, for altering the chartered constitution of government in that province; and a fourth, for extending the limits of Quebec, abolishing the English and restoring the French laws, whereby great numbers of British freemen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government, and the Roman Catholic religion, throughout those vast regions that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free Protestant, English settlements; and a fifth, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in North America

To a sovereign, who "glories in the name of Briton," the bare recital of these acts must, we presume, justify the loyal subjects, who fly to the foot of his throne, and implore his clemency for protection against them.

From this destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears, and jealousies, that overwhelm your majesty's dutiful colonists with affliction; and we defy our most subtle and inveterate enemies, to trace the unhappy differences between Great Britan and these colonies, from an earlier period, or from other causes than we have assigned. Had they proceeded on our part from a restless levity of temper, unjust impulses of ambition, or artful suggestions of seditious persons, we should merit the opprobrious terms frequently bestowed upon us, by those we revere; but so far from promoting innovations, we have only opposed them; and can be charged with no offence, unless it be one, to receive injuries and be sensible of them.

Had our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit: but thanks be to his adorable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the British throne, to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices that your title to the crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty; and therefore we doubt not but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility, that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they received from Divine Providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact, which elevated the illustrious house of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

The apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude, from the pre-eminent rank of English freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty, and clearly foresee the miseries preparing for us and our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts, which, though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects, in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty.

By giving this faithful information, we do all in our power to promote the great objects of your royal care, the tranquillity of your government, and the welfare of your people.

Duty to your majesty, and regard for the preservation of ourselves and our posterity, the primary obligations of nature and society, command us to entreat your royal attention; and as your majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of freemen cannot be displeasing. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men, who daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects, and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries, too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your majesty's repose by our complaints.

These sentiments are extorted from hearts, that much more willingly would bleed in your majesty's service. Yet so greatly have we been misrepresented, that a necessity has been alleged of taking our property from us without our consent, "to defray the charge of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and the defence, protection, and security of the colonies." But we beg leave to assure your majesty, that such provision has been and will be made for defraying the two first articles, as has been and shall be judged, by the legislatures of the several colonies, just and suitable to their respective circumstances: and for the defence, protection, and security of the colonies, their militias, if properly regulated, as they earnestly desire may immediately be done, would be fully sufficient, at least in times of peace; and in case of war, your faithful colonists will be ready and willing, as they ever have been when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their loyalty to your majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces. Yielding to no British subjects in affectionate attachment to your majesty's person, family, and government, we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs, that are honourable to the prince who receives them, and to the people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth.

Had we been permitted to enjoy in quiet the inheritance left us by our forefathers, we should at this time have been peaceably, cheerfully, and usefully employed in recommending ourselves by every testimony of devotion to your majesty, and of veneration to the state, from which we derive our origin. But though now exposed to unexpected and unnatural scenes of distress, by a contention, with that nation, in whose parental guidance on all important affairs we have hitherto with filial reverence constantly trusted, and therefore can derive no instruction in our present unhappy and perplexing circumstances from any former experience, yet we doubt not the purity of our intention and the integrity of our conduct will justify us at that grand tribunal, before which all mankind must submit to judgment.

We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us, and our connexion with Great Britian, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain.

Filled with sentiments of duty to your majesty, and of affection to our parent state, deeply impressed by our education, and strongly confirmed by our reason, and anxious to evince the sincerity of these dispositions, we present this petition only to obtain redress of grievances, and relief from fears and jealousies occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in America—extending the powers of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty—trying persons in Great Britain for offences alleged to be committed in America—affecting the province of Massachusetts Bay; and altering the government and extending the limits of Quebec; by the abolition of which system, the harmony between Great Britian and these colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourse will be immediately restored. In the magnanimity and justice of your majesty and parliament we confide for a redress of our other grievances, trusting that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard we have been accustomed in our happier days to enjoy. For, appealing to that Being who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess, that our councils have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of impending destruction.

Permit us then, most gracious sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility to implore you, for the honour of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses; that your majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bands of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendant relation formed by these ties to be further violated, in uncertain expectation of effects, that, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained.

We therefore most earnestly beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief; and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition.

That your majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign, over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more, is and always will be, our sincere and fervent prayer.

HENRY MIDDLETON.

Philadelphia, October 26, 1774.

From New Hampshire.
John Sullivan,
Nath. Folsom.

Massachusetts Bay.
Thomas Cushing,
Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Rob. Treat Paine.

Rhode Island.
Step. Hopkins,
Sam. Ward.

Connecticut.
Eleph. Dyer,
Roger Sherman,
Silas Deane.

New York.
Phil. Livingston,
John Alsop,
Isaac Low,
Jas. Duane,
John Jay,
Wm. Floyd,
Henry Wisner,
S. Boerum.

New Jersey.
Wil. Livingston,
John De. Hart,
Steph. Crane,
Rich. Smith.

Pennsylvania,
E. Biddle,
J. Galloway,
John Dickinson,
John Morton,
Thomas Mifflin,
George Ross,
Cha. Humphreys.

Delaware Government,
Cæsar Rodney,
Tho. M'Kean,
Geo. Read.

Maryland.
Mat. Tilghman,
Tho. Johnson, jun.,
Wm. Paca,
Samuel Chace.

Virginia.
Richard Henry Lee,
Patrick Henry,
G. Washington,
Edmund Pendleton,
Rich. Bland,
Benj. Harrison.

North Carolina.
Will. Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
Rd. Caswell.

South Carolina.
Tho. Lynch,
Christ. Gadsden,
J. Rutledge,
Edward Rutledge.

The first impression made by the proceedings of the American congress on people in general, was greatly in our favour. Administration seemed to be staggered, were impatient to know whether the *petition* mentioned in the proceedings was come to my hands, and took round-about methods of obtaining that information, by getting a ministerial merchant, a known intimate of the solicitor-general, to write me a letter, importing that he heard I had received such a petition, that I was to be attended in presenting it by the merchants, and begging to know the time, that he might attend "on so important an occasion, and give his testimony to so good a work." Before these proceedings arrived, it had been given out, that no petition from the congress could be received, as they were an illegal body; but the secretary of state, after a day's perusal, (during which a council was held,) told us it was a decent and proper petition, and cheerfully undertook to present it to his majesty, who, he afterwards assured us, was pleased to receive it very graciously, and to promise to lay it, as soon as they met, before his two houses of parliament; and we had reason to believe, that at that time, the petition was intended to be made the foundation of some changes of measures; but that purpose, if such there was, did not long continue.

About this time I received a letter from Mr. Barclay, then at Norwich, dated December 18, expressing his opinion, that it might be best to postpone taking any further steps in the affair of procuring a meeting and petition of the merchants, (on which we had had several consultations,) till after the holidays, thereby to give the proceedings of congress more time to work upon men's minds, adding, "I likewise consider that our superiors will have some little time for reflection, and perhaps may contemplate on the propriety of the HINTS in their possession. By a few lines I have received from lord Hyde, he intimates his hearty wish that they may be productive of what may be practicable and advantageous for the mother country and the colonies."—On the 22d, Mr. Barclay was come to town, when I dined with him, and learned that lord Hyde thought the propositions too hard.

On the 24th, I received the following note from a considerable merchant in the city, viz.:

"Mr. William Neate presents his most respectful compliments to Dr. Franklin, and as a report prevailed yesterday evening, that all the disputes between Great Britain and the American colonies, were, through his application and influence with lord North, amicably settled, conformable to the wish and desire of the late congress, W. N. desires the favour of Dr. Franklin to inform him by a line, per the bearer, whether there is any credit to be given to the report?

"*St. Mary Hill, 24th December*, 1774."

My answer was to this effect, that I should be very happy to be able to inform him that the report he had heard had some truth in it; but I could only assure him that I knew nothing of the matter. Such reports, however, were confidently circulated, and had some effect in recovering the stocks, which had fallen three or four per cent.

On Christmas day, visiting Mrs. Howe, she told me as soon as I went in, that her brother, lord Howe, wished to be acquainted with me; that he was a very good man, and she was sure we should like each other. I said, I had always heard a good character of lord Howe, and should be proud of the honour of being known to him. He is just by, said she; will you give me leave to send for him? By all means, madam, if you think proper. She rang for a servant, wrote a note, and lord Howe came in a few minutes.

After some extremely polite compliments as to the general motives for his desiring an acquaintance with me, he said he had a particular one at this time, which was the alarming situation of our affairs with America, which no one, he was persuaded, understood better than myself; that it was the opinion of some friends of his, that no man could do more towards reconciling our differences than I could, if I would undertake it; that he was sensible I had been very ill treated by the ministry, but he hoped that would not be considered by me in the present case; that he himself, though not in opposition, had much disapproved of their conduct towards me; that some of them, he was sure, were ashamed of it, and sorry it had happened; which he supposed must be sufficient to abate resentment in a great and generous mind; that if he were himself in administration, he should be ready to make me ample satisfaction, which he was persuaded, would one day or other be done; that he was unconnected with the ministry, except by some personal friendships, wished well however to government, was anxious for the general welfare of the whole empire, and had a particular regard for New England, which had shown a very endearing respect to his family; that he was merely an independent member of parliament, desirous of doing what good he could, agreeably to his duty in that station; that he therefore had wished for an opportunity of obtaining my sentiments on the means of reconciling our differences, which he saw must be attended with the most mischievous consequences, if not speedily accommodated; that he hoped his zeal for the public welfare, would, with me, excuse the impertinence of a mere stranger, who could have otherwise no reason to expect, or right to request me to open my mind to him upon these topics; but he did conceive, that if I would indulge him with my ideas of the means proper to bring about a reconciliation, it might be of some use; that perhaps I might not be willing myself to have any *direct* communication with this ministry on this occasion; that I might likewise not care to have it known that I had any *indirect* communication with them, till I could be well assured of their good dispositions; that being himself upon no ill terms with them, he thought it not impossible that he might, by conveying my sentiments to them, and theirs to me, be a means of bringing on a good understanding, without committing either them or me, if his negotiation should not succeed; and that I might rely on his keeping perfectly secret, every thing I should wish to remain so.

Mrs. Howe here offering to withdraw, whether of herself, or from any sign by him, I know not, I begged she might stay, as I should have no secret in a business of this nature that I could not freely confide to her prudence; which was truth; for I had never conceived a higher opinion of the discretion and excellent understanding of any woman on so short an acquaintance. I added, that though I had never before the honour of being in his lordship's company, his manner was such as had already engaged my confidence, and would make me perfectly easy and free in communicating myself to him. I begged him in the first place, to give me credit for a sincere desire of healing the breach between the two countries; that I would cheerfully and heartily do every thing in my small power to accomplish it; but that I apprehended from the king's speech, and from the measures talked of, as well as those already determined on, no intention or disposition of the kind existed in the present ministry, and therefore no accommodation could be expected till we saw a change. That as to what his lordship mentioned of the *personal injuries* done me, those done my country were so much greater, that I did not think the other, at this time, worth mentioning; that besides it was a fixed rule with me, not to mix my private affairs with those of the public; that I could join with my personal enemy in serving the public, or, when it was for its interest, with the public in serving that enemy; these being my sentiments, his lordship might be assured that no private considerations of the kind should prevent my being as useful in the present case as my small ability would permit. He appeared satisfied and pleased with these declarations, and gave it me as his sincere opinion, that some of the ministry were extremely well disposed to any reasonable accommodations, preserving only the dignity of government; and he wished me to draw up in writing, some propositions containing the terms on which I conceived a good understanding might be obtained and established, and the mode of proceeding to accomplish it; which propositions, as soon as prepared, we might meet to consider, either at his house, or at mine, or where I pleased; but as his being seen at my house, or me at his, might be thought occasion some speculation, it was concluded to be best to meet at his sister's, who readily offered her house for the purpose, and where there was a good pretence with her family and friends for my being often seen, as it was known that we played together at chess. I undertook, accordingly, to draw up something of the kind; and so for that time we parted, agreeing to meet at the same place again on the Wednesday following.

I dined about this time by invitation with governor Pownall. There was no company but the family, and after dinner we had a *tete-a-tete*. He had been in the opposition; but was now about making his peace, in order to come into parliament on ministerial interest, which I did not then know. He told me what I had before been told by several of lord North's friends, that the American measures were not the measures of that minister, nor approved by him; that, on the contrary, he was well disposed to promote a reconciliation upon any terms honourable to government; that I had been looked upon as the great fomenter of the opposition in America, and as a great adversary to any accommodation; that he, governor Pownall, had given a different account of me, and had told his lordship that I was certainly much misunderstood: from the governor's further discourse, I collected, that he wished to be employed as an envoy or commissioner to America, to settle the differences, and to have me with him; but as I apprehended there was little likelihood, that either of us would be so employed by government, I did not give much attention to that part of his discourse.

I should have mentioned in its place, (but one cannot recollect every thing in order) that declining at first to draw up the propositions desired by lord Howe, I alleged its being unnecessary, since the congress in their petition to the king, just then received and presented through lord Dartmouth, had stated their grievances, and pointed out very explicitly what would restore the ancient harmony; and I read a part of the petition to show their good dispositions, which, being very pathetically expressed, seemed to affect both the brother and sister. But still I was desired to give my ideas of the steps to be taken, in case some of the propositions in the petition should not be thought admissible: and this, as I said before, I undertook to do.

I had promised lord Chatham to communicate to him the first important news I should receive from America. I therefore sent him the proceedings of the congress as soon as I received them; but a whole week passed after I received the petition, before I could, as I wished to do, wait upon him with it, in order to obtain his sentiments on the *whole*, for my time was taken up in meetings with the other agents to consult about presenting the petition, in waiting three different days with them on lord Dartmouth, in consulting upon and writing letters to the speakers of assemblies, and other business, which did not allow me a day to go to Hayes. At last, on Monday the 26th, I got out, and was there about one o'clock; he received me with an affectionate kind of respect, that from so great a man was extremely engaging; but the opinion he expressed of the congress was still more so. They had acted, he said, with so much temper, moderation, and wisdom, that he thought it the most honourable assembly of statesmen since those of the ancient Greeks and Romans, in the most virtuous times: that there was not in their whole proceedings, above one or two things he could have wished otherwise; perhaps but one, and that was their assertion, that the keeping up a standing army in the colonies in time of peace, without consent of their legislatures, was against law; he doubted that was not well founded, and that the law alluded to did not extend to the colonies. The rest he admired and honoured: he thought the petition decent, manly, and properly expressed: he inquired much and particularly concerning the state of America, the probability of their perseverance, the difficulties they must meet with in adhering for any long time to their resolutions; the resources they might have to supply the deficiency of commerce; to all which I gave him answers with which he seemed well satisfied. He expressed a great regard and warm affection for that country, with hearty wishes for their prosperity; and that government here might soon come to see its mistakes, and rectify them; and intimated that possibly he might, if his health permitted, prepare something for its consideration, when the parliament should meet after the holidays; on which he should wish to have previously my sentiments. I mentioned to him the very hazardous state I conceived we were in, by the continuance of the army in Boston; that whatever disposition there might be in the inhabitants to give no just cause of offence to the troops, or in the general to preserve order among them, an unpremeditated unforeseen quarrel might happen, between perhaps a drunken porter and a soldier, that might bring on a riot, tumult, and bloodshed; and its consequences produce a breach impossible to be healed; that the army could not possibly answer any good purpose *there*, and might be infinitely mischievous; that no accommodation could be properly proposed and entered into by the Americans, while the bayonet was at their breasts; that to have any agreement binding, all force should be withdrawn. His lordship seemed to think these sentiments had something in them that was reasonable.

From Hayes I went to Halsted, Mr. Sargent's place, to dine, intending thence a visit to lord Stanhope at Chevening; but hearing there that his lordship and the family were in town, I staid at Halsted all night, and the next morning went to Chiselhurst to call upon lord Camden, it being in my way to town. I met his lordship and family in two carriages, just without his gate, going on a visit of congratulation to lord Chatham and his lady, on the late marriage of their daughter to lord Mahon, son of lord Stanhope. They were to be back to dinner; so I agreed to go in, stay dinner, and spend the evening there, and not return to town till next morning. We had that afternoon and evening a great deal of conversation on American affairs, concerning which he was very inquisitive, and I gave him the best information in my power. I was charmed with his generous and noble sentiments; and had the great pleasure of hearing his full approbation of the proceedings of the congress, the petition, &c. &c. of which, at his request, I afterwards sent him a copy. He seemed anxious that the Americans should continue to act with the same temper, coolness, and wisdom, with which they had hitherto proceeded in most of their public assemblies, in which case he did not doubt they would succeed in establishing their rights, and obtain a solid and durable agreement with the mother country; of the necessity and great importance of which agreement, he seemed to have the strongest impressions.

I returned to town the next morning, in time to meet at the hour appointed by lord Howe. I apologised for my not being ready with the paper I had promised, by my having been kept longer than I intended in the country. We had, however, a good deal of conversation on the subject, and his lordship told me he could now assure me of a certainty, that there was a sincere disposition in lord North and lord Dartmouth to accommodate the differences with America, and to listen favourably to any propositions that might have a probable tendency to answer that salutary purpose. He then asked me what I thought of sending some person or persons over, commissioned to inquire into the grievances of America upon the spot, converse with the leading people, and endeavour with them to agree upon some means of composing our differences. I said, that a person of rank and dignity, who had a character of candour, integrity, and wisdom, might possibly, if employed in that service, be of great use. He seemed to be of the same opinion, and that whoever was employed should go with a hearty desire of promoting a sincere reconciliation, on the foundation of mutual interests and mutual good-will; that he should endeavour, not only to remove their prejudices against government, but equally the prejudices of government against them, and bring on a perfect good understanding, &c. Mrs. Howe said, I wish brother you were to be sent thither on such a service; I should like that much better than general Howe's going to command the army there. I think, madam, said I, they ought to provide for general Howe some more honourable employment. Lord Howe here took out of his pocket a paper, and offering it to me, said, smiling, if it is not an unfair question, may I ask whether you know any thing of this paper? Upon looking at it, I saw it was a copy, in David Barclay's hand, of the *hints* before recited; and said, that I had seen it; adding, a little after, that since I perceived his lordship was acquainted with a transaction, my concern in which, I had understood, was to have been kept a secret, I should make no difficulty in owning to him that I had been consulted on the subject, and had drawn up that paper. He said, he was rather sorry to find that the sentiments expressed in it were mine, as it gave him less hopes of promoting, by my assistance, the wished-for reconciliation; since he had reason to think there was no likelihood of the admission of these propositions. He hoped, however, that I would re-consider the subject, and form some plan that would be acceptable here. He expatiated on the infinite service it would be to the nation, and the great merit in being instrumental in so good a work; that he should not think of influencing me by any selfish motive, but certainly I might, with reason expect any reward in the power of government to bestow. This to me was what the French vulgarly call *spitting in the soup*. However, I promised to draw some sketch of a plan at his request, though I much doubted, I said, whether it would be thought preferable to that he had in his hand. But he was willing to hope that it would, and as he considered my situation, that I had friends here and constituents in America to keep well with, that I might possibly propose something improper to be seen in my hand-writing; therefore, it would be better to send it to Mrs. Howe, who would copy it, send the copy to him to be communicated to the ministry, and return me the original. This I agreed to, though I did not apprehend the inconvenience he mentioned. In general, I liked much his manner, and found myself disposed to place great confidence in him on occasion, but in this particular the secrecy he proposed seemed not of much importance.

In a day or two I sent the following paper, inclosed in a cover directed to the honourable Mrs. Howe.

It is supposed to be the wish on both sides, not merely to put a stop to the mischief at present threatening the general welfare, but to cement a *cordial union*, and remove, not only every real grievance, but every cause of jealousy and suspicion.

With this view, the first thing necessary is, to know what is, by the different parties in the dispute, thought essentially necessary for the obtaining such an union.

The American congress, in their petition to the king, have been explicit, declaring, that by a repeal of the oppressive acts therein complained of, "*the harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired of them, will, with the usual intercourse, be immediately restored.*"

If it has been thought reasonable here, to expect that, previous to an alteration of measures, the colonies should make some declaration respecting their future conduct, they have also done that, by adding, "*That when the causes of their apprehensions are removed, their future conduct will prove them not unworthy of the regard they have been accustomed in their happier days to enjoy.*"

For their sincerity in these declarations, they solemnly call to witness the Searcher of all hearts.

If Britain can have any reliance on these declarations, (and perhaps none to be extorted by force can be more relied on than these which are thus freely made,) she may, without hazard to herself, try the expedient proposed, since, if it fails, she has it in her power at any time to resume her present measures.

It is then proposed,

That Britain should show some confidence in these declarations, by repealing all the laws or parts of laws that are requested to be repealed in the petition of the congress to the king.

And that, at the same time, orders should be given to withdraw the fleet from Boston, and remove all the troops to Quebec or the Floridas, that the colonies may be left at liberty in their future stipulations.

That this may, for the honour of Britain, appear not the effect of any apprehension from the measures entered into and recommended to the people by the congress, but from good will, and a change of disposition towards the colonies, with a sincere desire of reconciliation; let some of their other grievances, which in their petition they have left to the magnanimity and justice of the king and parliament, be at the same time removed, such as those relating to the payment of governors' and judges' salaries, and the instructions for dissolving assemblies, &c., with the declarations concerning the statute of Henry VIII.

And to give the colonies an immediate opportunity of demonstrating the reality of their professions, let their proposed ensuing congress be authorised by government, (as was that held at Albany in 1754,) and a person of weight and dignity of character be appointed to preside at it on behalf of the crown.

And then let requisition be made to the congress, of such points as government wishes to obtain, for its future security, for aids, for the advantage of general commerce, for reparation to the India company, &c. &c.

A generous confidence thus placed in the colonies, will give ground to the friends of government there, in their endeavours to procure from America every reasonable concession, or engagement, and every substantial aid that can fairly be desired.

On the Saturday evening I saw Mrs. Howe, who informed me she had transcribed and sent the paper to lord Howe in the country, and she returned me the original. On the following Tuesday, January 3d, I received a note from her, (inclosing a letter she had received from lord Howe the last night,) which follows:—

"Mrs. Howe's compliments to Dr. Franklin,—she incloses him a letter she received last night, and returns him many thanks for his very obliging present,* which has already given her great entertainment. If the doctor has any spare time for chess, she will be exceedingly glad to see him any morning this week, and as often as will be agreeable to him, and rejoices in having so good an excuse for asking the favour of his company."

"*Tuesday.*"

[*Letter inclosed in the foregoing.*]

"PORTER'S LODGE, Jan. 2d, 1775.

"I have received your packet; and it is with much concern that I collect, from sentiments of such authority as those of our worthy friend, that the desired accommodation threatens to be attended with much greater difficulty than I had flattered myself, in the progress of our intercourse, there would be reason to apprehend.

"I shall forward the propositions as intended. Not desirous of trespassing further on our friend's indulgence; but returning sentiments of regard, which his candid and obliging attention to my troublesome inquiries, will render ever permanent in the memory of your affectionate, &c.

"I ought to make excuses likewise to you.

"HOWE.

"*Hon. Mrs. Howe, Grafton street.*"

His lordship had, in his last conversation with me, acknowledged a communication between him and the ministry, to whom he wished to make my sentiments known. In this letter from the country he owns the receipt of them, and mentions his intentions of forwarding them, that is, as I understood it, to the ministers; but expresses his apprehensions that such propositions were not likely to produce any good effect. Some time after, perhaps a week, I received a note from Mrs. Howe, desiring to see me. I waited upon her immediately, when she showed me a letter from her brother, of which having no copy, I can only give from the best of my recollection the purport of it, which I think was this; that he desired to know from their friend, meaning me, through her means, whether it might not be expected, that if that friend would engage for the payment of the tea as a preliminary, relying on a promised redress of their grievances on future petitions from their assembly, they would approve of his making such engagement; and whether the proposition in the former paper, (the Hints,) relating to aids, was still in contemplation of the author. As Mrs. Howe proposed sending to her brother that evening, I wrote immediately the following answer, which she transcribed and forwarded.

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* His philosophical writings.

"The proposition in the former paper relating to aids, is still in contemplation of the author, and, as he thinks, is included in the last article of the present paper.

"The people of America, conceiving that parliament has no right to tax them, and that therefore all that has been extorted from them by the operation of the duty acts, with the assistance of an armed force, *preceding* the destruction of the tea, is so much injury, which ought in order of time to be first repaired, before a demand on the tea account can be justly made of them; are not, he thinks, likely to approve of the measure proposed, and pay *in the first place* the value demanded, especially as twenty times as much injury has since been done them by blocking up their port; and their castle also seized before by the crown, has not been restored, nor any satisfaction offered them for the same."

At the meeting of parliament after the holidays, which was on the — of January, (1775,) lord Howe returned to town, when we had another meeting, at which he lamented that my propositions were not such as probably could be accepted; intimated, that it was thought I had powers or instructions from the congress to make concessions on occasion that would be more satisfactory. I disclaimed the having any of any kind but what related to the presenting of their petition. We talked over all the particulars in my paper, which I supported with reasons; and finally said, that if what I had proposed would not do, I should be glad to hear what would do; I wished to see some propositions from the ministers themselves. His lordship was not, he said, as yet fully acquainted with their sentiments, but should learn more in a few days. It was, however, some weeks before I heard any thing further from him.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Barclay and I were frequently together on the affair of preparing the merchants' petition, which took up so much of his time that he could not conveniently see lord Hyde; so he had no information to give me concerning the Hints, and I wondered I heard nothing of them from Dr. Fothergill. At length, however, but I cannot recollect about what time, the doctor called on me, and told me he had communicated them, and with them had verbally given my arguments in support of them, to lord Dartmouth, who, after consideration, had told him, some of them appeared reasonable, but others were inadmissible or impracticable: that having occasion to see frequently the speaker,* he had also communicated them to him, as he found him very anxious for a reconciliation: that the speaker had said it would be very humiliating to Britain to be obliged to submit to such terms: but the doctor told him she had been unjust; and ought to bear the consequences, and alter her conduct; that the pill might be bitter, but it would be salutary, and must be swallowed: that these were the sentiments of impartial men, after thorough consideration and full information of all circumstances, and that sooner or later these or similar measures must be followed, or the empire would be divided and ruined: the doctor on the whole hoped some good would be effected by our endeavours.

On the 19th of January, I received a card from lord Stanhope, acquainting me, that lord Chatham having a motion to make on the morrow in the house of lords, concerning America, greatly desired that I might be in the house, into which lord S. would endeavour to procure me admittance. At this time it was a rule of the house that no person could introduce more than one friend. The next morning, his lordship let me know by another card, that if I attended at two o'clock in the lobby, lord Chatham would be there about that time, and would himself introduce me. I attended, and met him there accordingly. On my mentioning to him what lord Stanhope had written to me, he said, "Certainly; and I shall do it with the more pleasure, as I am sure your being present at this day's debate will be of more service to America than mine;" and so taking me by the arm, was leading me along the passage to the door that enters near the throne, when one of the door-keepers followed and acquainted him, that by the order, none were to be carried in at that door, but the eldest sons or brothers of peers; on which he limped back with me to the door near the bar, where were standing a number of gentlemen waiting for the peers who were to introduce them, and some peers waiting for friends they expected to introduce; among whom he delivered me to the doorkeepers, saying aloud, this is Dr. Franklin, whom I would have admitted into the house; when they readily opened the door for me accordingly. As it had not been publicly known, that there was any communication between his lordship and me, this I found occasioned some speculation. His appearance in the house, I observed, caused a kind of bustle among the officers, who were hurried in sending messengers for members, I suppose those in connection with the ministry, something of importance being expected when that great man appears; it being but seldom that his infirmities permit his attendance. I had great satisfaction in hearing his motion and the debate upon it, which I shall not attempt to give here an account of, as you may find a better in the papers of the time. It was his motion for withdrawing the troops from Boston, as the first step towards an accommodation. The day following, I received a note from lord Stanhope, expressing, that "at the desire of lord Chatham, was sent me inclosed, the motion he made in the house of lords, that I might be possessed of it in the most authentic manner, by the communication of the individual paper which was read to the house by the mover himself." I sent copies of this motion to America, and was the more pleased with it, as I conceived it had partly taken its rise from a hint I had given his lordship in a former conversation. It follows in these words.

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* Sir Fletcher Norton.

Lord Chatham's Motion, January 20, 1775.

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech his majesty, that, in order to open the way towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there; and above all, for preventing in the mean time any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under daily irritation of an army before their eyes, posted in their town; it may graciously please his majesty, that immediate orders may be despatched to general Gage, for removing his majesty's forces from the town of Boston, as soon as the rigor of the season and other circumstances, indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops, may render the same practicable."

I was quite charmed with lord Chatham's speech in support of his motion.* He impressed me with the highest idea of him as a great and most able statesman. Lord Camden, another wonderfully good speaker and close reasoner, joined him in the same argument, as did several other lords, who spoke excellently well; but all availed no more than the whistling of the winds. This motion was rejected. Sixteen Scotch peers, and twenty-four bishops, with all the lords in possession or expectation of places, when they vote together unanimously, as they generally do for ministerial measures, make a dead majority that renders all debating ridiculous in itself, since it can answer no end. Full of the high esteem I had imbibed for lord Chatham, I wrote back to lord Stanhope the following note, viz.—

"Dr. Franklin presents his best respects to lord Stanhope, with many thanks to his lordship and lord Chatham, for the communication of so authentic a copy of the motion. Dr. F. is filled with admiration of that truly great man. He has seen in the course of his life, sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence; in the present instance he sees both united, and both as he thinks, in the highest degree possible.

"*Craven street, Jan.* 23, 1775."

As in the course of the debate, some lords in the administration had observed, that it was common and easy to censure their measures, but those who did so proposed nothing better; lord Chatham mentioned that he should not be one of those idle censurers, that he had thought long and closely upon the subject, and proposed soon to lay before their lordships the result of his meditation, in a plan for healing our differences, and restoring peace to the empire, to which his present motion was preparatory: I much desired to know what his plan was, and intended waiting on him to see if he would communicate it to me; but he went the next morning to Hayes, and I was so much taken up with daily business and company, that I could not easily get out to him. A few days after, however, lord Mahon called on me, and told me lord Chatham was very desirous of seeing me; when I promised to be with him the Friday following, several engagements prevented my going sooner. On Friday the 27th, I took a postchaise about 9 o'clock, and got to Hayes about 11, but my attention being engaged in reading a new pamphlet, the postboy drove me a mile or two beyond the gate. His lordship being out an airing in his chariot, had met me before I reached Hayes, unobserved by me, turned and followed me, and not finding me there, concluded, as he had seen me reading, that I had passed by mistake, and sent a servant after me. He expressed great pleasure at my coming, and acquainted me, in a long conversation, with the outlines of his plan,

* It was reported at the time, that his lordship had concluded his speech with the following remarkable words. "If the ministers thus persevere in *misadvising* and *misleading* the king, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm, that they will make the crown *not worth his wearing*. I will not say that the king is *betrayed*, but I will pronounce that *the kingdom is undone.*

parts of which he read to me. He said he had communicated it only to lord Camden, whose advice he much relied on, particularly in the law part; and that he would, as soon as he could get it transcribed, put it into my hands for my opinion and advice, but should show it to no other person before he presented it to the house; and he requested me to make no mention of it, otherwise parts might be misunderstood and blown up beforehand, and others perhaps adopted and produced by ministers as their own. I promised the closest secrecy, and kept my word: not even mentioning to any one that I had seen him. I dined with him, his family only present, and returned to town in the evening.

On the Sunday following, being the 29th, his lordship came to town, and called upon me in Craven street. He brought with him his plan transcribed, in the form of an act of parliament, which he put into my hands, requesting me to consider it carefully, and communicate to him such remarks upon it as should occur to me. His reason for desiring to give me that trouble, was, as he was pleased to say, that he knew no man so thoroughly acquainted with the subject, or so capable of giving advice upon it; that he thought the errors of ministers in American affairs, had been often owing to their not obtaining the best information: that therefore though he had considered the business thoroughly in all its parts, he was not so confident of his own judgment, but that he came to set it right by mine, as men set their watches by a regulator. He had not determined when he should produce it in the house of lords; but in the course of our conversation, considering the precarious situation of his health, and that if presenting it was delayed, some intelligence might arrive which would make it seem less seasonable, or in all parts not so proper; or the ministry might engage in different measures, and then say if you had produced your plan sooner, we might have attended to it, he concluded to offer it the Wednesday following; and therefore wished to see me upon it the preceding Tuesday, when he would again call upon me, unless I could conveniently come to Hayes. I chose the latter, in respect to his lordship. and because there was less likelihood of interruptions; and I promised to be with him early, that we might have more time. He staid with me near two hours, his equipage waiting at the door, and being there while people were coming from church, it was much taken notice of and talked of, as at that time was every little circumstance that men thought might possibly any way affect American affairs. Such a visit from so great a man, on so important a business, flattered not a little my vanity; and the honour of it gave me the more pleasure, as it happened on the very day twelve months, that the ministry had taken so much pains to disgrace me before the privy council.

I applied myself immediately to the reading and considering the plan, of which, when it was afterwards published, I sent you a copy, and therefore need not insert it here. I put down upon paper, as I went along, some short memorandums for my future discourse with him upon it, which follow, that you may, if you please, compare them with the plan and if you do so, you will see their drift and purpose, which otherwise would make me much writing to explain.

Tuesday, Jan. 31st, 1775.

Notes for discourse with lord Chatham on his plan.

Voluntary grants and forced taxes, not to be expected of the same people at the same time.

Permanent revenue will be objected to; would not a temporary agreement be best, suppose for 100 years?

Does the whole of the rights claimed in the petition of rights relate to England only?

The American naturalization act gives all the rights of natural born subjects to foreigners residing there seven years. Can it be supposed that the natives there have them not?

If the king should raise armies in America, would Britain like their being brought hither! as the king might bring them when he pleased.

An act of parliament requires the colonies to furnish sundry articles of provision and accommodation to troops quartered among them, this may be made very burdensome to colonies that are out of favour.

If a permanent revenue, why not the same privileges in trade with Scotland?

Should not the lands conquered by Britain and the colonies in conjunction, be given them, (reserving a quit-rent) whence they might form funds to enable them to pay.

Instructions about agents to be withdrawn.

Grants to be for three years, at the end of which a new congress—and so from three to three years.

Congress to have the general defence of the frontiers, making and regulating new settlements.

Protection mutual.

We go into all your wars.

Our settlements cost you nothing.

Take the plan of union.

"Defence, extension, and prosperity of"—The late Canada act prevents their extension, and may check their prosperity.

Laws should be secure as well as charters.

Perhaps if the legislative power of parliament is owned in the colonies, they may make a law to forbid the meeting of any congress, &c.

I was at Hayes early on Tuesday, agreeably to my promise, when we entered into consideration of the plan; but though I staid near four hours, his lordship, in the manner of, I think, all eloquent persons, was so full and diffuse in supporting every particular I questioned, that there was not time to go through half my memorandums; he is not easily interrupted, and I had such pleasure in hearing him, that I found little inclination to interrupt him; therefore, considering that neither of us had much expectation that the plan would be adopted entirely as it stood; that in the course of its consideration, if it should be received, proper alterations might be introduced; that before it would be settled, America should have opportunity to make her objections and propositions of amendment; that to have it received at all here, it must seem to comply a little with some of the prevailing prejudices of the legislature; that if it was not so perfect as might be wished, it would at least serve as a basis for treaty, and in the mean time prevent mischiefs, and that as his lordship had determined to offer it the next day, there was not time to make changes and another fair copy. I therefore ceased my querying; and though afterwards many people were pleased to do me the honour of supposing I had a considerable share in composing it, I assure you, that the addition of a single word only was made at my instance, viz. "*constitutions*," after "charters;" for my filling up, at his request, a blank, with the titles of acts proper to be repealed, which I took from the proceedings of the congress, was no more than might have been done by any copying clerk.

On Wednesday, lord Stanhope, at lord Chatham's request, called upon me, and carried me down to the house of lords, which was soon very full. Lord Chatham, in a most excellent speech, introduced, explained, and supported his plan. When he sat down, lord Dartmouth rose, and very properly said, it contained matter of such weight and magnitude as to require much consideration, and he therefore hoped the noble earl did not expect their lordships to decide upon it by an immediate vote, but would be willing it should lie upon the table for consideration. Lord Chatham answered readily, that he expected nothing more. But lord Sandwich rose, and in a petulant vehement speech, opposed its being received at all, and gave his opinion, that it ought to be immediately *rejected*, with the contempt it deserved; that he could never believe it to be the production of any British peer; that it appeared to him rather *the work of some American;* and, turning his face towards me, who was leaning on the bar, said, he fancied he had in his eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country had ever known. This drew the eyes of many lords upon me: but as I had no inducement to take it to myself, I kept my countenance as immoveable as if my features had been made of wood. Then several other lords of the administration gave their sentiments also for rejecting it, of which opinion, also, was strongly the *wise* lord Hillsborough; but the dukes of Richmond and Manchester, lord Shelburne, lord Camden, lord Temple, lord Lyttleton and others, were for receiving it, some through approbation, and others for the character and dignity of the house. One lord mentioning, with applause, the candid proposal of one of the ministers, lord Dartmouth, his lordship rose again, and said, that having since heard the opinions of so many lords against receiving it to lie upon the table for consideration, he had altered his mind, could not accept the praise offered him, for a candour of which he was now ashamed, and should therefore give his voice for rejecting the plan immediately. I am the more particular in this, as it is a trait of that nobleman's character, who, from his office, is supposed to have so great a share in American affairs, but who has in reality no will or judgment of his own, being, with dispositions for the best measures, easily prevailed with to join in the worst. Lord Chatham, in his reply to lord Sandwich, took notice of his illiberal insinuation, that the plan was not the person's who proposed it: declared that it was entirely his own, a declaration he thought himself the more obliged to make, as many of their lordships appeared to have so mean an opinion of it; for if it was so weak or so bad a thing, it was proper in him to take care that no other person should unjustly share in the censure it deserved. That it had been heretofore reckoned his vice not to be apt to take advice; but he made no scruple to declare, that if he were the first minister of this country, and had the care of settling this momentous business, he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance, a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American affairs as the gentleman alluded to, and so injuriously reflected on; one, he was pleased to say, whom all Europe held in high estimation, for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with our Boyles and Newtons; who was an honour, not to the English nation only, but to human nature! I found it harder to stand this extravagant compliment, than the preceding equally extravagant abuse; but kept as well as I could an unconcerned countenance, as not conceiving it to relate to me.

To hear so many of these *hereditary* legislators declaiming so vehemently against, not the adopting merely, but even the *consideration* of a proposal so important in its nature, offered by a person of so weighty a character, one of the first statesmen of the age, who had taken up this country when in the lowest despondency, and conducted it to victory and glory, through a war with two of the mightiest kingdoms in Europe; to hear them censuring his plan, not only for their own misunderstandings of what was in it, but for their imaginations of what was not in it, which they would not give themselves an opportunity of rectifying by a second reading; to perceive the total ignorance of the subject in some, the prejudice and passion of others, and the wilful perversion of plain truth in several of the ministers; and upon the whole, to see it so ignominiously rejected by so great a majority, and so hastily too, in breach of all decency, and prudent regard to the character and dignity of their body, as a third part of the national legislature, gave me an exceeding mean opinion of their abilities, and made their claim of sovereignty over three millions of virtuous sensible people in America, seem the greatest of absurdities, since they appeared to have scarce discretion enough to govern a herd of swine. *Hereditary legislators!* thought I. There would be more propriety, because less hazard of mischief, in having (as in some university of Germany) *hereditary professors of mathematics!* But this was a hasty reflection; for the *elected* house of commons is no better, nor ever will be while the electors receive money for their votes, and pay money wherewith ministers may bribe their representatives when chosen.

After this proceeding, I expected to hear no more of any negotiation for settling our difference amicably; yet, in a day or two, I had a note from Mr. Barclay, requesting a meeting at Dr. Fothergill's, the 4th of February, in the evening. I attended accordingly, and was surprised by being told that a very good disposition appeared in administration; that the HINTS had been considered, and several of them thought reasonable, and that others might be admitted with small amendments. The good doctor, with his usual philanthropy, expatiated on the miseries of war; that even a bad peace was preferable to the most successful war; that America was growing in strength, and whatever she might be obliged to submit to at present, she would in a few years be in a condition to make her own terms. Mr. Barclay hinted how much it was in my power to promote an agreement; how much it would be to my honour to effect it, and that I might expect, not only restoration of my old place, but almost any other I could wish for, &c.—I need not tell you, who know me so well, how improper and disgusting this language was to me. The doctor's was more suitable. Him I answered, that we did not wish for war, and desired nothing but what was reasonable and necessary for our security and well-being. To Mr. Barclay I replied, that the ministry, I was sure, would rather give me a place in a cart to Tyburn, than any other place whatever.—And to both, that I sincerely wished to be serviceable; that I needed no other inducement than to be shown how I might be so; but saw, they imagined more to be in my power than really was. I was then told again that conferences had been held upon the HINTS; and the paper being produced, was read; that I might hear the observations that had been made upon them separately, which were as follows:—

1. The first article was approved.

2. The second agreed to, so far as related to the repeal of the tea act. But repayment of the duties that had been collected, was refused.

3. The third not approved, as it implied a deficiency of power in the parliament that made those acts.

4. The fourth approved.

5. The fifth agreed to, but with a reserve, that no change prejudicial to Britain was to be expected.

6. The sixth agreed to, so far as related to the appropriation of the duties: but the appointment of the officers and their salaries, to remain as at present.

7. The seventh, relating to aids in time of peace, agreed to.

8. The eighth, relating to the troops, was inadmissible.

9. The ninth could be agreed to, with this difference, that no proportion should be observed with regard to preceding taxes, but each colony should give at pleasure.

10. The tenth agreed to, as to the restitution of Castle William; but the restriction on the crown in building fortresses refused.

11. The eleventh refused absolutely, except as to the Boston port bill, which would be repealed; and the Quebec act might be so far amended, as to reduce that province to its ancient limits. The other Massachusetts acts, being real amendments of their constitution, must for that reason be continued, as well as to be a standing example of the power of parliament.

12. The twelfth agreed to, that the judges should be appointed during good behaviour, on the assemblies providing permanent salaries, such as the crown should approve of.

13. The thirteenth agreed to, provided the assemblies make provision as in the preceding article.

15. The fifteenth agreed to.

16. The sixteenth agreed to, supposing the duties paid to the colony treasuries.

17. The seventeenth inadmissible.

We had not, at this time, a great deal of conversation upon these points, for I shortened it by observing, that while the parliament claimed and exercised a power of altering our constitutions at pleasure, there could be no agreement; for we were rendered unsafe in every privilege we had a right to, and were secure in nothing. And it being hinted, how necessary an agreement was for America, since it was so easy for Britain to burn all our sea-port towns, I grew warm, said that the chief part of my little property consisted of houses in those towns; that they might make bonfires of them whenever they pleased, that the fear of losing them would never alter my resolution to resist to the last that claim of parliament; and that it behoved this country, to take care what mischief it did us, for that sooner or later it would certainly be obliged to make good all damages with interest! The doctor smiled, as I thought, with some approbation of my discourse, passionate as it was, and said he would certainly repeat it to-morrow to lord Dartmouth.

In the discourse concerning the HINTS, Mr. Barclay happened to mention, that going to lord Hyde's, he found lord Howe with him; and that lord Hyde had said to him, "you may speak any thing before lord Howe, that you have to say to me, for he is a friend in whom I confide;" upon which he accordingly had spoken with the same freedom as usual. By this I collected how lord Howe came by the paper of HINTS, which he had shown me:—and it being mentioned as a measure thought of, to send over a commissioner with powers to inquire into grievances and give redress on certain conditions, but that it was difficult to find a proper person; I said, why not lord Hyde? he is a man of prudence and temper, a person of dignity, and I should think very suitable for such an employment: or, if he would not go, there is the other person you just mentioned, lord Howe, who would, in my opinion, do excellently well: this passed as mere conversation, and we parted.

Lord Chatham's rejected plan being printed, for the public judgment, I received six copies from lord Mahon, his son-in-law, which I sent to different persons in America.

A week and more passed, in which I heard nothing further of the negotiation, and my time was much taken up among the members of parliament; when Mr. Barclay sent me a note to say, that he was indisposed, but desirous of seeing me, and should be glad if I would call on him. I waited upon him the next morning, when he told me, that he had seen lord Hyde, and had some further discourse with him on the ARTICLES, that he thought himself now fully possessed of what would do in this business; that he therefore wished another meeting with me and doctor Fothergill, when he would endeavour to bring prepared a draft conformable chiefly to what had been proposed and conceded on both sides, with some propositions of his own. I readily agreed to the meeting, which was to be on Thursday evening, Feb. 16th.

A PLAN, which it is believed would produce a *permanent union* between Great Britain and her colonies.

1. The tea destroyed to be paid for; and, in order that no time may be lost, to begin the desirable work of conciliation, it is proposed that the agent or agents, in a petition to the king, should engage that the tea destroyed shall be paid for; and in consequence of that engagement, a commissioner to have authority, by a clause in an act of parliament, to open the port, (by a suspension of the Boston port act) when that engagement shall be complied with.

2d. The tea-duty act to be repealed, as well for the advantage of Great Britain as the colonies.

3d. Castle William to be restored to the province of the Massachusetts Bay, as formerly, before it was delivered up by governor Hutchinson.

4th. As it is believed that the *commencement* of conciliatory measures will in a considerable degree quiet the minds of the subjects in America, it is proposed that the inhabitants of the province of the Massachusetts Bay should petition the king, and state their objections to the said act.* And it is to be *understood*, that the said act shall be repealed. Interim, the commissioner to have power to suspend the act, in order to enable the inhabitants to petition.

5th. The several provinces who may think themselves aggrieved by the Quebec bill, to petition in their legislative capacities; and it is to be *understood* that so far of the act as extends the limits of Quebec beyond its ancient bounds, is to be repealed.

6th. The act of Henry VIIIth to be formally disclaimed by parliament.

7th. In time of *peace* the Americans to raise within their respective provinces, by acts of their own legislatures, a certain sum or sums, such as *may be thought* necessary for a peace establishment, to pay governors, judges, &c.

Vide—Laws of Jamaica.

8th. In time of *war*, on requisition made by the king, with consent of parliament, every colony shall raise such sums of money, as their legislatures may think suitable to their abilities and the public exigency, to be laid out in raising and paying men for land or sea service, furnishing provisions, transports, or such other purposes as the king shall require and direct.

9th. The acts of navigation to be re-examined, in order to see whether some alterations might not be made therein, as much for the advantage of Great Britain, as the ease of the colonies.

10th. A naval officer to be appointed by the crown to reside in each colony, to see those acts observed.

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* Supposed to mean the Boston port act.—B. F.

N. B. In some colonies they are *not* appointed by the crown.

11th. All duties arising on the acts for regulating trade with the colonies, to be for the public use of the respective colonies, and paid into their treasuries, and an officer of the crown to see it done.

12th. The admiralty courts to be reduced to the same powers as they have in England.

13th. All judges in the king's colony governments, to be appointed during good behaviour, and to be paid by the province, agreeable to article 7th.

N. B. If the king chooses to add to their salaries, the same to be sent from England.

14th. The governors to be supported in the same manner.

Our conversation turned chiefly upon the *first* article. It was said that the ministry only wanted some opening to be given them, some ground on which to found the commencement of conciliating measures, that a petition, containing such an engagement as mentioned in this article, would answer that purpose: that preparations were making to send over more troops and ships: that such a petition might prevent their going, especially if a commissioner were proposed: I was therefore urged to engage the colony agents to join with me in such a petition. My answer was, that no agent had any thing to do with the tea business, but those for Massachusetts Bay, who were, Mr. Bollan for the council, myself for the assembly, and Mr. Lee, appointed to succeed me when I should leave England; that the latter, therefore, could hardly yet be considered as an agent; and that the former was a cautious exact man, and not easily persuaded to take steps of such importance without instructions or authority; that therefore if such a step were to be taken, it would lie chiefly on me to take it; that indeed, if there were, as they supposed, a clear probability of good to be done by it, I should make no scruple of hazarding myself in it; but I thought the empowering a commissioner to suspend the Boston port act, was a method too dilatory, and a mere suspension would not be satisfactory; that if such an engagement were entered into, all the Massachusetts acts should be immediately repealed.

They laid hold of the readiness I had expressed to petition on a probability of doing good, applauded it, and urged me to draw up a petition immediately. I said it was a matter of importance, and with their leave I would take home the paper, consider the propositions as they now stood, and give them my opinion to morrow-evening. This was agreed to, and for that time we parted.

Weighing now the present dangerous situation of affairs in America, and the daily hazard of widening the breach there irreparable, I embraced the idea proposed in the paper, of sending over a commissioner, as it might be a means of suspending military operations, and bring on a treaty, whereby mischief would be prevented, and an agreement by degrees be formed and established; I also concluded to do what had been desired of me as to the engagement, and essayed a draft of a memorial to lord Dartmouth, for that purpose, simply; to be signed only by myself. As to the sending of a commissioner, a measure which I was desired likewise to propose, and express my sentiments of its utility, I apprehended my colleagues in the agency might be justly displeased if I took a step of such importance without consulting them, and therefore I sketched a joint petition to that purpose for them to sign with me if they pleased; but apprehending that would meet with difficulty, I drew up a letter to lord Dartmouth, containing the same proposition, with the reasons for it, to be sent from me only. I made also upon paper some remarks on the propositions; with some hints on a separate paper of further remarks to be made in conversation, when we should meet in the evening of the 17th. Copies of these papers (except the first, which I do not find with me on shipboard,) are here placed as follows, viz.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The Petition and Memorial of W. Bollan, B. Franklin, and Arthur Lee,

Most humbly showeth,—That your petitioners, being agents for several colonies, and deeply affected with the apprehension of impending calamities that now threaten your majesty's subjects in America, beg leave to approach your throne, and to suggest with all humility, their opinion, formed on much attentive consideration, that if it should please your majesty to permit and authorise a meeting of delegates from the different provinces, and appoint some person or persons of dignity and wisdom from this country, to preside in that meeting, or to confer with the said delegates, acquaint themselves fully with the true grievances of the colonies, and settle the means of composing all dissensions, such means to be afterwards ratified by your majesty, if found just and suitable; your petitioners are persuaded, from their thorough knowledge of that country and people, that such a measure might be attended with the most salutary effects, prevent much mischief, and restore the harmony which so long subsisted, and is so necessary to the prosperity and happiness of all your majesty's subjects in every part of your extensive dominions; which that heaven may preserve entire to your majesty and your descendants, is the sincere prayer of your majesty's most dutiful subjects and servants.

"*To the Right Hon. Lord Dartmouth, &c.*

"MY LORD,—Being deeply apprehensive of the impending calamities that threaten the nation and its colonies, through the present unhappy dissensions; I have attentively considered by what possible means those calamities may be prevented. The great importance of a business which concerns us all, will, I hope, in some degree excuse me to your lordship, if I presume, unasked, to offer my humble opinion, that should his majesty think fit to authorise delegates from the several provinces to meet, at such convenient time and place, as in his wisdom shall seem meet, then and there to confer with a commissioner or commissioners to be appointed and empowered by his majesty, on the means of establishing a firm and lasting union between Britain and the American provinces, such a measure might be effectual for that purpose. I cannot, therefore, but wish it may be adopted, as no one can more ardently and sincerely desire the general prosperity of the British dominions, than, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Remarks on the Propositions.

Art. 1. In consequence of that engagement all the Boston and Massachusetts acts to be suspended, and in compliance with that engagement to be totally repealed.

By this amendment, article 4th will become unnecessary.

Art. 4 and 5. The numerous petitions heretofore sent home by the colony assemblies, and either refused to be received, or received and neglected, or answered harshly, and the petitioners rebuked for making them, have, I conceive, totally discouraged that method of application; and if even their friends were now to propose to them the recurring again to petitioning, such friends would be thought to trifle with them. Besides, *all* they desire is now before government in the petition of the congress, and the whole or parts may be granted or refused at pleasure. The sense of the colonies cannot be better obtained by petition from different colonies, than it is by that general petition.

Art. 7. Read, *such as they may think necessary.*

Art. 11. As it stands, of little importance. The first proposition was, that they should be repealed as unjust. But they may remain; for they will probably not be executed.

Even with the amendment proposed above to article 1, I cannot think it stands as it should do. If the object be merely the preventing present bloodshed, and the other mischiefs to fall on that country in war, it may possibly answer that end; but if a thorough hearty reconciliation is wished for, all cause of heart-burning should be removed, and strict justice be done on both sides. Thus the tea should not only be paid for on the side of Boston, but the damage done to Boston by the port act should be repaired, because it was done contrary to the custom of all nations, savage as well as civilized, of first demanding satisfaction.

Art. 14. The judges should receive nothing from the king.

As to the other two acts. The Massachusetts must suffer all the hazards and mischiefs of war, rather than admit the alteration of their charters and laws by parliament. "They who can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

"B. FRANKLIN."

HINTS.

I doubt the regulating duties will not be accepted, without enacting them, and having the power of appointing the collectors in the colonies.

If we mean a hearty reconciliation, we must deal candidly, and use no tricks.

The assemblies are, many of them, in a state of dissolution. It will require time to make new elections; then to meet and choose delegates, supposing all could meet. But the assembly of the Massachusetts Bay cannot act under the new constitution, nor meet the new council for that purpose, without acknowledging the power of parliament to alter their charter, which they never will do. The language of the proposal is, *Try on your fetters first, and then if you don't like them, petition and we will consider.*

Establishing salaries for judges may be a general law. For governors not so; the constitution of colonies differing. It is possible troops may be sent to *particular* provinces, to burden them when they are out of favour.

Canada.—We cannot endure despotism over any of our fellow-subjects. We must all be free, or none.

That afternoon I received the following note from Mrs. Howe, inclosing another from lord Howe, viz.

"Mrs. Howe's compliments to Dr. Franklin; she has just received the inclosed note from lord Howe, and hopes it will be convenient to him to come to her either to-morrow or Sunday, at any hour most convenient to him, which she begs he will be so good to name.

"*Grafton street, Friday, Feb.* 17, 1775."

[Inclosed in the foregoing.]

"*To the honourable Mrs. Howe.*

"I wish you to procure me an opportunity to see Dr. Franklin at your house to-morrow, or on Sunday morning, for an essential purpose.

"*Grafton street, Friday,* 4 *o'clock.*"

Received Friday, 5 o'clock, Feb. 17, 1775.

I had not heard from his lordship for some time, and readily answered, that I would do myself the honour of waiting upon him at her house to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

Mr. Barclay, Dr. Fothergill, and myself, met according to appointment at the doctor's house. I delivered to them the REMARKS I had made on the paper, and we talked them over. I read, also, the sketches I had made of the petitions and memorials; but they being of opinion, that the repeal of none of the Massachusetts acts could be obtained by my engaging to pay for the tea, the Boston port act excepted, and I insisting on a repeal of *all*, otherwise declining to make the offer, that measure was deferred for the present, and I pocketed my draughts. They concluded, however, to report my sentiments, and see if any further concession could be obtained. They observed, that I had signed my remarks, on which I said, that understanding by other means as well as from them, that the ministers had been acquainted with my being consulted in this business, I saw no occasion for further mystery; and since, in conveying and receiving through second hands their sentiments and mine, occasioned delay, and might be attended with misapprehension, something being lost or changed by mistake in the conveyance, I did not see why we should not meet, and discuss the points together at once; that if this was thought proper, I should be willing and ready to attend them to the ministerial persons they conferred with. They seemed to approve the proposal, and said they would mention it.

The next morning I met lord Howe, according to appointment. He seemed very cheerful, having, as I imagine, heard from lord Hyde what that lord might have heard from Mr. Barclay the evening of the 16th, viz. that I had consented to petition and engage payment for the tea; whence it was hoped, the ministerial terms of accommodation might take place. He let me know that he was thought of to be sent commissioner for settling the differences in America; adding, with an excess of politeness, that sensible of his own unacquaintedness with the business, and of my knowledge and abilities, he could not think of undertaking it without me; but with me, he should do it most readily; for he should found his expectation of success on my assistance; he therefore had desired this meeting to know my mind upon a proposition of my going with him in some shape or other, as a friend, an assistant, a secretary: that he was very sensible, if he should be so happy as to effect any thing valuable, it must be wholly owing to the advice and assistance I should afford him; that he should, therefore, make no scruple of giving me upon all occasions the full honour of it; that he had declared to the ministers his opinion of my good dispositions towards peace, and what he now wished was to be authorised by me to say, that I consented to accompany him, and would co-operate with him in the great work of reconciliation; that the influence I had over the minds of people in America, was known to be very extensive; and that I could, if any man could, prevail with them to comply with reasonable propositions. I replied, that I was obliged to his lordship for the favourable opinion he had of me, and for the honour he did me in proposing to make use of my assistance; that I wished to know what propositions were intended for America; that if they were reasonable ones in themselves, possibly I might be able to make them appear such to my countrymen; but if they were otherwise, I doubted whether that could be done by any man, and certainly I should not undertake it. His lordship then said, that he should not expect my *assistance* without a *proper consideration.* That the business was of great importance, and if he undertook it, he should insist on being enabled to make *generous* and *ample* appointments for those he took with him, particularly for me; as well as a firm promise of *subsequent rewards;* and, said he, that the ministry may have an opportunity of showing their good disposition towards yourself, will you give me leave, Mr. Franklin, to procure for you previously some mark of it; suppose the payment here of the arrears of your salary as agent for New England, which I understand they have stopped for some time past? My lord, said I, I shall deem it a great honour to be in any shape joined with your lordship in so good a work; but if you hope service from any influence I may be supposed to have, drop all thoughts of procuring me any previous favours from ministers; my accepting them would destroy the very influence you propose to make use of; they would be considered as so many bribes to betray the interest of my country: but only let me see the *propositions*, and if I approve of them, I shall not hesitate a moment, but will hold myself ready to accompany your lordship at an hour's warning. He then said, he wished I would discourse with lord Hyde upon the business, and asked if I had any objection to meet his lordship? I answered none, not the least; that I had a great respect for lord Hyde, and would wait upon him whenever he should please to permit it. He said he would speak to lord Hyde, and send me word.

On the Monday following, I received a letter from lord Howe. To understand it better, it is necessary to reflect, that in the meantime there was opportunity for Mr. Barclay to communicate to that nobleman, the REMARKS I had made on the plan, the sight of which had probably changed the purpose of making any use of me on the occasion. The letter follows:—

"*Grafton street, Feb.* 20, 1775.

"Not having had a convenient opportunity to talk with lord Hyde until this morning, on the subject I mentioned, when I had, my worthy friend, the pleasure to see you last, I now give you the earliest information of his lordship's sentiments upon my proposition.

"He declares he has no personal objection, and that he is always desirous of the conversation of men of knowledge, consequently, in that respect, would have a pleasure in yours. But he apprehends, that on the present American contest, your principles and his, or rather those of parliament, are as yet so wide from each other, that a meeting merely to discuss them, might give you unnecessary trouble. Should you think otherwise, or should any propitious circumstances approximate such distant sentiments, he would be happy to be used as a channel to convey what might tend to harmony, from a person of credit to those in power: and I will venture to advance, from my knowledge of his lordship's opinion of men and things, that nothing of that nature would suffer in the passage.

"I am, with a sincere regard, your most obedient servant, HOWE.

"*To Dr. Franklin.*"

As I had no desire of obtruding myself upon lord Hyde, though a little piqued at his declining to see me, I thought it best to show a decent indifference, which I endeavoured in the following answer:—

"*Craven street, Feb.* 20, 1775.

"Having nothing to offer on the American business, in addition to what lord Hyde is already acquainted with from the papers that have passed, it seems most respectful not to give his lordship the trouble of a visit; since a mere discussion of the sentiments contained in those papers, is not, in his opinion, likely to produce any good effect. I am thankful, however, to his lordship, for the permission of waiting on him, which I shall use if any thing occurs that may give a chance of utility in such an interview.

"With sincere esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

"*Lord Howe.*"

On the morning of the same day, February 20, it was currently and industriously reported all over the town, that lord North would that day make a pacific motion in the house of commons, for healing all differences between Britain and America. The house was accordingly very full, and the members full of expectation. The Bedford party, inimical to America, and who had urged severe measures, were alarmed, and began to exclaim against the minister for his timidity, and the fluctuation of his *politics;* they even began to count voices, to see if they could not, by negativing his motion, at once unhorse him, and throw him out of administration. His friends were therefore alarmed for him, and there was much caballing and whispering. At length a motion, as one had been promised, was made, but whether that originally intended, is with me very doubtful: I suspect, from its imperfect composition, from its inadequateness to answer the purpose previously professed, and from some other circumstances, that when first drawn it contained more of Mr. Barclay's plan, but was curtailed by advice, just before it was delivered. My old proposition of giving up the regulating duties to the colonies, was in part to be found in it, and many who knew nothing of that transaction, said it was the best part of the motion: it was as follows:—

Lord North's Motion, Feb. 20, 1775.

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that when the governor, council, and assembly, or general court of his majesty's provinces or colonies, shall propose to make provision according to their respective conditions, circumstances, and situations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence; such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court, or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment, or to impose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the nett produce of the duties last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation exclusively."

After a good deal of wild debate, in which this motion was supported upon various and inconsistent principles by the ministerial people, and even met with an opposition from some of them, which showed a want of concert, probably from the suddenness of the alterations above supposed, they all agreed at length, as usual, in voting it by a large majority. Hearing nothing all the following week from Messrs. Barclay and Fothergill, (except that lord Hyde, when acquainted with my willingness to engage for payment of the tea, had said it gave him *new life*,) nor any thing from lord Howe, I mentioned his silence occasionally to his sister, adding, that I supposed it owing to his finding what he had proposed to me was not likely to take place; and I wished her to desire him, if that was the case, to let me know it by a line, that I might be at liberty to take other measures. She did so as soon as he returned from the country, where he had been for a day or two; and I received from her the following note, viz.

"Mrs. Howe's compliments to Dr. Franklin: lord Howe not quite understanding the message received from her, will be glad to have the pleasure of seeing him, either between twelve and one this morning, (the only hour he is at liberty this day,) at her house, or at any hour to-morrow most convenient to him.

"*Grafton street, Tuesday.*"

I met his lordship at the hour appointed. He said that he had not seen me lately, as he expected daily to have something more material to say to me than had yet occurred; and hoped that I would have called on lord Hyde, as I had intimated I should do when I apprehended it might be useful, which he was sorry to find I had not done. That there was something in my verbal message by Mrs. Howe, which perhaps she had apprehended imperfectly; it was the hint of my purpose to take other measures. I answered, that having since I had last seen his lordship heard of the death of my wife at Philadelphia, in whose hands I had left the care of my affairs there, it was become necessary for me to return thither as soon as conveniently might be; that what his lordship had proposed, of my accompanying him to America, might, if likely to take place, postpone my voyage to suit his conveniency; otherwise, I should proceed by the first ship. That I did suppose, by not hearing from him, and by lord North's motion, all thoughts of that kind were laid aside, which was what I only desired to know from him. He said my last paper of Remarks by Mr. Barclay, wherein I had made the indemnification of Boston for the injury of stopping its port, a condition of my engaging to pay for the tea, (a condition impossible to be complied with,) had discouraged further proceeding on that idea. Having a copy of that paper in my pocket, I showed his lordship that I had proposed no such condition of my engagement, nor any other than the repeal of all the Massachusetts acts: that what followed relating to the indemnification was only expressing my private opinion that it would be just, but by no means insisting upon it. He said the arrangements were not yet determined on; that as I now explained myself, it appeared I had been much misapprehended; and he wished of all things I would see lord Hyde, and asked if I would choose to meet him there, at Mrs. Howe's, or that he should call upon me: I said that I would by no means give lord Hyde that trouble. That since he (lord Howe) seemed to think it might be of use, and wished it done soon, I would wait upon lord Hyde: I knew him to be an early riser, and would be with him at 8 o'clock the next morning; which lord Howe undertook to acquaint him with: but I added, that from what circumstances I could collect of the disposition of ministry, I apprehended my visit would answer no material purpose. He was of a different opinion, to which I submitted.

The next morning, March 1st, I accordingly was early with lord Hyde, who received me with his usual politeness. We talked over a great part of the dispute between the countries. I found him ready with all the newspaper and pamphlet topics, of the expense of settling our colonies, the protection afforded them, the heavy debt under which Britain laboured, the equity of our contributing to its alleviation; that many people in England were no more represented than we were, yet all were taxed and governed by parliament, &c. &c. I answered all, but with little effect; for though his lordship seemed civilly to hear what I said, I had reason to believe he attended very little to the purport of it, his mind being employed the while in thinking on what he himself purposed to say next. He had hoped, he said, that lord North's motion would have been satisfactory; and asked what could be objected to it. I replied, the terms of it were, that we should grant money till parliament had agreed we had given enough, without having the least share in judging of the propriety of the measure for which it was to be granted, or of our own abilities to grant; that these grants were also to be made under a threat of exercising a claimed right of taxing us at pleasure, and compelling such taxes by an armed force, if we did not give till it should be thought we had given enough; that the proposition was similar to no mode of obtaining aids that ever existed, except that of a highwayman, who presents his pistol and hat at a coach window, demanding no specific sum, but if you will give all your money, or what he is pleased to think sufficient, he will civilly omit putting his own hand into your pockets: if not, there is his pistol: that the mode of raising contributions in an enemy's country was fairer than this, since there an explicit sum was demanded, and the people who were raising it knew what they were about, and when they should have done:—and that, in short, no free people could ever think of beginning to grant upon such terms: that, besides, a new dispute had now been raised, by the parliament's pretending to a power of altering our charters and established laws, which was of still more importance to us than their claim of taxation, as it set us all adrift, and left us without a privilege we could depend upon, but at their pleasure; this was a situation we could not possibly be in, and as lord North's proposition had no relation to this matter, if the other had been such as we could have agreed to, we should still be far from a reconciliation. His lordship thought I misunderstood the proposition; on which I took it out and read it: he then waived that point, and said he should be glad to know from me what would produce a reconciliation. I said that his lordship, I imagined, had seen several proposals of mine for that purpose. He said he had; but some of my articles were such as would never be agreed to: that it was apprehended I had several instructions and powers to offer more acceptable terms, but was extremely reserved, and perhaps from a desire he did not blame, of doing better for my constituents; but my expectations might deceive me, and he did think, I might be assured, I should never obtain better terms than what were now offered by lord North; that administration had a sincere desire of restoring harmony with America, and it was thought if I would co-operate with them the business would be easy: that he hoped I was above retaining resentment against them, for what nobody now approved, and for which satisfaction might be made me: that I was, as he understood, in high esteem among the Americans; that if I would bring about a reconciliation on terms suitable to the dignity of government, I might be as highly and generally esteemed here, and be honoured and *rewarded* perhaps *beyond my expectation.*

I replied, that I thought I had given a convincing proof of my sincere desire of promoting peace, when, on being informed that all wanted for the honour of government, was to obtain payment for the tea, I offered, without any instruction to warrant my so doing, or assurance that I should be reimbursed, or my conduct approved, to engage for that payment, if the Massachusetts acts were to be repealed; an engagement in which I must have risked my whole fortune; which I thought few besides me would have done: that in truth, private resentments had no weight with me in public business; that I was not the reserved man imagined; having really no secret instructions to act upon. That I was certainly willing to do every thing that could reasonably be expected of me. But if any supposed I could prevail with my countrymen to take black for white, and wrong for right, it was not knowing either them or me: they were not capable of being so imposed on, nor was I capable of attempting it. He then asked my opinion of sending over a commissioner, for the purpose mentioned in a preceding part of this account; and my answer was to the same effect. By the way, I apprehend, that to give me an opportunity of discoursing with lord Hyde on that point, was a principal motive with lord Howe, for urging me to make this visit. His lordship did not express his own sentiments upon it. And thus ended this conversation.

Three or four days after, I received the following note from Mrs. Howe.

"Mrs. Howe's compliments to Dr. Franklin: lord Howe begs to have the pleasure of meeting him once more before he goes, at her house; he is at present out of town, but returns on Monday, and any day or hour after that, that the doctor will name, he will be very glad to attend him.

"*Grafton street, Saturday, March* 4 *&* 5."

I answered that I would do myself the honour of waiting on lord Howe at her house the Tuesday following, at eleven o'clock. We met accordingly. He began by saying, that I had been a better prophet than himself, in foreseeing that my interview with lord Hyde would be of no great use: and then said that he hoped I would excuse the trouble he had given me, as his intentions had been good both towards me and the public: he was sorry that at present there was no appearance of things going into the train he had wished, but that possibly they might yet take a more favourable turn; and as he understood I was going soon to America, if he should chance to be sent thither on that important business, he hoped he might still expect my assistance. I assured him of my readiness at all times of cooperating with him in so good a work: and so taking my leave, and receiving his good wishes, ended the nogotiation with lord Howe. And I heard no more of that with Messrs. Fothergill and Barclay: I could only gather from some hints in their conversation, that neither of them were well pleased with the conduct of the ministers respecting these transactions: and a few days before I left London, I met them by their desire, at the doctor's house, when they desired me to assure their friends from them, that it was now their fixed opinion, that nothing could secure the privileges of America, but a firm, sober adherence to the terms of the association made at the congress, and that the salvation of

English liberty depended now on the perseverance and virtue of America.

During the whole, my time was otherwise much taken up, by friends calling continually to inquire news from America: members of both houses of parliament, to inform me what passed in the houses, and discourse with me on the debates, and on motions made or to be made; merchants of London and of the manufacturing and port towns on their petitions, the Quakers upon theirs, &c. &c., so that I had no time to take notes of almost any thing. This account is therefore chiefly from recollection, in which doubtless much must have been omitted, from deficiency of memory; but what there is I believe to be pretty exact; except that discoursing with so many different persons about the same time, on the same subject, I may possibly have put down some things as said by or to one person, which passed in conversation with another. A little before I left London, being at the house of lords, when a debate in which lord Camden was to speak, and who indeed spoke admirably on American affairs, I was much disgusted, from the ministerial side, by many base reflections on American courage, religion, understanding, &c. in which we were treated with the utmost contempt, as the lowest of mankind, and almost of a different species from the English of Britain; but particularly the American honesty was abused by some of the lords, who asserted that we were all knaves, and wanted only by this dispute to avoid paying our debts; that if we had any sense of equity or justice, we should offer payment of the tea, &c. I went home somewhat irritated and heated; and partly to retort upon this nation, on the article of *equity*, drew up a memorial to present to lord Dartmouth, before my departure; but consulting my friend, Mr. Thomas Walpole upon it, who is a member of the house of commons, he looked at it and at me several times alternately, as if he apprehended me a little out of my senses. As I was in the hurry of packing up, I requested him to take the trouble of showing it to his neighbour lord Camden, and ask his advice upon it, which he kindly undertook to do; and returned it me with a note, which here follows the proposed memorial.

"*To the Right Honourable the Earl of Dartmouth, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.*

"A Memorial of Benjamin Franklin, Agent of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

"Whereas an injury done, can only give the party injured a right to full reparation; or, in case that be refused, a right to return an equal injury; and whereas the blockade of Boston, now continued nine months, hath every week of its continuance done damage to that town, equal to what was suffered there by the India company; it follows that such *exceeding* damage is an *injury* done by this government, for which reparation ought to be made. And whereas reparation of injuries ought always (agreeably to the custom of all nations savage as well as civilized) to be first required before satisfaction is taken by a return of damage to the aggressors; which was not done by Great Britain in the instance abovementioned; I the underwritten, do therefore, as their agent, in the behalf of my country and the town of Boston, protest against the continuance of the said blockade: and I do hereby solemnly demand satisfaction for the accumulated injury done them, beyond the value of the India company's tea destroyed. And whereas the conquest of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, the coast of Labrador and Nova Scotia, and the fisheries possessed by the French there and on the banks of Newfoundland, so far as they were more extended than at present, was made by the *joint forces* of Britain and the colonies, the latter having nearly an equal number of men in that service with the former; it follows that the colonies have an equitable and just right to participate in the advantage of those fisheries: I do therefore, in the behalf of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay, protest against the act now under consideration in parliament, for depriving that province, with others, of that fishery (on pretence of their refusing to purchase British commodities) as an act highly unjust and injurious: and I give notice, that satisfaction will probably one day be demanded for all the injury that may be done and suffered in the execution of such act: and that the injustice of the proceeding is likely to give such umbrage to *all the colonies*, that in no future war, wherein other conquests may be meditated, either a man or a shilling will be obtained from any of them to aid such conquests, till full satisfaction be made as aforesaid. B. FRANKLIN.

"*Given in London, this* 16*th day of March*, 1775."

"*To Dr. Franklin.*

"DEAR SIR,—I return you the memorial, which it is thought might be attended with dangerous consequences to your person, and contribute to exasperate the nation.

"I heartily wish you a prosperous voyage, a long health, and am, with the sincerest regard, your most faithful and obedient servant, THOMAS WALPOLE.

"*Lincoln's Inn Fields,*
16*th March*, 1775."

Mr. Walpole called at my house the next day, and hearing I was gone to the house of lords, came there to me, and repeated more fully what was in his note; adding, that it was thought my having no instructions directing me to deliver such a protest, would make it appear still more unjustifiable, and be deemed a national affront: I had no desire to make matters worse, and, being grown cooler, took the advice so kindly given me.

The evening before I left London, I received a note from Dr. Fothergill, with some letters to his friends in Philadelphia. In that note he desires me to get those friends, "and two or three more together, and inform them, that whatever specious pretences are offered, they are all hollow; and that to get a larger field on which to fatten a. herd of worthless parasites, is all that is regarded. Perhaps it may be proper to acquaint them with David Barclay's and our united endeavours, and the effects. They will stun at least, if not convince, the most worthy, that nothing very favourable is intended, if more unfavourable articles cannot be obtained." The doctor in the course of his daily visits among the great, in the practice of his profession, had full opportunity of being acquainted with their sentiments, the conversation every where turning upon the subject of America.

Here Dr. Franklin's own narrative closes, and the editor resumes the continuation of the subject.

During the passage to America, Dr. Franklin not only occupied himself in writing the preceding narrative of his noble efforts to prevent a war, which the rapacity and infatuation of the British ministry utterly defeated, but he likewise employed himself in making experiments and observations on the waters of the ocean, by means of the thermometer, in order to ascertain the exact course of the gulph stream; by the knowledge of which, mariners might hereafter avoid or avail themselves of its current, according to their various destinations.* These experiments and observations will be found in their appropriate place—his philosophical works; but the following general reflections connected therewith, by this friend of the human race, may, with propriety, be here introduced.

"Navigation, when employed in supplying necessary provisions to a country in want, and thereby preventing famines, which were more frequent and destructive before the invention of that art, is undoubtedly a blessing to mankind. When employed merely in transporting superfluities, it is a question whether the advantage of the employment it affords, is equal to the mischief of hazarding so many lives on the ocean. But when employed in *pillaging merchants* and *transporting slaves*, it is clearly the means of augmenting the mass of human misery. It is amazing to think of the ships and lives risked in fetching tea from China, coffee from Arabia, sugar and tobacco from America, all which our ancestors did well without. Sugar employs near one thousand ships, tobacco almost as many. For the utility of tobacco there is little to be said; and for that of sugar, how much more commendable would it be, if we could give up the few minutes gratification afforded once or twice a day, by the taste of sugar in our tea, rather than encourage the cruelties exercised in producing it. An eminent French moralist says, that when he considers the wars we excite in Africa to obtain slaves, the numbers necessarily slain in those wars, the many prisoners who perish at sea by sickness, bad provisions, foul air, &c. in the transportation, and how many afterwards die from the hardships of slavery, he cannot look on a piece of sugar without conceiving it stained *with spots of human blood!* had he added the consideration of the wars we make to take and retake the sugar islands from one another, and the fleets and armies that perish in those expeditions, he might have seen his sugar not merely spotted, but thoroughly dyed scarlet in grain! It is these wars that made the maritime powers of Europe, the inhabitants of London and Paris, pay dearer for sugar than those of Vienna, a thousand miles from the sea; because their sugar costs not only the price they pay for it by the pound, but all they pay in taxes to maintain the fleets and armies that fight for it."

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* It is ascertained by Dr. Franklin's experiments, that a navigator may always know when he is in the gulph stream, by the warmth of the water, which is much greater than that of the water on either side of it. If, then, he is bound to the *westward*, he should cross the stream to get out of it as soon as possible; and if to the *eastward*, endeavour to remain in it.

MEMOIRS

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

PART IV.

After a very pleasant passage of about six weeks, Dr. Franklin arrived within the Capes of Delaware, was landed at Chester, and proceeded by land to Philadelphia, where every mark of respect, attachment, and veneration was shown him by his fellow-citizens; the very day after his arrival he was elected by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a delegate to congress.

Shortly after, he thus notices the then state of the colonies, in a letter of May 16, 1775:

" *To Dr. Joseph Priestley.*

" Philadelphia, May 16, 1775.

" Dear Friend,—You will have heard before this reaches you, of a march stolen by the regulars into the country by night, and of their *expedition* back again. They retreated twenty miles in six hours.

" The governor had called the assembly to propose lord North's pacific plan, but before the time of their meeting, began cutting of throats. You know it was said he carried the sword in one hand, and the olive branch in the other; and it seems he chose to give them a taste of the sword first.

" He is doubling his fortifications at Boston, and hopes to secure his troops till succour arrives. The place indeed is naturally so defensible, that I think them in no danger.

" All America is exasperated by his conduct, and more firmly united than ever. The breach between the two countries is grown wider, and in danger of becoming irreparable.

" I had a passage of six weeks, the weather constantly so moderate that a London wherry might have accompanied us all the way. I got home in the evening, and the next morning was unanimously chosen by the assembly, a delegate to the congress now sitting.

" In coming over I made a valuable philosophical discovery, which I shall communicate to you when I can get a little time. At present am extremely hurried. B. FRANKLIN."

And to the same friend he wrote some weeks after—

" The congress met at a time when all minds were so exasperated by the perfidy of general Gage, and his attack on the country people, that propositions for attempting an accommodation were not much relished; and it has been with difficulty that we have carried in that assembly, another humble petition to the crown, to give Britain *one more chance*, one opportunity more of recovering the friendship of the colonies; which however I think she has not sense enough to embrace, so I conclude she has lost them for ever."*

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* Never was a prediction more completely verified. The following is a copy of the petition referred to by Dr. Franklin, and to which an answer was refused to be given.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We your majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies who have deputed us to represent them in general congress, entreat your majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just government produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such an assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known.

Her rivals, observing that there was no probability of this happy connexion being broken by civil dissensions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving such continual and formidable accessions of wealth and strength, by checking the growth of those settlements from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavourable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great Britain and these colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and exertion immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the dominions of the crown, and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater distance.

At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal colonists, having contributed to its success, by such repeated and strenuous exertions, as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your majesty, of the late king, In the same letter he adds, "My time was never more fully employed. In the morning at six, I am at the committee of safety, appointed by the assembly to put the province in a state of defence; which committee holds till near nine, when I am at the congress, and that sits till after four in the afternoon. Both these bodies proceed with the greatest una-

and of parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest.

While these recent and honourable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record, in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the parliament, undefaced by the imputation or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a new system of statutes and regulations, adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the danger of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic danger, in their judgment, of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were these anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of their mother country; for though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices, practised by many of your majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities, that have from time to time been dealt out by them, in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing through a series of years past, the progress of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies, that have flowed from this fatal source.

Your majesty's ministers, persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent to the affections of your still faithful colonists, that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and, if it continues, what may be the consequences, our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress.

Knowing to what violent resentments, and incurable animosities, civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensable obligations to Almighty God, to your majesty, to our fellow-subjects, and to ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British empire.

Thus called upon to address your majesty, on affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office, with the utmost deference for your majesty: and we therefore pray, that your majesty's royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favourable construction of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion. Could we represent in their full force, the sentiments that agitate the minds of us your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect with a just attention to our own preservation, against those artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your royal confidence and authority, for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

Attached to your majesty's person, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your majesty that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them, upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory, that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and, by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to assure your majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonists, during the course of this present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare. These, related as we are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief, being once removed, your majesty will find your faithful subjects on this continent ready and willing at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your majesty, and of our mother country.

We therefore beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system beforementioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions; with all humility submitting to your majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient for facilitating those important purposes, that your majesty be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation: and that in the mean time, measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your majesty's subjects; and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your majesty's colonies may be repealed.

For by such arrangements as your majesty's wisdom can form for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced your majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition of the colonists towards their sovereign and parent state, that the wished-for opportunity would soon be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects and the most affectionate colonists.

That your majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern your dominions with honour to themselves and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere prayer.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire,
John Langdon,
Thomas Cushing.

Massachusetts Bay.
Samuel Adams,
John Adams,
Rob. Treat Paine.

Rhode Island.
Step. Hopkins,
Sam. Ward,
Eleph. Dyer,

Connecticut.
Roger Sherman,
Silas Dean.

New York.
Phil. Livingston,
Jas. Duane,
John Alsop,
Francis Lewis,
John Jay,
R. Livingston, jun.,
Lewis Morris,
Wm. Floyd,
Henry Wisner.

New Jersey.
Wil. Livingston,
John De Hart,
Rich. Smith.

Pennsylvania,
Benj. Franklin,
John Dickinson,
George Ross,
James Wilson,
Chas. Humphreys,
E. Biddle.

Delaware County
Cæsar Rodney,
Tho. M'Kean,
Geo. Read.

Maryland.
Mat. Tilghman,
Tho. Johnson, jun.,
Wm Paca,
Samuel Chase,
Tho. Stone.

Virginia.
P. Henry, jun.,
Richard Henry Lee,
Edmund Pendleton,
Benj Harrison,
Thos. Jefferson.

North Carolina.
Will. Hooper,
Joseph Hewes.

South Carolina.
Henry Middleton,
Tho. Lynch,
Christ. Gadsden,
J. Rutledge,
Edward Rutledge.

Philadelphia, July 8, 1775

nimity, and their meetings are well attended. It will scarce be credited in Britain, that men can be as diligent with us, from zeal for the public good, as with you for thousands per annum. Such is the difference between uncorrupted new states, and corrupted old ones."

It was about this time that Dr. Franklin addressed that memorable and laconic epistle to his old friend and companion Mr. Strahan, (then king's printer, and member of the British parliament for Malmsbury,) of which a fac-simile is given.

The following proposed *Introduction to a resolution of congress*, (not passed) drawn up by Dr. Franklin, is also fully expressive of his warm feelings and sentiments at that period.

> Whereas the British nation, through great corruption of manners and extreme dissipation and profusion, both private and public, have found all honest resources insufficient to supply their excessive luxury and prodigality, and thereby have been driven to the practice of every injustice, which avarice could dictate or rapacity execute: and whereas, not satisfied with the immense plunder of the East, obtained by sacrificing millions of the human species, they have lately turned their eyes to the West, and grudging us the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of our hard labour, and virtuous industry, have for years past been endeavouring to extort the same from us, under colour of laws regulating trade; and have thereby actually succeeded in draining us of large sums, to our great loss and detriment: and whereas, impatient to seize the whole, they have at length proceeded to open robbery, declaring by a solemn act of parliament, that all our estates are theirs, and all our property found upon the sea divisible among such of their armed plunderers as shall take the same; and have even dared in the same act to declare, that all the spoilings, thefts, burnings of houses and towns, and murders of innocent people, perpetrated by their wicked and inhuman corsairs on our coasts, previous to any war declared against us, were just actions, and shall be so deemed, contrary to several of the commandments of God, (which by this act, they presume to *repeal*) and to all the principles of right, and all the ideas of justice, entertained heretofore by every other nation, savage as well as civilized; thereby manifesting themselves to be *hostes humani generis.* And whereas it is not possible for the people of America to subsist under such continual ravages without making some reprisals,
>
> Therefore resolved,—

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Affairs having now assumed a most serious aspect, it was necessary for the Americans to adopt proper and efficacious means of resistance. They possessed little or no coin, and even arms and ammunition were wanting. In this situation, the adoption of paper money became indispensably necessary, and Dr. Franklin was one of the first to point out the necessity and propriety of that measure. Without this succedaneum, it would have been impossible to have made any other than a feeble and a short resistance against Great Britain.

The first emission, to the amount of three millions of dollars, accordingly took place on the 25th of July, 1775, under a promise of exchanging the notes against gold or silver in the space of three years; and towards the end of 1776, more than twenty-one millions additional were put in circulation. The congress at length began to be uneasy, not knowing how it would be possible to redeem so large a sum; and some of its members having waited upon Dr. Franklin in order to consult him upon this occasion, he spoke to them as follows: "Do not make yourselves unhappy; continue to issue your paper money as long as it will pay for the paper, ink, and printing, and we shall be enabled by its means to liquidate all the expenses of the war."

In October, 1775, Dr. Franklin was appointed by congress, jointly with his colleagues colonel Harrison and Mr. Lynch, a committee to visit the American camp at Cambridge, and in conjunction with the commander in chief, (general Washington,) to endeavour to convince the troops, whose term of enlistment was about to expire, of the necessity of their continuing in the field, and persevering in the cause of their country.

He was afterwards sent on a mission to Canada, to endeavour to unite that country to the common cause of liberty. But the Canadians could not be prevailed upon to oppose the measures of the British government.* The ill success of this negotiation was supposed to be occasioned in a great degree by religious animosities, which subsisted between the Canadians and their neighbours; some of whom had at different times burnt their places of worship.

On his return from Canada, Dr. Franklin, under the direction of congress, wrote to M. Dumas, the American agent in Holland, urging him to sound the several governments of Europe, by means of their ambassadors at the Hague, as to any assistance they might be disposed to afford America, in case of her eventually breaking off all connexion with Britain, and declaring herself an *independent nation.*

This decisive measure was now generally agitated throughout the colonies; though it is certain that at the beginning of the differences, the bulk of the people acted from no fixed and determined principle whatever, and had not even an idea of independence; for all the addresses from the different colonies were filled with professions of loyalty towards their sovereign, and breathed the most ardent wishes for an immediate reconciliation.

The congress deeming it advisable to know the general opinion on so important a point, took an opportunity of feeling the pulse of the people, and of preparing them for the declaration of independence, by a circular manifesto

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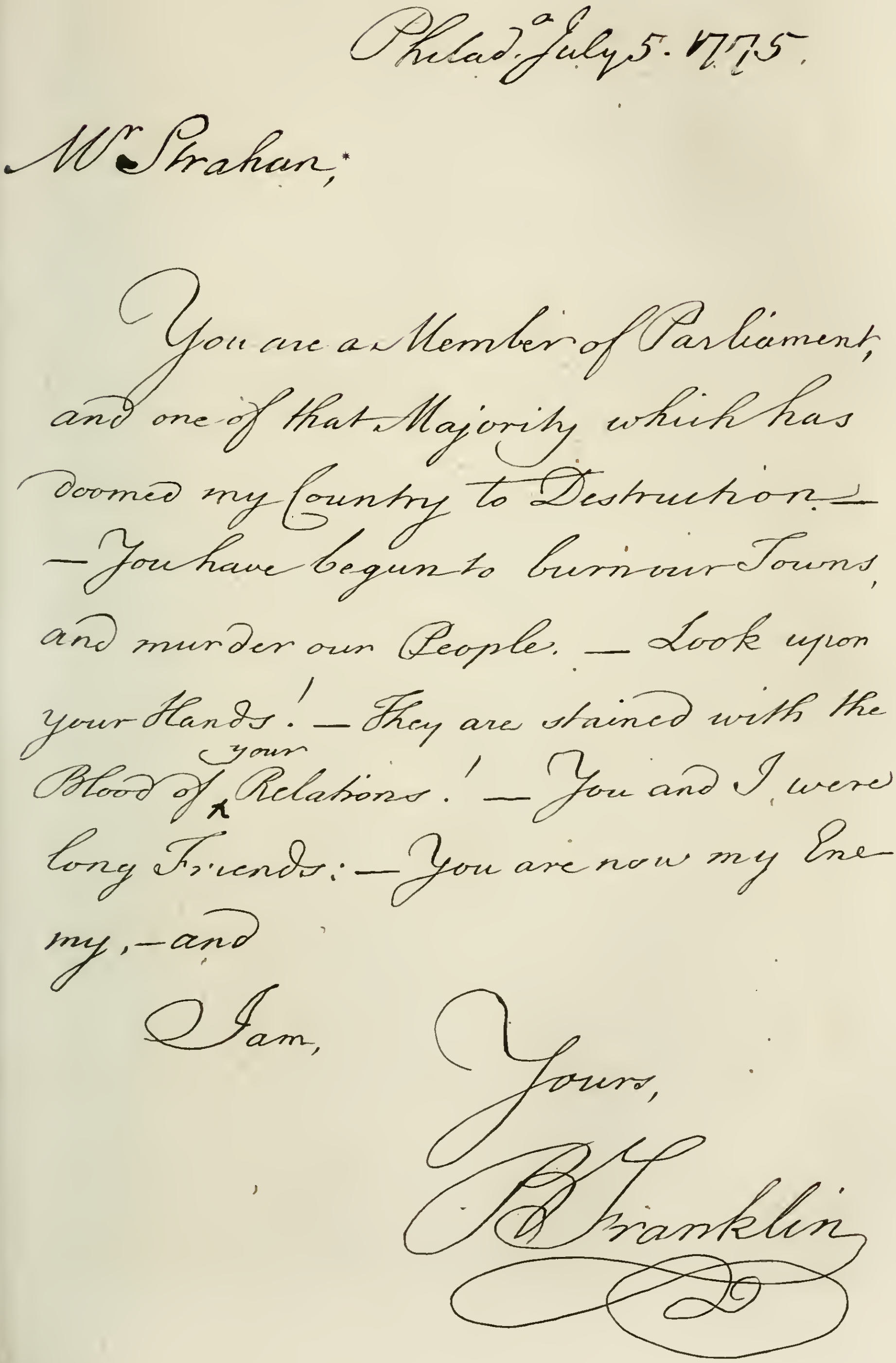
*It was directed that a printing apparatus and hands competent to print in French and English should accompany this mission Two papers were written and circulated very extensively through Canada; but it was not until after the experiment had been tried, that it was found not more than one person in five hundred *could not read.* Dr. Franklin was accustomed to make the best of every occurrence, suggested that if it were intended to send another mission, it should be a mission composed of schoolmasters.

FAC SIMILE of the HAND WRITING of D^{R} FRANKLIN.



Philad^{a} July 5. 1775.

M^{r} Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament, and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction. — You have begun to burn our Towns, and murder our People. — Look upon your Hands! — They are stained with the Blood of your Relations! — You and I were long Friends: — You are now my Enemy, — and

I am,

Yours,

B Franklin

to the several colonies, stating the causes which rendered it necessary that all authority under the crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government taken respectively into their own hands. In support of this position, they instanced the *prohibitory act*, by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown; the rejection of their petitions for redress of grievances, and a reconciliation; and the intended exertion of all the force of Great Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries, for their destruction.

At length this important question was discussed in congress, and at a time when the fleets and armies which were sent to enforce obedience, were truly formidable. The debate continued for several days, and the scheme encountered great opposition from several distinguished orators. Eventually, however, notwithstanding all the disadvantages the country then laboured under, from an army ignorant of discipline, and entirely unskilled in the art of war;—without a fleet—without allies—and with nothing but the love of liberty to support them; the colonies, by their representatives in congress, determined to separate from a country which had added injury to insult, and disregarded all the pacific overtures they had made to it. On this question Dr. Franklin was decidedly in favour of the measure proposed, and used all his great influence in bringing others over to his opinion.

The public mind, which had already been drawn that way by the manifesto of congress, was now confirmed in its decision, by the appearance of Paine's celebrated pamphlet, "*Common Sense*;" and there is good reason to believe, that Dr. Franklin had no inconsiderable share, at least in furnishing materials for that work.*

It was on the 4th day of July, 1776, that the thirteen English colonies in America declared themselves free and independent states, and by an act of congress abjured all allegiance to the British crown, and renounced all political connection with Great Britain.

This public record, the first declaration of the rights of a people to establish, and if necessary to their happiness, to abrogate their own form of government, and to hold the sovereignty inalienably in the people, was produced in a committee of three members of congress; it was definitively drafted (and adopted, with a few slight alterations) by that eminent patriot, philosopher, and friend of mankind, Thomas Jefferson, then one of the representatives in congress for Virginia: as a document of considerable interest and curiosity, and as a monument of one of the most important political events in which Dr. Franklin was concerned, it is here noticed.

In the beginning of this year, 1776, an act of the British parliament passed, to prohibit and restrain, on the one hand, the trade and intercourse of the *refractory colonies*, respectively, during their revolt; and on the other hand, to enable persons appointed by the British king to grant *pardons*, and declare any particular district in the *king's peace*, &c. Lord Howe (who had been previously appointed commander of the British fleet in North America) was, on May 3, declared *joint commissioner* with his brother general Howe, for the latter purposes of the act. He sailed May 12, and while off the coast of Massachusetts, prepared a declaration, announcing this commission, and accompanied it with circular letters.

Lord Howe took occasion to publish every where, that he had proposals to make on the part of Great Britain, tending to *peace* and *reconciliation*, and that he was ready to communicate them. He, at the same time, permitted the American general, Sullivan, to go on his parole, and give this intelligence to congress: he hoped, by this means, to create divisions in that body, and throughout the country. The congress were of opinion, the admiral could have no terms to offer, but such as the act of parliament empowered him to offer, which were, PARDON *upon submission*; yet as the people might imagine more, and be uneasy if he was not heard, they appointed three of their body, Messrs. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, to meet him. His lordship chose Staten Island, which was in possession of the English troops, for the place of conference. The committee being arrived at Amboy, a small town in New Jersey, opposite to the island, and in possession of the Americans, the admiral sent over his barge to receive and bring them to him, and to leave one of his principal officers as a hostage for their safe return. The committee of congress had not desired a hostage, and they therefore took the officer back with them. The admiral met them at their landing, and conducted them through his guards to a convenient room for conference: he was surprised at their confidence, in bringing back his hostage; and more, at the little estimation in which they appeared to hold his offers of pardon, and of inquiring into grievances. He seemed to have flattered himself, that the congress, humbled by their late losses, would have been submissive and compliant: he found himself mistaken. The committee told him firmly, that if he had nothing else to propose, he was come too late: the humble petitions of congress had been rejected with contempt; independence was now declared, and the new government formed. And when, in endeavouring to cajole them, he expressed his "affection for America, his concern in viewing her dangerous situation, and said that to see her fall would give him the same pain as to see a brother fall;" they answered, that it was kind, but America would endeavour to spare him that pain.

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*Thomas Paine did not affect any reserve on this point; without any inquiry on the subject, he stated to the writer of this note, that the suggestion of the papers, Common Sense, was made to him by Dr. Franklin; and that the fulness of his ideas were such, that after a conversation with him, his own mind was so much excited, that he could not but communicate the spirit of the conversation in his essays: he also said that one or two papers were revised by the doctor, but with very few alterations.

They returned and reported the conference to congress, who published it, and the people were satisfied that they had no safety but in arms.

Part of the correspondence between lord Howe and Dr. Franklin on this occasion, and the joint report of the American commissioners on the result of their mission, was published; the first letter of lord Howe and the answer of the doctor, have been already published; but the reply of lord Howe, and the following prefatory note, by doctor Franklin, have not appeared before the present time.

These letters were published in London, to show the insolence of the *insurgents*, in refusing the offer of pardon upon submission made to them by the British plenipotentiaries. They undoubtedly deserve the attention of the public for another reason, the proof they afford that the commerce of America is deemed by the ministry themselves of such vast importance, as to justify the horrid and expensive war they are now waging, to maintain the monopoly of it; that being the principal cause stated by lord Howe; though their pensioned writers and speakers in parliament have affected to treat that commerce as a trifle. And they demonstrate further, of how much importance it is to the rest of Europe, that the continuance of that monopoly should be obstructed, and the general freedom of trade, now offered by the Americans, preserved; since, by no other means, the enormous growing power of Britain, both by sea and land, so formidable to her neighbours, and which must follow her success, can possibly be prevented.

"*To Dr. Franklin.*

Eagle, off Staten Island, August 16, 1776.

"I am sorry, my worthy friend, that it is only on the assurances you give me, of my having still preserved a place in your esteem, that I can now found a pretension to trouble you with a reply to your favour of the 21st, past.

"I can have no difficulty to acknowledge, that the powers I am invested with, were never calculated to negotiate a re-union with America, under any other description than as subject to the crown of Great Britain: but I do esteem those powers competent, not only to confer and negotiate with any gentlemen of influence in the colonies upon the terms, but also to effect a lasting peace and re-union between the two countries; were the temper of the colonies such as professed in the last petition of the congress to the king. America would have judged in the discussion how far the means were adequate to the end; both for engaging her confidence and proving our integrity. Nor did I think it necessary to say more in my public declaration; not conceiving it could be understood to refer to peace, on any other conditions but those of mutual interest to both countries, which could alone render it permanent.

"But as I perceive, from the tenor of your letter, how little I am to reckon upon the advantage of your assistance for restoring that permanent union which has long been the object of my endeavours, and which I flattered myself when I left England, would be in the compass of my power; I will only add, that as the dishonour to which you deem me exposed by my military situation in this country, has effected no change in your sentiments of personal regard towards me, so shall no difference in political points alter my desire of proving how much I am your sincere and obedient humble servant, HOWE."

To the same.

"Eagle, June 20, 1776.

"I cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels, which I have sent (in the state I received them) to be landed, without adding a word upon the subject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy disputes have engaged us.

"You will learn the nature of my mission, from the official despatches, which I have recommended to be forwarded by the same conveyance. Retaining all the earnestness I ever expressed, to see our differences accommodated; I shall conceive, if I meet with the disposition in the colonies which I was once taught to expect, the most flattering hopes of proving serviceable in the objects of the king's paternal solicitude, by promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies. But if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the necessity of preventing her trade from passing into foreign channels, must keep us still a divided people; I shall, from every private as well as public motive, most heartily lament, that this is not the moment wherein those great objects of my ambition are to be attained; and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity, to assure you personally of the regard with which I am your sincere and faithful humble servant, HOWE.

"P. S. I was disappointed of the opportunity I expected for sending this letter, at the time it was dated; and have ever since been prevented by calms and contrary winds from getting here, to inform general Howe of the commission with which I have the satisfaction to be charged, and of his being joined in it.

"*Off of Sandy Hook, 12th of July.*
(Superscribed, Howe.)
"*To Benjamin Franklin, Esq.*
Philadelphia."

"*Dr. Franklin to Lord Howe.*

"Philadelphia, July 30, 1776.

"My Lord,—I received, safe, the letters your lordship so kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept *my* thanks.

"The official dispatches to which you refer me, contain nothing more than what we had seen in the act of parliament, viz. 'Offers of pardon upon submission;' which I was sorry to find; as it must give your lordship pain to be sent so far on so hopeless a business.

"Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentments.—It is impossible we should think of submission to a government, that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burned our defenceless towns in the midst of winter; excited the savages to massacre our (peaceful) farmers; instigated our slaves to murder their masters; and is even now* bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every spark of affection for that parent country we once held so dear: but were it possible for *us* to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for *you* (I mean the British nation) to forgive the people you have so heavily injured; you can never confide again in those as fellow-subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom you know you have given such just causes of lasting enmity; and this must impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our spirit by the severest tyranny, and obstructing by every means in your power our growing strength and prosperity.

"But your lordship mentions 'the king's paternal solicitude for promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies.' If by *peace* is here meant, a peace to be entered into by distinct states, now at war; and his majesty has given your lordship powers to treat with us of such a peace, I may venture to say, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpose not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances. But I am persuaded you have no such powers. Your nation, though, by punishing those American governors who have fomented the discord, rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing as far as possible the mischiefs done us, she might recover a great share of our regard, and the greatest share of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional strength, to be derived from a friendship with us; yet I know too well her abounding pride and deficient wisdom, to believe she will ever take such salutary measures. Her fondness for conquest as a warlike nation; her lust of dominion as an ambitious one; and her thirst for a gainful monopoly as a commercial one (none of them legitimate causes of war) will join to hide from her eyes every view of her true interest, and continually goad her on in these ruinous distant expeditions, so destructive both of lives and of treasure, that they must prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the Croisades formerly were to most of the nations of Europe.

"I have not the vanity, my lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war; for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions; not to be believed till the event shall verify it.

"Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble porcelain vase—*the British empire;* for I knew that being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their *share* of the strength and value that existed in the whole; and that a perfect *re-union* of those parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wetted my cheek, when, at your good sister's in London, you once gave me expectations, that a reconciliation might soon take place. I had the misfortune to find these expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief I was labouring to prevent. My consolation under that groundless and malevolent treatment, was, that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men in that country; and among the rest, some share in the regard of lord Howe.

"The well-founded esteem, and permit me to say affection, which I shall always have for your lordship, make it painful to me to see you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which (as described in your letter) is 'the necessity of preventing the American *trade* from passing into foreign channels.' To me it seems, that neither the obtaining or retaining *any trade*, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce, are the goodness and cheapness of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise; and I am persuaded, that cool and dispassionate posterity will condemn to infamy those who advised it; and that even success will not save from some degree of dishonour, those who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

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* About this time the Hessians, &c. had arrived from Europe, and were landed at Staten Island and New York.

"I know your great motive in coming hither, was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation; and I believe when you find that to be impossible, on any terms given you to propose, you will then relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honourable private station.

"With the greatest and most sincere respect, I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

In Congress, *Sept. 2d*, 1776.

Congress being informed that general Sullivan, who was taken prisoner on Long Island, was come to Philadelphia with a message from lord Howe,

Ordered, that he be admitted, and heard before congress.

General Sullivan being admitted, delivered the verbal message he had in charge from lord Howe, which he was desired to reduce to writing, and withdrew.

September 3d.—General Sullivan, having reduced to writing the verbal message from lord Howe, the same was laid before congress and read as follows.

The following is the purport of the message sent from lord Howe to congress by general Sullivan.

That though he could not at present treat with congress as such, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of the members, whom he would consider for the present only as private gentlemen, and meet them himself as such, at such place as they should appoint.

That he, in conjunction with general Howe, had full powers to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America on terms advantageous to both; the obtaining of which, delayed him near two months in England, and prevented his arrival at this place before the declaration of independence took place.

That he wished a compact might be settled at this time, when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say they were compelled to enter into such agreement.

That in case congress were disposed to treat, many things which they had not as yet asked, might and ought to be granted to them; and that if, upon the conference, they found any probable ground of an accommodation, the authority of congress must be afterwards acknowledged, otherwise the compact could not be complete.

September 5th.—Resolved, That general Sullivan be requested to inform lord Howe, that this congress being the representatives of the free and independent states of America, cannot, with propriety, send any of its members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that, ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they will send a committee of their body to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorised by congress for that purpose on behalf of America, and what that authority is, and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same.

Ordered, that a copy of the foregoing resolution be delivered to general Sullivan, and that he be directed immediately to repair to lord Howe.

September 6th.—Resolved, That the committee "to be sent to know whether lord Howe has any authority to treat with persons authorised by congress for that purpose, in behalf of America; and what that authority is, and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same," consist of three.

The members chosen, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Mr. John Adams, and Mr. Edward Rutledge.

"Eagle, off Bedlow's Island, Sept. 10, 1776.

"Lord Howe presents his compliments to Dr. Franklin, and according to the tenor of his favour of the 8th, will attend to have the pleasure of meeting him and Messrs. Adams and Rutledge to-morrow morning, at the house on Staten Island, opposite to Amboy, as early as the few conveniences for travelling by land on Staten Island will admit. Lord Howe, upon his arrival at the place appointed, will send a boat (if he can procure it in time) with a flag of truce over to Amboy; and requests the doctor and the other gentlemen will postpone their intended favour of passing over to meet him, until they are informed, as above, of his arrival to attend them there.

"In case the weather should prove unfavourable for lord Howe to pass in his boat to Staten Island to-morrow, as from the present appearance there is some reason to suspect, he will take the next earliest opportunity that offers for that purpose. In this intention he may be further retarded, having been an invalid lately; but will certainly give the most timely notice of that inability. He, however, flatters himself he shall not have occasion to make further excuses on that account."

September 13th.—The committee appointed to confer with lord Howe, having returned, made a verbal report. Ordered, that they make a report in writing, as soon as they conveniently can.

September 17th.—The committee appointed to confer with lord Howe, agreeable to order brought in a report in writing, which was read as follows.

In obedience to the orders of congress, we have had a meeting with lord Howe, it was on Wednesday last upon Staten Island, opposite to Amboy, where his lordship received and entertained us with the utmost politeness.

His lordship opened the conversation by acquainting us, that though he could not treat with us as a committee of congress, yet as his powers enabled him to confer and consult with any private gentlemen of influence in the colonies, on the means of restoring peace between the two countries, he was glad of this opportunity of conferring with us on that subject, if we thought ourselves at liberty to enter into a conference with him in that character.

We observed to his lordship, that as our business was to hear, he might consider us in what light he pleased, and communicate to us any proposition he might be authorised to make for the purpose mentioned; but that we could consider ourselves in no other character than that in which we were placed by order of congress.

His lordship then entered into a discourse of considerable length, which contained no explicit proposition of peace except one, viz that the colonies should return to their allegiance and obedience to the government of Great Britain. The rest consisted principally of assurances, that there was an exceeding good disposition in the king and his ministers to make that government easy to us, with intimations, that in case of our submission they would cause the offensive acts of parliament to be revised, and the instructions to governors to be reconsidered; that so, if any just causes of complaint were found in the acts, or errors in government were perceived to have crept into the instructions, they might be amended or withdrawn.

We gave it as our opinion to his lordship, that a return to the domination of Great Britain was not now to be expected. We mentioned the repeated humble petitions of the colonies to the king and parliament, which had been treated with contempt, and answered only by additional injuries; the unexampled patience we had shown under their tyrannical government; and that it was not till the last act of parliament which denounced war against us, and put us out of the king's protection, that we declared our independence. That this declaration had been called for by the people of the colonies in general; that every colony had approved of it, when made; and all now considered themselves as independent states, and were settling or had settled their governments accordingly; so that it was not in the power of congress to agree for them, that they should return to their former dependent state. That there was no doubt of their inclination to peace, and their willingness to enter into a treaty with Britain that might be advantageous to both countries. That though his lordship had at present no power to treat with them as independent states, he might, if there was the same good disposition in Britain, much sooner obtain fresh powers from thence, than powers could be obtained by congress from the several colonies to consent to a submission.

His lordship then saying, that he was sorry to find that no accommodation was likely to take place, put an end to the conference.

Upon the whole, it did not appear to your committee, that his lordship's commission contained any authority of importance, other than what is expressed in the act of parliament, viz. that of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners shall think proper to make; and of declaring America or any part of it to be in the king's peace upon submission: for as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his lordship mentioned to us, and of conferring and consulting with any persons the commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversation to the ministry, who, provided the colonies would subject themselves, might, after all, or might not at their pleasure, make any alterations in the former instructions to governors, or propose in parliament any amendment of the acts complained of, we apprehended any expectation from the effect of such a power would have been too uncertain and precarious to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence.

Ordered that the above be published.

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Attest, CHAS. THOMPSON, Secretary.

Congress, in their manifesto, had recommended to each colony, whose government was not already sufficient, to proceed to the institution of such a form, as was necessary to the preservation of internal peace, and suited to the then exigency of their affairs, for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies. In conformity with this recommendation, a convention was assembled at Philadelphia, in July, 1776, for the purpose of settling a new form of government for the then *State* of Pennsylvania. Dr. Franklin was chosen president of this convention. The constitution formed and established at that period for Pennsylvania, was the result of the deliberations of that assembly, and may be considered as a digest of Dr. Franklin's principles of government. The single legislature and the plural executive, appear to have been his favourite tenets; being, as he believed, less liable to abuse than any form of responsible government.

The virtuous and unfortunate duke de la Rochefoucault, in his eulogium of Dr. Franklin, in 1790, thus remarks on this system of government:—

"Franklin alone, disengaging the political machine from those multiplied movements and admired counterpoises that rendered it so complicated, proposed the reducing it to the simplicity of a *single legislative body.* This grand idea startled the trading politicians of Pennsylvania; but the philosopher removed the fears of a considerable number, and at length determined the whole to adopt the principle."

The same distinguished person adds in a note on this passage, of his printed oration,

"The usual progress of the human mind leads man from the complex to the simple. Observe the works of the first mechanics overloaded with numerous pieces, some of which embarrass, and others diminish their effect. It has been the same with legislators, both speculative and practical; struck with an abuse, they have endeavoured to correct it by institutions that have been productive of still greater abuses. In political economy the unity of the legislative body is the *maximum* of simplicity. Franklin was the first who dared to put this idea in practice: The respect the Pennsylvanians entertained for him induced them to adopt it; but other states affected to be terrified at it, and even the constitution of Pennsylvania has since been altered."

During Dr. Franklin's presidency of the convention, he drew up the following protest against the equality of voting in congress; but (as he acknowledged at the time) he was dissuaded from endeavouring to carry it through; from prudential considerations, respecting the necessary union at that critical period, of all the states in confederation.

PROTEST.

"We, the representatives of the state of Pennsylvania, in full convention met, having duly considered the plan of confederation formed in congress, and submitted to the several states, for their assent or dissent, do hereby declare the dissent of this state to the same, for the following reasons, viz.

"1st. Because the foundation of every confederation, intended to be lasting, ought to be laid in justice and equity, no unfair advantage being given to, or taken by, any of the contracting parties.

"2d. Because it is, in the nature of things, just and equal, that the respective states of the confederacy should be represented in congress, and have votes there in proportion to their importance, arising from their numbers of people, and the share and degree of strength they afford to the united body. And therefore the XVIIth article,[*] which gives one vote to the smallest state and no more to the largest, when the difference between them may be as ten to one, or greater; is unjust, and injurious to the larger states, since all of them are, by other articles, obliged to contribute in proportion to their respective abilities.

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[*] This afterwards formed part of the *5th article* of the confederation as agreed to by all the states, except Maryland, on the 9th July, 1778: and finally ratified by the whole union, on the 1st March, 1781, (the state of Maryland acceding thereto.)

"3d. Because the practice hitherto in congress, of allowing only one vote to each colony, was originally taken up under a conviction of its impropriety and injustice, was intended to be in some future time corrected, and was then and since submitted to only as a temporary expedient, to be used in ordinary business, until the means of rectifying the same could be obtained: this clearly appears by the resolve of congress, dated September 6, 1774, being the day of its meeting, which resolve is in these words, 'That in determining questions in this congress, each colony or province shall have one vote, the congress not being possessed of, or at present able to procure proper materials for ascertaining the importance of each colony.' That importance has since been supposed to be best found in the numbers of the people; for the congress, not only by their resolution when the issuing of bills was agreed to, but by this present confederation, have judged, that the contribution towards sinking those bills and to the common expense, should be in proportion to such numbers, when they could be taken, which has not yet been done; and though the larger colonies submitted to his temporary inequality of representation, expecting it would much sooner have been rectified; it never was understood that by the resolution above cited, a power was given to the smaller states to fix that inequality upon them for ever, as those small states have now attempted to do, by combining to vote for this 17th article, and thereby to deprive the larger states of their just right, acknowledged in the same resolution. Smaller states having given us in advance, this striking instance of the injustice they are capable of, and of the possible effects of their combination, is of itself a sufficient reason for our determining not to put ourselves in their power, by agreeing to this article as it stands connected with those concerning the quotas of each state, since being a majority of states in congress, they may by the same means, at any time, deprive the larger states of any share in the disposition of our strength and wealth, and the management of our common interests.

"But as the smaller colonies may object, that if the larger are allowed a number of votes in proportion to their importance, the smaller will then be equally in danger of being overpowered and governed by them: we, not having the least desire of any influence or power that is unjust, or unequal, or disproportioned to the burdens we are to bear, do hereby offer our consent to the said 17th article as it now stands, provided the quotas to be contributed by the larger provinces shall be reduced to an equality with the smallest, in which case all, by contributing equally, will have a right to equal votes. Not that we mean thereby to avoid granting additional aids, when the exigence of our common interests shall appear to us to make them proper and necessary; but, leaving to the congress, with regard to such additional aids, the right of making requisitions as enjoyed by our late kings, we would reserve to ourselves the right of judging of the propriety of these requisitions, or of refusing or complying with them in part, or in the whole, as to us shall seem best, and of modifying our grants with such conditions as we shall judge necessary, in like manner as our assemblies might formerly do with regard to requisitions from the crown: for it appears to us just and reasonable, that we should retain the disposition of what strength we have, above the equal proportion contributed, as aforesaid, by our state to the common service, with every power necessary to apply the same, as occasions may arise, for our particular security; this we mean to do from this time forward, unless we are allowed votes in congress, proportioned to the importance of our state, as was originally intended.

"Signed by order of the convention."

Though this protest was not acted upon, for the reasons previously assigned by Dr. Franklin, it serves however, to show his opinion and arguments in support of a very important question of American legislation, and is an additional feature in his political mind.

American paper-money beginning to fall into disrepute, in 1776, and immediate supplies of arms and ammunition for the use of the army being absolutely necessary, congress turned their attention towards Europe, and to France in particular, for the purpose of obtaining aids in money and military stores, as the only means of resisting the power of Great Britain, and preserving their newly-acquired independence.

In the latter end of 1776, a commission was appointed for this object; and Dr. Franklin, though then in his 71st year, was considered, from his talents as a statesman, and reputation as a philosopher, the most suitable person to effect the desired end, and was consequently nominated commissioner plenipotentiary to the court of France, in conjunction with Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, esquires: the former had already been sent to Europe, for the purpose of secretly obtaining and forwarding warlike stores, &c., and the other had been employed by congress as a private and confidential agent in England.

Previous to Dr. Franklin's departure, he conceived it would be advisable, on many accounts, to be the bearer of propositions for peace with Great Britain; and with this view he drew up, and submitted to the secret committee of congress, the following paper:—

Sketch of Propositions for a Peace, 1776.

There shall be a perpetual peace between Great Britain and the United States of America, on the following conditions.

Great Britain shall renounce and disclaim all pretence of right or authority to govern in any of the United States of America.

To prevent those occasions of misunderstanding which are apt to arise, where the territories of different powers border on each other, through the bad conduct of frontier inhabitants on both sides, Britain shall cede to the United States the provinces or colonies of Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, East and West Florida, and the Bahama Islands, with all their adjoining and intermediate territories now claimed by her.

In return for this cession, the United States shall pay to Great Britain the sum of ——— sterling, in annual payments, that is to say ——— per annum, for and during the term of ——— years.

And shall moreover grant a free trade to all British subjects throughout the United States and the ceded colonies, and shall guarantee to Great Britain the possession of her islands in the West Indies.

Motives for proposing a Peace at this time.

1. The having such propositions in charge, will, by the law of nations, be some protection to the commissioners or ambassadors, if they should be taken.

2. As the news of our declared independence will tend to unite in Britain all parties against us; so our offering peace with commerce and payments of money, will tend to divide them again: for peace is as necessary to them as to us: our commerce is wanted by their merchants and manufacturers, who will therefore incline to the accommodation, even though the monopoly is not continued, since it can be easily made appear, their *share* of our growing trade will soon be greater than the *whole* has been heretofore. Then for the landed interest, who wish an alleviation of taxes, it is demonstrable by figures, that if we should agree to pay, suppose ten millions in one hundred years, viz. one hundred thousand pounds per annum for that term, it would, being faithfully employed as a sinking fund, more than pay off all their present national debt. It is, besides, a prevailing opinion in England, that they must in the nature of things, sooner or later lose the colonies, and many think they had better be without the government of them; so that the proposition will, on that account, have more supporters and fewer opposers.

3. As the having such propositions to make, or any powers to treat of peace, will furnish a pretence for Benjamin Franklin's going to England, where he has many friends and acquaintance, particularly among the best writers and ablest speakers in both houses of parliament, he thinks he shall be able when there, if the terms are not accepted, to work up such a division of sentiments in the nation, as greatly to weaken its exertions against the United States, and lessen its credit in foreign countries.

4. The knowledge of there being powers given to the commissioners to treat with England, may have some effect in facilitating and expediting the proposed treaty with France.

5. It is worth our while to offer such a sum for the countries to be ceded, since the vacant lands will in time sell for a great part of what we shall give, if not more; and if we are to obtain them by conquest, after perhaps a long war, they will probably cost us more than that sum. It is absolutely necessary for us to have them for our own security; and though the sum may seem large to the present generation, in less than half the term, it will be to the whole United States, a mere trifle.

It is uncertain to what extent this plan was adopted by congress. The propositions were certainly not such as the British ministry would have listened to a moment, at that period of the revolutionary war, whatever they might have been disposed to have done in a more advanced state of it.

It is possible, however, that this or some other proposal for peace with Great Britain may have been furnished to Dr. Franklin by the secret committee of congress, to serve him in some measure as a protection in case of his capture at sea; of which there was at that time the most imminent danger.

Dr. Franklin set off on this important mission from Philadelphia, Oct. 26, 1776, accompanied by two of his grandchildren, William Temple Franklin, and Benjamin Franklin Bache: they slept at Chester that night, and the next morning went by land to Marcus Hook, and embarked there that day, in the United States' sloop of war Reprisal, mounting sixteen guns, and commanded by captain Wickes. During the passage Dr. Franklin made daily experiments, by means of the thermometer, of the temperature of the sea-water, as he had done on similar occasions, and with the same view of ascertaining the ship's being *in* or *out* of the gulph stream, and more or less within soundings.

The sloop was frequently chased during the voyage by British cruisers, and several times prepared for action; but being a good sailer, and the captain having received orders, not unnecessarily to risk an engagement, she as often escaped her pursuers. The crew did not always seem to like avoiding coming up with the vessels that were occasionally seen, as they were naturally desirous of getting some prize-money, on this account probably the captain indulged them on some occasions, when there was little likelihood of danger. An opportunity of this kind presented itself on the 27th of November, being then near the coast of France, though out of soundings. Several sail were seen about noon, and the sloop brought to, and took a brig from Bourdeaux, bound to Cork, (being Irish property) loaded with lumber and some wine. She had left Bourdeaux the day before. The captain found by the brig's reckoning, that he was then only sixteen leagues from land. In the afternoon of the same day he came up with, and took another brig, from Rochefort, belonging to Hull, bound to Hamburgh, with brandy and flax-seed: early the next morning land was in sight from the mast-head; it proved to be Belleisle; a pilot came on board, and the sloop was brought to an anchor in the evening. On the 29th she ran into Quiberon Bay, where she continued till December 3d, when finding the contrary winds likely to continue, which prevented her entering the Loire, the captain procured a fishing-boat to put Dr. Franklin and his grandsons on shore at *Auray*, about six leagues distant, where they were landed in the evening. Auray proved to be a wretched place. No post-chaises to be hired, and obliged to send to *Vannes* for one, which did not arrive till next day; when the party reached that town, late in the evening. Dr. Franklin, in the little journal he kept, and from which the above details are taken, adds: "The carriage was a miserable one, with tired horses, the evening dark, scarce a traveller but ourselves on the road; and to make it more *comfortable*, the driver stopped near a wood we were to pass through, to tell us that a gang of eighteen robbers infested that wood, who but two weeks ago had robbed and murdered some travellers on that very spot."

The same journal contains the following remark, "December 6. On the road yesterday," (travelling to Nantes,) "we met six or seven country-women, in company, on horseback and astride: they were all of fair white and red complexions, but one among them was the fairest woman I ever beheld. Most of the men have good complexions, not swarthy like those of the North of France, in which I remember that, except about *Abbeville*, I saw few fair people."

Arriving at Nantes on the 7th December, a grand dinner was prepared on the occasion by some friends of America, at which Dr. Franklin was present, and in the afternoon went to meet a large party at the country seat of monsieur Gruel, a short distance from town, where crowds of visiters came to compliment him on his safe arrival, expressing great satisfaction, as they were warm friends to America, and hoped his being in France would be of advantage to the American cause, &c. &c. A magnificent supper closed the evening.

Being much fatigued and weakened by the voyage and journey, Dr. Franklin was persuaded to remain some time at M. Gruel's country house, where he was elegantly and commodiously lodged: his strength, indeed, was not equal to an immediate journey to Paris. During his stay at M. Gruel's he was in hopes of living retired, but the house was almost always full of visiters; from whom, however, much useful information was obtained respecting the state of affairs at court, and the character of persons in power, &c. Dr. Franklin also learnt with great satisfaction, that a supply had been obtained from the French government, of two hundred brass field-pieces, thirty thousand firelocks, and some other military stores; which were then shipping for America, and would be convoyed by a ship of war.

Dr. Franklin at that time did not assume any public character, thinking it prudent first to know whether the court was ready and willing to receive *publicly* commissioners from the congress; and that he might neither embarrass the ministry on the one hand, nor subject himself and his colleagues to the hazard of a disgraceful refusal on the other, he dispatched an express to Mr. Deane, then in Paris, with the letters he had for him from the committee of congress, and a copy of their joint commission, that he might make the proper inquiries, and give him the necessary information: meantime it was generally supposed at Nantes that Dr. Franklin was sent to negotiate, and that opinion appeared to give great pleasure.

On the 15th December, Dr. Franklin left Nantes, and shortly after arrived safely at Paris, where he continued to reside till the 7th January following, when he removed with his family to Passy, (a village beautifully situated about a league from the capital,) and took up his abode in a large and handsome house, with extensive gardens, belonging to Mons. Le Ray de Chaumont, a great and useful friend to the American cause: here Dr. Franklin continued during the whole of his residence in France—being about eight years and a half.

The following extracts from letters written by him to one of his intimate friends, shortly after his arrival in Paris, fully show his sentiments relative to the state of American politics at that period, and furnish some insight as to the nature of his mission to France.

"*To Dr. Ingenhauz.*

—— "I long laboured in England with great zeal and sincerity to prevent the breach that has happened, and which is now so wide, that no endeavours of mine can possibly heal it. You know the treatment I met with from that imprudent court: but I keep a separate account of private injuries, which I may forgive; and I do not think it right to mix them with public affairs. Indeed there is no occasion for their aid to whet my resentment against a nation, that has burnt our defenceless towns in the midst of winter, has excited the savages to assassinate our innocent farmers with their wives and children, and our slaves to murder their masters! It would therefore be deceiving you, if I suffered you to remain in the supposition you have taken up, that I am come to Europe to make peace: I am in fact ordered hither by the congress for a very different purpose; viz. to procure such aids from European powers, for enabling us to defend our freedom and independence, which it is certainly their interest to grant; as by that means the great and rapidly growing trade of America will be open to them all, and not a monopoly to Great Britain as heretofore: a monopoly, that if she is suffered again to possess, will be such an increase of her strength by sea, and if she can reduce us again to submission, she will have thereby so great an addition to her strength by land, as will, together, make her the most formidable power the world has yet seen; and from her natural pride and insolence in prosperity, of all others the most intolerable."

To the same.

—— "You desire to know my opinion of what will probably be the end of this war; and whether our new establishments will not be thereby reduced again to deserts. I do not, for my part, apprehend much danger of so great an evil to us. I think we shall be able, with a little help, to defend ourselves, our possessions, and our liberties so long, that England will be ruined by persisting in the wicked attempt to destroy them. I must nevertheless regret that ruin, and wish that her injustice and tyranny had not deserved it: and I sometimes flatter myself that, old as I am, I may possibly live to see my country settled in peace and prosperity, when Britain shall make no more a formidable figure among the powers of Europe.

"You put me in mind of an apology for my conduct, which has been expected from me, in answer to the abuses thrown upon me before the privy council. It was partly written, but the affairs of public importance I have been ever since engaged in, prevented my finishing it. The injuries too that my country has suffered, have absorbed private resentments, and made it appear trifling for an individual to trouble the world with his particular justification, when all his compatriots were stigmatized by the king and parliament as being in every respect *the worst of mankind!* I am obliged to you, however, for the friendly part you have always taken in the defence of my character; and it is indeed no small argument in my favour, that those who have known me most and longest, still love me and trust me with their most important interests, of which my election into the congress by the unanimous voice of the assembly, or parliament of Pennsylvania, the day after my arrival from England, and my present mission hither by the congress itself, are instances incontestable."

Dr. Franklin was privately received with every demonstration of regard and respect by the minister for foreign affairs, monsieur le compte de Vergennes; who assured him and the other American commissioners, that they should personally enjoy in France "all the security and all the good offices which strangers could receive."*

A conviction of the advantages to be derived from a commercial intercourse with America, and a desire of weakening the British empire, by dismembering it, induced the French court secretly to give assistance in military stores to the Americans, and to listen to proposals of an alliance. But they at first showed rather a reluctance to the latter measure, which, however, by Dr. Franklin's address, aided by a subsequent important success attending the American arms, was eventually overcome.

The American commissioners began privately to grant letters of marque to a number of *French American privateers*, which harassed the English coasting trade, intercepted a great number of British merchant vessels, and took many prisoners. Lord Stormont, his Britannic majesty's ambassador at Versailles, when applied to by the American commissioners relative to an exchange of those prisoners, haughtily and unfeelingly gave them for answer, "that he received no letters from rebels, unless they were to petition his majesty's pardon!!" or words to that effect. His lordship presented several memorials to the French minister, complaining of the equipment of American vessels in the ports of France, bringing in of their prizes, &c., and of the assistance France was underhandedly affording the insurgents; demanding at the same time a catagorical answer respecting such conduct.

On this occasion, count de Vergennes affected to remonstrate with the American commissioners, and on the 16th July, 1777, wrote to them that they had exceeded the bounds limited at their first interview with him, which were expressly, "That the navigation and commerce with the Americans, should obtain all the facilities in France which were compatible with the due observance of her treaties with England; that to these principles the king would religiously adhere."[*]

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* "Toute la sureté et tous les agréments que nous y faisons éprouver aux etrangers."

This remonstrance might also in some measure have been influenced by the very unfavourable accounts latterly received from America, and which bore a most unpromising aspect for the success of the American cause. In England it was generally thought, even by the friends of America, that her struggle for independence was at an end, and that nothing was left for her but unconditional submission. Dr. Fothergill, a particular friend of Dr. Franklin, and a well-wisher to America, in a letter to his nephew, Mr. John Chorley, dated June, 1777, written with a view to its being communicated to Dr. Franklin, (which it shortly after was,) thus expresses himself:—

"Should thy friend think proper to go to Passy, he may say to Dr. Franklin, that if he has enemies in this country, he has also friends; and must not forget these, because the former are ignorant and malicious, yet all-powerful. He will doubtless inform the doctor, that there remains not a doubt on this side the water, that American resistance is all at an end—that the shadow of congressional authority scarce exists—that a general defection from that body is apparent—that their troops desert by shoals—that the officers are discontented—that no new levies can be made—that nothing can withstand the British forces, and prevent them from being masters of the whole continent; in short, that the war is *at an end*, and that nothing remains to be done, but to divide the country among the conquerors. This is the general language; and that neither France nor Spain will afford them any other than a kind of paralytic aid; enough to enable them to protract a few months longer a miserable existence!"

In the midst of this supposed gloomy state of affairs in America, the news of the surrender of the British army, commanded by general Burgoyne, to that of the Americans under general Gates, at Saratoga, on the 17th October, 1777, arrived in France; and at the very moment when the French cabinet was as yet undecided in regard to the steps to be adopted relative to the United States. This memorable event immediately turned the scale, and fixed the French nation in their attachment to the infant republic.

The news of the defeat and capture of this British general and his whole army, was received in France with as great demonstrations of joy, as if it had been a victory gained by their own arms. Dr. Franklin took advantage of this circumstance, and suggested to the French ministry, "that there was not a moment to be lost, if they wished to secure the friendship of America, and detach her entirely from the mother-country." Urged by these considerations, and fearful lest an accommodation might take place between Great Britain and her colonies, the court of France instantly determined to declare its intentions, and accordingly on the 6th December, 1777, monsieur Gerard, secretary to the council of state, repaired to the hotel of the American commissioners, and informed them, by order of the king, "that after a long and mature deliberation upon their propositions, his majesty had determined to recognize the independence of, and to enter into a treaty of commerce and alliance with, the United States of America; and that he would not only acknowledge their independence, but actually support it with all the means in his power: that perhaps he was about to engage himself in an expensive war upon their account, but that he did not expect to be reimbursed by them: in fine, the Americans were not to think that he had entered into this resolution solely with a view of serving them, since independently of his real attachment to them and their cause, it was evidently the interest of France to diminish the power of England, by severing her colonies from her."

In consequence of this amicable and frank declaration, treaties were soon after entered upon with monsieur Gerard, who, on the 30th of January, 1778, had received two distinct commissions from the king for that purpose: and on the 6th day of February following, a treaty of amity and commerce, and another of alliance eventual and defensive, between his most Christian majesty and the thirteen United States of North America, were concluded and signed at Paris by the respective plenipotentiaries.

This forms a memorable epoch in the political life of Dr. Franklin, as well as in the annals of the United States, because it was in a great measure owing to the aid derived from this powerful alliance, that the American colonies were enabled to resist the mother country, and eventually to establish their independence.

It was mutually agreed that these treaties should be kept secret till the ratifications were exchanged; but some time after, accounts having been received of the intention of the English ministry to send lord Carlisle, Mr. W. Eden, and governor Johnstone as additional commissioners to America, to be joined to the commanders-in-chief of the British land and sea forces there, with full powers to treat, settle, and agree on terms, even with congress, but subject to the confirmation of parliament; the French government, with the view to counteract any favourable result to Great Britain from this project, immediately instructed their ambassador at St. James's (the marquis de Noailles) to communicate officially to the English government, that the abovementioned treaties had been concluded and signed. On this the British cabinet instantly dispatched instructions to lord Stormont, to withdraw from the court of France, without taking leave; and this having been intimated to the marquis de Noailles, he left England about the same time.

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[*] "Que le navigation et commerce Américans éprouveroient toutes les facilités en France, qui seroient compatibles avec l'exacte observance de ses traités avec l'Angleterre; qu'il étoit dans les principes du roi de remplir religieusement."

These circumstances, however, did not prevent the new British commissioners from proceeding to America; but their presence there was of no avail, notwithstanding every art and deception was made use of by them to effect their purpose. Governor Johnstone, in particular had publicly asserted, that Dr. Franklin had *approved of the propositions the commissioners had carried over with them.* This was an absolute falsehood, of which Dr. Franklin, as soon as apprized of it, expressed his indignation to the president of the state of Pennsylvania, in his letter dated Passy, March 19, 1780.

Hostilities now commenced between Great Britain and France; and monsieur Gerard was sent by his most Christian majesty as envoy to the new States of America. The American commissioners plenipotentiary were immediately presented at court in their public character, with the accustomed forms, and were very graciously received by the king and all the royal family.

A French historian, M. Hilliard D'Auberteuil, thus notices Dr. Franklin's first appearance at the court of Versailles.

"Dr. Franklin, at length, had an interview with his most Christian majesty; he was presented to him, in the gallery of Versailles, by the comte de Vergennes, minister for foreign affairs. On this occasion, he was accompanied and followed by a great number of Americans, and individuals of foreign states, who were collected together by curiosity. His age, his venerable appearance, the simplicity of his dress on such an occasion, every thing that was either singular or respectable in the life of this American, contributed to augment the public attention. Clapping of hands, and a variety of other demonstrations of joy, announced that warmth of affection, of which the French are more susceptible than any other people, and of which their politeness and civility augments the charm to him who is the object of it.

"His majesty addressed him as follows:

"'You may assure the United States of America of my friendship; I beg leave also to observe, that I am exceedingly satisfied in particular with your own conduct, during your residence in my kingdom.' When the new ambassador, after this audience, crossed the court, in order to repair to the office of the minister of foreign affairs, the multitude waited for him in the passage, and hailed him with their acclamations."

Dr. Franklin was undoubtedly the fittest person that could have been found for rendering essential services to the United States at the court of France. He was well known as a philosopher throughout all Europe, and his character was held in the highest estimation. In France he was received with the greatest marks of respect by all the literary characters; and this was extended amongst all classes of men, and particularly at the court. His personal influence was hence very considerable. To the effects of this were added those of various writings which he published, tending to establish the credit and character of the United States; and to his exertions in this way, may in no small degree be ascribed, not only the free gifts obtained from the French government, but also the loans negotiated in Holland, which greatly contributed to bring the war to a favourable conclusion, and the establishment of American independence.

During the progress of these transactions at the court of France, Dr. Franklin had received from congress their commission to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce with the court of Spain. On this occasion he waited on the count d'Aranda, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, and left with him a copy of his commission; and some time after addressed to him the following letter.

"*To his Excellency the Count d'Aranda, &c. &c.*

"Passy, April 7, 1777.

"Sir,—I left in your excellency's hands, to be communicated, if you please, to your court, a duplicate of the commission from the congress, appointing me to go to Spain as their minister plenipotentiary. But as I understand, that the receiving such a minister is not at present thought convenient, and I am sure the congress would have nothing done that might incommode in the least a court they so much respect, I shall therefore postpone that journey till circumstances may make it more suitable. In the mean time, I beg leave to lay before his Catholic majesty, through the hands of your excellency, the propositions contained in a resolution of congress, dated Dec. 30, 1776, viz.:

"'That if his Catholic majesty will join with the United States in a war against Great Britain, they will assist in reducing to the possession of Spain the town and harbour of Pensacola; provided the inhabitants of the United States shall have the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the use of the harbour of Pensacola; and will, (provided it shall be true that his Portuguese majesty has insultingly expelled the vessels of these states from his ports, or has confiscated any such vessels), declare war against the said king, if that measure shall be agreeable to, and supported by, the courts of France and Spain.'

"It is understood that the strictest union subsists between those two courts; and in case Spain and France should think fit to attempt the conquest of the English sugar islands, the congress have further proposed to furnish provisions to the amount of two millions of dollars, and to join the fleet employed on the occasion, with six frigates of not less than twenty-four guns each, manned and fitted for service; and to render any other assistance which may be in their power, as becomes good allies; without desiring for themselves the possession of any of the said islands.

"These propositions are subject to discussion, and to receive such modifications as may be found proper.

"With great respect I have the honour to be, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

This negotiation was not carried further at the time, and subsequently Mr. Jay was sent by congress as their special minister to the court of Spain; were his patience and ability were equally displayed to his own credit, and the interest of his country, which he ever had at heart.

We must now revert to some less important circumstances that occurred about this time, and which have been omitted in the precise order of their dates, in order not to interrupt the account of transactions of greater moment.

An incident, though trifling of itself, yet as relating to a *great personage*, and as connected with Dr. Franklin's memoirs, ought not to be omitted.

At the time of the visit to Paris of the emperor Joseph II., brother to the queen of France, (then travelling under the title of *count de Falkenstein*,) Dr. Franklin received the following note from the envoy of the grand duke of Tuscany, resident at Paris.

"*A Monsieur le Docteur Franklin.*[*]

"L'Abbe Niccoli prie monsieur Franklin de lui faire l'honneur de venir déjeuner chez lui Mercredi matin, 28 de ce mois, a 9 heures. Il lui donnera une bonne tasse de chocolat. Il l'assure de son respect.

"*Du petit Luxembourg, Lundi*, 26 *Mai*. 1777."

To this note, found among Dr. Franklin's papers, is added the following memorandum in his hand-writing.

"The above is from the abbe Niccoli, minister of the grand duke of Tuscany. The intention of it was, to give the emperor an opportunity of an interview with me, that should appear accidental. Monsieur Turgot and the abbe were there to be present, and by their knowledge of what passed, to prevent or contradict false reports. The emperor did not appear, and the abbe Niccoli since tells me, that the number of other persons who occasionally visited him that morning, of which the emperor was informed, prevented his coming; that at twelve, understanding they were gone, he came; but I was gone also."

The cause of America becoming so popular in France, and the number of officers out of employ being so considerable, Dr. Franklin was extremely harassed by the numerous applications for service in the armies of the United States. The following letter to a friend is so fully and strongly descriptive of his sentiments and feelings on this subject, and in other respects so entertaining, that we here insert it.

"*To* * * *.

"Passy, ——.

"You know, my dear friend, that I am not capable of refusing you any thing in my power, which would be a real kindness to you or any friend of yours; but when I am certain that what you request would be directly the contrary, I ought to refuse it. I know that officers going to America for employment will probably be disappointed; that our armies are full, that there are a number of expectants unemployed and starving for want of subsistence, that my recommendation will not make vacancies, nor can it fill them, to the prejudice of those who have a better claim; that some of those officers I have been prevailed on to recommend, have by their conduct given no favourable impression of my judgment in military merit; and then the voyage is long, the passage very expensive, and the hazard of being taken and imprisoned by the English, very considerable. If, after all, no place can be found affording a livelihood for the gentleman, he will perhaps be distressed in a strange country, and ready to blaspheme his friends who by their solicitations procured for him so unhappy a situation. Permit me to mention to you, that in my opinion the natural complaisance of this country often carries people too far in the article of *recommendations*. You give them with too much facility to persons of whose real characters you know nothing, and sometimes at the request of others of whom you know as little. Frequently, if a man has no useful talents, is good for nothing, and burdensome to his relations, or is indiscreet, profligate, and extravagant, they are glad to get rid of

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(*TRANSLATION.)

To Dr. Franklin.

The abbe Niccoli begs Dr. Franklin will do him the honour to come and take breakfast with him on Wednesday morning, 28th of this month, at 9 o'clock. He will give him a fine cup of chocolate. He assures him of his respect.

Little Luxembourg, Monday, 26*th May*, 1777.

him by sending him to the other end of the world; and for that purpose scruple not to recommend him to those they wish should recommend him to others, as '*un bon sujet—plein de merite*,' &c. &c. In consequence of my crediting such recommendations, my own are out of credit, and I cannot advise any body to have the least dependence on them. If, after knowing this, you persist in desiring my recommendation for this person, who is known neither to *me* nor to *you*, I will give it,* though, as I said before, I ought to refuse it.

"These applications are my perpetual torment. People will believe (notwithstanding my repeated declarations to the contrary,) that I am sent hither to engage officers.—In truth I never had any such orders. It was never so much as intimated to me that it would be agreeable to my constituents. I have even received for what I have done of the kind, not indeed an absolute rebuke, but some pretty strong hints of disapprobation. Not a day passes in which I have not a number of soliciting visits, besides letters. If I could gratify all or any of them it would be a pleasure. I might indeed give them the recommendation, and the promises they desire, and thereby please them for the present; but when the certain disappointment of the expectations with which they will so obstinately flatter themselves shall arrive, they must curse me for complying with their mad requests, and not undeceiving them; and will become so many enemies to our cause and country. You can have no conception how I am harassed. All my friends are sought out and teazed to teaze me. Great officers of all ranks in all departments, ladies great and small, besides professed solicitors, worry me from morning to night. The noise of every coach now that enters my court, terrifies me. I am afraid to accept an invitation to dine abroad, being almost sure of meeting with some officer or officer's friend, who as soon as I am put in good humour by a glass or two of champaigne, begins his attack upon me. Luckily I do not often in my sleep dream of these vexatious situations, or I should be afraid of what are now my only hours of comfort. If therefore you have the least remaining kindness for me, if you would not help to drive me out of France, for God's sake, my dear friend, let this your twenty-third application be your last. Yours, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

The following letter, on the same subject, was addressed by Dr. Franklin to an impertinent and unknown applicant; and contains some wholesome advice in a tart and pithy style.

"PASSY, near Paris, April 6, 1777.

"SIR,—I have just been honoured with a letter from you, dated the 26th past, in which you express yourself as astonished, and appear to be angry that you have no answer to a letter you wrote me of the 11th of December, which you are sure was delivered to me.

"In exculpation of myself, I assure you that I never received any letter from you of this date. And indeed, being then but four days landed at Nantes, I think you could scarce have heard so soon of my being in Europe.

"But I received one from you of the 8th of January, which I own I did not answer. It may displease you if I give you the reason; but as it may be of use to you in your future correspondences, I will hazard that for a gentleman to whom I feel myself obliged, as an American, on account of his good will to our cause.

"Whoever writes to a stranger should observe three points: 1. That what he proposes be practicable. 2. His propositions should be made in explicit terms, so as to be easily understood. 3. What he desires, should be in itself reasonable. Hereby he will give a favourable impression of his understanding, and create a desire of further acquaintance. Now it happened that you were negligent in *all* these points: for first, you desired to have means procured for you of taking a voyage to America '*avec sureté*;' which is not possible, as the dangers of the sea subsist always, and at present there is the additional danger of being taken by the English. Then you desire that this may be '*sans trop grandes dépenses*,' which is not intelligible enough to be answered, because, not knowing your ability of bearing expenses, one cannot judge what may be *trop grandes*. Lastly, you desire letters of address to the congress and to general Washington; which it is not reasonable to ask of one who knows no more of you than that your name is LITH, and that you live at BAYREUTH.

"In your last, you also express yourself in vague terms, when you desire to be informed whether you may expect '*d'être reçu d'une manière convenable*' in our troops? As it is impossible to know what your ideas are of the *manière convenable*, how can one answer this? And then you demand, whether I will support you by my authority in giving you letters of recommendation? I doubt not your being a man of merit; and knowing it yourself, you may forget that it is not known to every body; but reflect a moment, sir, and you will be convinced, that if I were to practise giving letters of recommendation to persons of whose character I knew no more than I do of yours, my recommendations would soon be of no authority at all.

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* For cases of this kind, and where it was absolutely *impossible* to refuse, Dr. Franklin drew up the following as a model for such letters of recommendation, and actually employed it in some instances, to shame the persons making such indiscreet applications; and to endeavour in some measure to put a stop to them.

Model of a Letter of Recommendation of a person you are unacquainted with.

PARIS, April 2, 1777.

SIR,—The bearer of this, who is going to America, presses me to give him a letter of recommendation, though I know nothing of him, not even his name. This may seem extraordinary, but I assure you it is not uncommon here. Sometimes, indeed, one unknown person brings another equally unknown to recommend him; and sometimes they recommend one another! As to this gentleman, I must refer you to himself for his character and merits, with which he is certainly better acquainted than I can possibly be; I recommend him however to those civilities which every stranger, of whom one knows no harm, has a right to, and I request you will do him all the good offices and show him all the favour that, on further acquaintance, you shall find him to deserve.

I have the honour to be, &c.

"I thank you, however, for your kind desire of being serviceable to my countrymen; and I wish, in return, that I could be of service to you in the scheme you have formed of going to America. But numbers of experienced officers here have offered to go over and join our army, and I could give them no encouragement, because I have no orders for that purpose, and I know it is extremely difficult to place them when they come there. I cannot but think, therefore, that it is best for you not to make so long, so expensive, and so hazardous a voyage, but to take the advice of your friends, and *stay in Franconia.*

"I have the honour to be, sir, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Before we return to political occurrences, as connected with the memoirs of Dr. Franklin, we have to notice an attempt that was made in 1777, by a *soi-disant* English philosopher, to detract, if not to annul, the great discovery of the American philosopher, for the protection of buildings and ships from the effects of lightning. Mr. B. Wilson, F. R. S. who had formerly, at a meeting of the Royal Society, protested unsuccessfully against the *pointed* conductors of Franklin, now endeavoured by certain experiments publicly exhibited at the Pantheon, to prove the superior advantage of *knobs* to *points*, or the greater safety to be derived from blunt to sharp lightning conductors. These experiments, it is said, were much countenanced by the king, who attended them, with some of the royal family; but their deception was soon detected, as appears by the following article on the subject, in the London Evening Post of the 16th September, 1777:—

"Monday, Mr. B. Wilson repeated his experiments at the Pantheon, before several fellows of the Royal Society, and other persons. Lord Viscount Mahon,* F. R. S., being present, had a great dispute with Mr. Wilson concerning his experiments, and showed him that he was wrong in both his assertions: 1st, that *knobs* are better than *points;* and 2dly, that *low conductors* are better than *high ones.* His lordship proved both those assertions to be *false*, and showed also that Mr. Wilson had entirely *misunderstood*, and had consequently *misrepresented* the philosophical opinions of Dr. Franklin. Lord Mahon repeated several experiments of his own to prove his assertions, and by invariably succeeding in them, at the same time that those of Mr. Wilson failed repeatedly, his lordship proved this to demonstration, and by so doing, gave great satisfaction to the best informed persons present. Mr. Wilson went to the other end of the room, as if to avoid seeing lord Mahon's experiments. He afterwards said that he had *not changed his opinions*, and would publish his own hypothesis; upon which lord Mahon told Mr. Wilson, in a most candid and gentleman-like manner, that he was very sorry to be obliged to differ in opinion from him, but that as the *question* about *conductors for lightning*, was of so great importance to this country, and to society in general, that if Mr. Wilson should *publish* an erroneous opinion upon this subject, that he would also pledge himself to the public to *refute* him *in print.*"

A few days after, Mr. Wilson's pretended improvement, founded on deceptive experiments, was completely destroyed by the discovery and exposure of the tricks he had employed to obtain a partial success. This took place on the 2d October, when several members of the Royal Society, and other gentlemen conversant in electricity, went to see him repeat his experiments; among these, were Mr. Henly and Mr. Nairne, both fellows of the Royal Society, who fully detected and exposed the frauds and deceptions employed by Wilson, for establishing his own philosophical reputation, on the ruins of that of Dr. Franklin.

Another member of the Royal Society (and of most of the learned societies of Europe) the ingenious Dr. Ingenhausz, who had assisted at these experiments, and in the detection of the fraud, afterwards wrote a very vehement letter on the subject, addressed to a friend on the continent; giving a full account of what he calls "*la charlatanerie du fourbe Wilson décelée.*" The letter is too long and violent for insertion here; it concludes thus:

—— "Voilà donc toute la tracasserie de Wilson exposée à la connoissance du public; montrez ceci à notre ami, (Dr. Franklin,) et tâchez de le rendre public pour le bien général. Mais ce qu'il y a de plus drôle, c'est qu'on m'a assuré que les conducteurs du palais de la reine à Buckingham house, ont été abattus, depuis que le roi a vu les expériences de Wilson!!* A présent que la charlatanerie et la mauvaise foi de ce coquin se trouve décelée, et reconnue, on voudra pallier cette absurdité ; et quoique Wilson devroit être puni pour avoir trompé et imposé au roi, peut être tâchera-t-on de le soutenir, comme un vrai don Quixote, qui a attaqué le philosophe Américain, de même que les héros militaires qui attaquent son pays; (et qui probablement n'auront pas plus de succes) et qu'il sera également récompensé par une nation dupée."[*]

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* Afterwards Earl Stanhope, since deceased.

* This was a fact: and they have never since been re-established, notwithstanding the condemnation of the pretended improvement by the Royal Society, in

This letter being communicated to Dr. Franklin, and his opinion asked with respect to the propriety of publishing it in Paris, he thus replied:—

"Passy, Oct. 4, 1777.

"Sir,—I am much obliged by your communication of the letter from England. I am of your opinion, that it is not proper for publication here. Our friend's expressions concerning Mr. Wilson, will be thought too angry to be made use of by one philosopher when speaking of another, and on a philosophical question. He seems as much heated about this *one point*, as the Jansenists and Molinists were about the *five*. As to my writing any thing on the subject, which you seem to desire, I think it not necessary, especially as I have nothing to add to what I have already said upon it in a paper read to the committee,[†] who ordered the conductors at Purfleet; which paper is printed in the last French edition of my writings. I have never entered into any controversy in defence of my philosophical opinions; I leave them to take their chance in the world. If they are *right*, truth and experience will support them; if *wrong*, they ought to be refuted and rejected. Disputes are apt to sour one's temper, and disturb one's quiet. I have no private interest in the reception of my inventions by the world, having never made nor proposed to make, the least profit by any of them. The king's changing his *pointed* conductors for *blunt* ones, is therefore a matter of small importance to me. If I had a wish about it, it would be that he had rejected them altogether as ineffectual. For it is only since he thought himself and family safe from the thunder of heaven, that he dared to use his own thunder in destroying his innocent subjects."[*]

During the months of March, April, and July, 1778, various schemes were fallen upon by the English ministry, privately to sound Dr. Franklin on the subject of peace with America. The correspondents or agents employed by them on this occasion, were principally, Mr. Hutton, William Pulteney, and David Hartley, esquires; the two latter members of parliament. A full account of these attempts, and others that took place at subsequent periods of the war, with the view to induce America to abandon her alliance with France, or to treat for peace on terms short of her independence, or of the formal acknowledgment of it by Great Britain; together with all the letters, memorials, and diplomatic documents exhibited on the occasion, will be found in the Private Correspondence.

The alliance with France was considered in America, as a pledge of the safety and liberty of the country. The immediate fruit of it was the powerful aid sent thither by France, in the squadron of the count d'Estaing, consisting of eleven ships of the line, six frigates, and considerable land forces. *Previous to its departure, Dr. Franklin had furnished the French government with a plan for surprising the British fleet and army then in the Delaware*; and count d'Estaing was directed to execute this important enterprise. A better choice of a commander could not have been made: he united uncommon ardour and intrepidity, great military knowledge, vigilance, and circumspection, a quick decision, and a perfect command of himself in the most trying moments.

The enterprise would in all probability have proved successful, had it not been for an unexampled series of bad weather and contrary winds.

The count took his departure from Toulon the 13th April, 1778. In the Mediterranean he had to encounter with such contrary winds, that it was not in his power to pass the straits of Gibraltar till the 17th May. The calms and light winds that afterwards attended him on the ocean, prevented the arrival of his fleet at the mouth of the river Delaware before the 7th July. In consequence of these unforeseen obstacles, the French admiral arrived too late, for the English army had evacuated Phila-

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their reports in favour of *pointed* conductors, and their being consequently generally employed for the protection of the powder magazines throughout the country.

[*] —— Behold at last the dirty tricks of Wilson are made manifest to the world: show this to our friend, (Dr. Franklin,) and prevail upon him to make it more generally known for the public benefit. But what is more amusing than all is, as I am assured, that one of the conductors at the queen's palace at Buckingham house, has been stricken down by lightning, since the king has seen the experiments of Wilson! Now that the quackery and deception of this rascal are exploded and notorious, they are seeking to escape the derision which they have merited, by saying that Wilson ought to be punished for having imposed upon and deceived the king, notwithstanding he was sustained like a genuine don Quixotte, in his attacks on the philosophical American; as they uphold their military heroes who attack his country, (and who will probably meet a similar fate,) and who are likely to meet a similar recompense from a duped nation.

[†] Report on Lightning Conductors for the powder magazines at Purfleet, drawn up by Dr. Franklin, August 21, 1772.

[*] The foregoing circumstances, united with the then state of the British nation, gave rise to the following epigram, which possesses more than a common share of *point*.

"While you, great GEORGE! for safety hunt,
And sharp conductors change for blunt,
  The empire's out of joint.
FRANKLIN a wiser course pursues;
And all your thunder fearless views,
  By sticking to—*the point*."

delphia after their defeat at Monmouth, and the fleet was then riding in perfect safety at Sandy Hook.

But fleets and armies were not the only support to the American cause, derived from the alliance with France, through the influence of Dr. Franklin; for military stores and large sums of money were placed at his disposal by the French government, in consequence of his representations and pressing solicitations. These timely succours were of infinite use, and greatly assisted America in sustaining her independence. By means of the pecuniary advances, which were chiefly gifts, Dr. Franklin was enabled for several years to honour bills drawn from America to a large amount, and to pay the interest of a loan the congress had effected, on the express stipulation of the interest being paid in cash, in Europe. He also paid the salaries of all the American ministers or agents employed in Europe, and gave considerable assistance to the American prisoners in England, and to those who escaped or were exchanged, to aid their return to the United States.

In June, 1778, Dr. Franklin's old friend, Mr. Hutton, secretary to the Moravian society, applied to him for a protection against American cruisers, for a vessel the society annually dispatched to their missionaries on the coast of Labrador: this Dr. Franklin, with his usual humanity, readily acquiesced in; and immediately forwarded to Mr. Hutton a pass, which he afterwards annually renewed during the war: the present was accompanied by the following note:—

To all captains and commanders of vessels of war, privateers and letters of marque, belonging to the United States of America.

Gentlemen,—The religious society commonly called the Moravian Brethren, having established a mission on the coast of Labrador, for the conversion of the savages there to the Christian religion, which has already had very good effects in turning them from their ancient practices of surprising, plundering, and murdering such white people, Americans and Europeans, as, for the purposes of trade or fishery, happened to come on that coast; and persuading them to lead a life of honest industry, and to treat strangers with humanity and kindness: and it being necessary for the support of this useful mission, that a small vessel should go thither every year to furnish supplies and necessaries for the missionaries and their converts; which vessel for the present year is a   of about seventy-five tons, called the   , whereof is master captain

This is to request you, that if the said vessel should happen to fall into your hands, you would not suffer her to be plundered, or hindered in her voyage, but on the contrary afford her any assistance she may stand in need of. Wherein I am confident your conduct will be approved by the congress and your owners.

Given at Passy, near Paris, this   day of
B. FRANKLIN.
(*Seal.*) *Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America, at the court of France.*

P. S. The same request is respectfully made to the commanders of armed vessels belonging to France and Spain, friends of the said United States. B. FRANKLIN.

"*To Mr. Hutton, London.*

"My dear old friend has here the paper he desired.—We have had a marble monument made at Paris for the brave general Montgomery, which is gone to America. If it should fall into the hands of any of your cruisers, I expect you will exert yourself to get it restored to us, because I know the generosity of your temper, which likes to do handsome things, as well as to make returns. You see we are unwilling to *rob the hospital*, we hope your people will be found as averse to *pillaging the dead*. Adieu. Yours,

"B. FRANKLIN.

"Passy, June 23, 1778."

With the same wonted philanthropy, and with a view to the advancement of science, natural history, and navigation, Dr. Franklin, shortly after, as minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America, issued a protection for captain Cooke, his vessel and people, against all American cruisers.

LETTER RESPECTING CAPTAIN COOK.

To all captains and commanders of armed ships, acting by commission from the congress of the United States of America, now in war with Great Britain.

Gentlemen,—A ship having been fitted out from England, before the commencement of this war, to make discoveries of new countries in unknown seas, under the conduct of that most celebrated navigator, captain Cook,—an undertaking truly laudable in itself, as the increase of geographical knowledge facilitates the communication between distant nations, in the exchange of useful products and manufactures, and the extension of arts, whereby the common enjoyments of human life are multiplied and augmented, and science of other kinds increased, to the benefit of mankind in general.—This is therefore most earnestly to recommend to every one of you, that in case the said ship, which is now expected to be soon in the European seas on her return, should happen to fall into your hands, you would not consider her as an enemy, nor suffer any plunder to be made of the effects contained in her, nor obstruct her immediate return to England, by detaining her or sending her into any other part of Europe or America, but that you would treat the said captain Cook and his people with all civility and kindness, affording them, as common friends to mankind, all the assistance in your power, which they may happen to stand in need of. In so doing, you will not only gratify the generosity of your own dispositions, but there is no doubt of your obtaining the approbation of the congress, and of your own American owners.

I have the honour to be, &c.
B. FRANKLIN,
Minister plenipotentiary from the congress of the United States to the court of France.
At Passy, near Paris,
this 10th day of March, 1779.

Dr. Kippis, a distinguished literary character, who published a Biographical Dictionary, had asserted, in his Life of captain Cooke, upon what he deemed authority, that Dr. Franklin's orders, as above, were instantly reversed, and that it was directed by congress, to seize captain Cooke, if an opportunity of doing it occurred: but Dr. Kippis finding that the information he had published was false, addressed a letter to the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, in September, 1795, and therein publicly acknowledged his mistake. Indeed the magnanimous proceeding of Dr. Franklin in writing the passport was so well known in England, and the sentiments it manifested so much approved by the British government itself, that, when Cooke's Voyage was printed, the admiralty board sent a copy of the work, in three volumes quarto, to Dr. Franklin, accompanied with the elegant collection of plates, and a very polite letter from lord Howe, signifying, that the present was made with the king's express approbation: and the Royal Society having, in honour of that illustrious navigator, one of their members, struck some gold medals, to be distributed among his friends and the friends of his voyage; one of these medals was also sent to Dr. Franklin, by order of the society, together with a letter from their president, sir Joseph Banks, expressing likewise, that it was sent with the approbation of the king.

Another opportunity occurred some time after, for Dr. Franklin to give an additional proof of his benevolence; in granting a similar protection to a vessel sent with provisions and clothing, as a charitable donation from the citizens of Dublin, to certain sufferers in the West Indies.

In short, Dr. Franklin, through life, let no opportunity escape him, either in a public or private situation, in which, by any act of his, he could be useful to his fellow creatures, whether friends or enemies.

No one who did not witness it, can conceive how much his reputation as a philosopher, and his situation as American minister, subjected him to the applications of projectors, speculators, and adventurers of all descriptions. The following memorandums of only one day's annoyance of this nature, taken from a little journal he kept, may tend to give some idea of it.

"Passy, Sunday, Dec. 13, 1778, A. M.

"A man came to tell me he had invented a machine, which would go of itself, without the help of a spring, weight, air, water, or any of the elements, or the labour of man or beast; and with force sufficient to work four machines for cutting tobacco; that he had experienced it; would show it me if I would come to his house, and would sell the secret of it for two hundred louis. I doubted it, but promised to go to him in order to see it.

"A Mons. Coder came with a proposition in writing, to levy 600 men, to be employed in landing on the coast of England and Scotland, to burn and ransack towns and villages, in order to put a stop to the English proceedings in that way in America. I thanked him, and told him I could not approve it, nor had I any money at command for such purposes; moreover that it would not be permitted by the government here.

"A man came with a request that I would patronize and recommend to government, an invention he had, whereby a hussar might so conceal his arms and habiliments, with provision for twenty-four hours, as to appear a common traveller; by which means a considerable body might be admitted into a town, one at a time, unsuspected, and afterwards assembling, surprise it. I told him I was not a military man, of course no judge of such matters, and advised him to apply to the *Bureau de la guerre*. He said he had no friends, and so could procure no attention.—The number of wild schemes proposed to me is so great, and they have heretofore taken so much of my time, that I begin to reject all, though possibly *some* of them may be worth notice.

"Received a parcel from an unknown philosopher,* who submits to my consideration a memoir on the subject of *elementary fire*, containing experiments in a dark chamber. It seems to be well written, and is in English, with a little tincture of French idiom. I wish to see the experiments, without which I cannot well judge of it."

About the commencement of the year 1781, Dr. Franklin, from his age, infirmities, and the confinement of business, began to be weary of his situation as minister at the court of France, and requested leave to retire; as will appear by the following extract from one of his public dispatches to the president of congress.

"*To the President of Congress.*

"Passy, March 12, 1781.

"Sir,—I had the honour of receiving, on the 13th of last month, your excellency's letter of the first of January, together with the instructions of November 28th and December 27th, a copy of those to colonel Laurens, and the letter to the king. I immediately drew up a memorial, enforcing as strongly as I could, the request contained in that letter, and directed by the instructions, and delivered the same with the letter, which were both well received; but the ministry being extremely occupied with other weighty affairs, and I obtaining for some time only general answers, that something would be done for us, &c. and Mr. Laurens not arriving, I wrote again, and pressed strongly for a decision on the subject, that I might be able to write explicitly by this opportunity, what aids the congress were or were not to expect, the regulation of their operations for the campaign depending on the information I should be enabled to give. Upon this I received a note appointing Saturday last for a meeting with the minister, which I attended punctually. He assured me of the king's good will to the United States; remarking, however, that being on the spot, I must be sensible of the great expense France was actually engaged in, and the difficulty of providing for it, which rendered the lending us twenty-five millions at present impracticable, but he informed me that the letter from the congress, and my memorial, had been under his majesty's consideration, and observed, as to loans in general, that the sum we wanted to borrow in Europe was large, and that the depreciation of our paper, hurt our paper on this side of the water, adding that the king could not possibly favour a loan for us in his dominions, because it would interfere with, and be a prejudice to those he was under the necessity of obtaining himself to support the war; but in order to justice, states a signal proof of his friendship, his majesty had resolved to grant them the sum of six millions, not as a loan, but as a free gift; this sum, the minister informed me, was exclusive of the three millions which he had before obtained for me, to pay the congress drafts, for interest, &c. expected in the current year. He added, that as it was understood the clothing, &c. with which our army had been heretofore supplied from France, was often of bad quality, and dear, the ministers themselves would take care of the purchase of such articles as should be immediately wanted, and send them over, and it was desired of me to look over the great invoice that had been sent hither last year, and mark out those articles; that as to the money remaining after such purchases, it was to be drawn for by general Washington, upon M. d'Harvelay, *garde du tresor royal*, and the bills would be duly honoured, but it was desired that they might be drawn gradually, as the money should be wanted, and as much time given for the payment, after sight, as could be conveniently, that the payment might be the more easy. I assured the minister, that the congress would be very sensible of this token of his majesty's continued goodness towards the United States, but remarked, that it was not the usage with us for the general to draw, and proposed that it might be our treasurer who should draw the bills for the remainder, but was told that it was his majesty's order. And I afterwards understood from the secretary of the council, that as the sum was intended for the supply of the army, and could not be so large as we had demanded for general occasions, it was thought best to put it in the general's hands, that it might not get into those of the different boards or committees, who might think themselves under the necessity of diverting it to other purposes. There was no room to dispute on this point, every donor having the right of qualifying his gifts with such terms as he thinks proper. I took with me the invoice, and having examined it, I returned it immediately with a letter, of which a copy is enclosed, and I suppose its contents will be followed, unless colonel Laurens, on his arrival, should make any changes. I hope he and colonel Palfrey are safe, though as yet not heard of.

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* Afterwards discovered to be *Marat*, of future notorious memory.

"After the discourse relating to the aid was ended, the minister proceeded to inform me, that the courts of Petersburg and Vienna had offered their mediation, that the king had answered it would to him personally be agreeable, but that he could not yet accept it, because he had allies whose concurrence was necessary. And that his majesty desired that I would acquaint the congress with this offer and answer, and urge their sending such instructions as they may think proper to their plenipotentiary, it being not doubted that they would readily accept the proposed mediation, from their own sense of its being both useful and necessary. I mentioned that I did suppose Mr. Adams was already furnished with instructions relating to any treaty of peace that might be proposed.

"I must now beg leave to say something relating to myself, a subject with which I have not often troubled the congress. I have passed my seventy-fifth year, and I find that the long and severe fit of the gout which I had the last winter, has shaken me exceedingly, and I am yet far from having recovered the bodily strength I before enjoyed. I do not know that my mental faculties are impaired, perhaps I shall be the last to discover that; but I am sensible of great diminution in my activity, a quality I think particularly necessary in your minister for this court. I am afraid, therefore, that your affairs, may some time or other suffer by my deficiency. I find also, that the business is too heavy for me and too confining. The constant attendance at home which is necessary for receiving and accepting your bills of exchange, (a matter foreign to my ministerial functions) to answer letters and perform other parts of my employment, prevents my taking the air and exercise, which my annual journies formerly used to afford me, and which contributed much to the preservation of my health: there are many other little personal attentions which the infirmities of age render necessary to an old man's comfort, even in some degree to the continuance of his existence, and with which business often interferes. I have been engaged in public affairs, and enjoyed public confidence in some shape or other, during the long term of fifty years, an honour sufficient to satisfy any reasonable ambition, and I have no other left but that of repose, which I hope the congress will grant me, by sending some person to supply my place.

"At the same time I beg they may be assured, that it is not any the least doubt of their success in the glorious cause, nor any disgust received in their service, that induces me to decline it, but purely and simply the reasons abovementioned. And as I cannot at present undergo the fatigues of a sea voyage (the last having been almost too much for me) and would not again expose myself to the hazard of capture and imprisonment in this time of war, I purpose to remain here at least till the peace, perhaps it may be for the remainder of my life; and if any knowledge or experience I have acquired here, may be thought of use to my successor, I shall freely communicate it, and assist him with any influence I may be supposed to have, or counsel that may be desired of me.

I have one request more to make, which if I have served the congress to their satisfaction, I hope they will not refuse me. It is that they will take under their protection my grandson, William Temple Franklin: I have educated him from his infancy, and I brought him over with an intention of placing him where he might be qualified for the profession of the law: but the constant occasion I had for his service as a private secretary during the time of the commissioners, and more extensively since their departure, has induced me to keep him always with me, and indeed being continually disappointed of the secretary, congress had at different times intended me, it would have been impossible for me, without this young gentleman's assistance, to have gone through the business incumbent on me. He has thereby lost so much of the time necessary for law studies, that I think it rather advisable for him to continue, if it may be, in the line of public foreign affairs, for which he seems qualified by a sagacity and judgment above his years. Great diligence and activity, exact probity, a genteel address, a facility in speaking well the French tongue, and all the knowledge of business to be obtained by a four years' constant employment, in the secretary's office, where he may be said to have served a kind of apprenticeship. After all the allowance I am capable of making for the partiality of a parent to his offspring, I cannot but think he may in time make a very able foreign minister for the congress, in whose service his fidelity may be relied on. But I do not at present propose him as such; for though he is now of age, a few years more of experience will not be amiss. In the mean time, if they should think fit to employ him as a secretary, to their minister at any European court, I am persuaded they will have reason to be satisfied with his conduct, and I shall be thankful for his appointment as a favour to me.

"My accounts have been long ready for the examination of some persons to be appointed for that purpose, Mr. Johnson having declined it, and Mr. Dana residing at present at Paris, I requested him to undertake it, and to examine at the same time, those of Mr. Deane; but he also declines it, as being unacquainted with accounts.

"If no fresh appointment has been made by congress, I think of desiring Mr. Palfrey to perform that service, when he arrives, which I hope will be approved, for I am uneasy at the delay. B. FRANKLIN."

"August 24, 1781.

——— "The congress have done me the honour to refuse accepting my resignation, and insist on my continuing in their service till the peace. I must therefore buckle again to the business, and thank God that my health and spirits are of late improved. I fancy it may have been a *double mortification to those enemies you have mentioned* to me, that I should ask as a favour what they hoped to vex me by taking from me; and that I should nevertheless be continued. But these sort of considerations should never influence our conduct. We ought always to do what appears best to be done, without much regarding what others may think of it. I call this continuance an honour, and I really esteem it to be greater than my first appointment, when I consider that all the interest of my enemies, united with my own request, were not sufficient to prevent it."

In consequence of this decision of the congress, Dr. Franklin thought it his duty to continue in his situation, and did so for many years after, to the great advantage of his country.

A friend of Dr. Franklin's having written to him to urge his continuance as minister, and making him some flattering compliments on the occasion, the doctor thus replied:

——— "Your comparison of the *key-stone of an arch* is very pretty, tending to make me content with my situation. But I suppose you have heard our story of the *harrow:* if not, here it is. A farmer in our country sent two of his servants to borrow one of a neighbour, ordering them to bring it between them on their shoulders. When they came to look at it, one of them who had much wit, said, What could our master mean by sending only two men to bring this harrow? no two men upon earth are strong enough to carry it. Poh! said the other, who was vain of his strength, what do you talk of two men, one man may carry it; help it upon my shoulders and you shall see. As he proceeded with it, the wag kept exclaiming, Zounds! how strong you are! I could not have thought it! Why, you are a Samson! There is not such another man in America. What amazing strength God has given you! But you will kill yourself! Pray put it down and rest a little, or let me bear a part of the weight. No, no, said he, being more encouraged by the compliments, than oppressed by the burden; you shall see I can carry it quite home. And so he did. In this particular, I am afraid my part of the imitation will fall short of the original."

This letter to congress had. however other incentives, which do not appear, but which were very well known in congress, and particularly to its sagacious and prudent secretary; it is not necessary to go into details, but some brief notice is due to this great man's memory. There existed some jealousy among those who were occasionally associated with him; even the notice bestowed on him in his 72d year, by the accomplished ladies of France provoked envy; one of his colleagues wrote that they appeared only like satellites revolving round the planet Franklin. Arthur Lee, one of his early associates in the commission to France, had been destined for the mission to Madrid, and had made a private journey to Spain, where he had intercourse with the prime minister, after which he returned to Paris. The cautious policy of the court of Versailles had sought to limit its transactions to one only of the commissioners; and when they determined to send M. Gerard to America, enjoined secrecy in Dr. Franklin; and it was not until Gerard had failed, that Arthur Lee became acquainted with it. This produced anger in Mr. Lee, and it was out of Franklin's power to explain at the time; but it produced an ill will, which rendered their separation necessary. John Adams had by undertaking to pursue a course of policy, carrying a high tone to the count de Vergennes, led the latter to decline all correspondence with Mr. Adams, and this brought Dr. Franklin into a state of discontent with that gentleman, the consequences of which had nearly affected the interest of America, but which, though eventually counteracted, produced a hostility to the doctor that endured during his life. In the distribution of the precarious and scanty funds he was as economical as his own Poor Richard; and even in those days, and among American diplomatists, the unmanly prejudices of northern and southern were uttered in argument against the venerable Franklin, at the very moment that the most eventful diplomacy was principally dependant on his wisdom and discretion. The following letter of the doctor, will afford a sufficient light, and the spirit of it an admirable model of the man's fine faculties.

Dr. Franklin to R. Izard.

"Passy, Jan. 29, 1778.

"Dear Sir,—I received yours last evening. Present circumstances, which I will explain to you when I have the honour of seeing you, prevent my giving it a full answer now. The reasons you offer had before been all under consideration. But I must submit to remain some days under the opinion you appear to have formed, not only of my poor understanding in the general interests of America, bu of my defects in sincerity, politeness, and attention to your instructions. These offences, I flatter myself, admit of fair excuses, or rather will be found not to have existed. You mention that you feel yourself hurt. Permit me to offer a maxim which has through life been of use to me, and may be so to you, in preventing such imaginary hurts; it is—'always to suppose one's friends may be right, till one finds them wrong, rather than to suppose them wrong till one finds them right.' You have heard and imagined all that can be said or supposed on one side of the question, not on the other. I am, nevertheless, with sincere esteem, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

These and similar transactions were mixed up in the perplexities of his station, and congress, through private complaints to individual members, was frequently vexed by disputes founded only in the vanity or envy, sometimes in the ambition, and not a little in the avarice of individuals, who frequently obtruded their jaundiced suggestions on the congress, which however would not yield to intrigues by recalling Franklin.

The doctor had, however, perceived the necessity of terminating this ungracious discord; the prime minister of Louis XVI. was sometimes surprized by letters from individuals of the American delegation, of which others were found to be wholly unacquainted, and who, upon comparison of facts, appeared not to agree with others. M. de Vergennes was at length under the necessity of declining further correspondence with some; and congress coming to a knowledge of the injury to which the public service was exposed, conferred the duties of minister extraordinary on Dr. Franklin, sent Mr. Adams to the Hague; and recalled Mr. Arthur Lee, and Mr. R. Izard.

A considerable sensation was occasioned in America and Europe, by the treachery of the American general, Arnold. As accounts then and since have greatly differed with respect to some of the causes and circumstances relative to it, the following extracts from letters, written (shortly after the occurrence,) to Dr. Franklin, from two of his correspondents in America, may, perhaps, elucidate that extraordinary event.

"*Newport, Rhode Island, dated Oct.* 10, 1780.

"By this ship you will receive an account of the treason and apostacy of one of our greatest generals, (who went over from us to the enemy 25th September last,) and the happy detection of it before the treason was carried into execution. General Arnold has buried all his military glory, and sent his name down in history execrated with contempt and infamy. He will be despised not only by us in the United States, but by all the nations of Europe, and in all future ages.—There is reason to believe, that he meditated with the reduction of West Point on the 27th September, the betraying, at the same time, of general Washington and the minister of France, into the hands of the enemy; for his excellency, the chevalier de la Luzerne, told me, that passing through West Point on his way hither on the 24th, the day before the detection, general Arnold importuned him even to indecency to tarry and rest there four or five days. And Arnold also knew that general Washington would meet there about the same time, on his return from an interview with the French officers at Hartford General Arnold is a loss. But America is so fertile in patriots, that we can afford to lose a distinguished patriot or two every year without any essential injury to the glorious cause of *liberty* and *independence.* The greatest injury he can do us will be in information. However, the present state of the American army is now so good, as that the most thorough knowledge of it will rather do us benefit than an injury. The seasonable execution of major Andre (the seducer) adjutant-general of the British army, on the 2d instant, will probably deter such adventurers for the future.

"Congress, and the assemblies through the states, continue firm and unshaken; and they have a cordial support in the union of the main body of the people at large, notwithstanding the efforts of *tories* and governmental connexions intermixed in all parts, whose Sysiphean labours only pull ruin upon themselves.

"The storm still blows heavy. But our ship will ride it through. With joy we look forward, and with undoubting assurance anticipate the sweets and the final triumph of American liberty."

"*Philadelphia, dated* 12*th Oct.* 1780.

"The late providential discovery of *Arnold's plot*, which appears to have been for a considerable time in agitation, has induced a belief that Rodney had something further in view than merely counteracting the design of the comte de Guichen.

"In a controversy and revolution such as this, where former friendships and intimacies subsisted between the contending parties, and where men of upright intentions took different sides, and men of all characters were engaged in the contest, it would not have been strange or uncommon if conspiracies had been formed; but to the honour of the American army, ARNOLD is the first, and it is believed the only American officer, who has, during this war, entered into a conspiracy to betray his country. You know the character of the man; he was brave but avaricious, fond of parade, and not very scrupulous about the means of acquiring money to defray the expenses of it. He had married a young woman who had been distinguished by general Howe's *Meschianzi knights*, and her father was not remarkable for his attachment to the American cause. The expensive manner in which Arnold lived in Philadelphia, reduced his finances. and the accounts he exhibited against the public, underwent a scrutiny at the board of treasury, not much to the advantage of his *honour* and *honesty*; which joined to his disappointment in the case of the *Active*, and the result of the court martial instituted on the complaint of the council of Pennsylvania, soured his temper, and rendered him a fit object for Clinton's views. By letters found among his private papers, it appears that captain Andre, one of sir H. Clinton's aids, had commenced a correspondence with Mrs. Arnold in 1779, under pretence of supplying her with millinery; whether it was continued till it was ripened into the plot of betraying West Point into the hands of the enemy, I will not undertake to say; but that the scheme had been some time in agitation, appears evidently from this, that while the enemy were making preparations for executing their purpose, and giving out that their design was against Virginia, the same reports were circulated in lord Cornwallis's camp in South Carolina, and measures were taken to make us believe he meant to second the expedition. by marching through North Carolina, and forming a junction with sir Henry on his arrival in Virginia. At this time Rodney arrived at New York, and it is conjectured the design was, as soon as they had gained possession of West Point, and cut off the communication between the western and southern states, to turn their whole force against the French fleet at Rhode Island. This, it is true, is but conjecture; but it must be confessed the object was great, and had Rodney succeeded, he would have finished the year with as much *eclat* as he began it. The providential discovery of the plot blasted the schemes of our enemies."

Letter from Dr. Franklin to the marquis de la Fayette, then serving in America, mentioning Arnold's treason, and hinting at the *price* or *reward* he received from the British government for his treachery.

"*To the Marquis de la Fayette.*

"PASSY, May, 14, 1781.

"DEAR SIR,—You are a very good correspondent, which I do not deserve, as I am a bad one. The truth is, I have too much business upon my hands, a great deal of it foreign to my function as a minister, which interferes with my writing regularly to my friends. But I am nevertheless extremely sensible of your kindness in sending me such frequent and full intelligence of the state of affairs on your side the water, and in letting me see by your letters, that your health continues, as well as your zeal for our cause and country.

"I hope that by this time the ship which has the honour of bearing your name, is safely arrived. She carries clothing for near twenty thousand men, with arms, ammunition, &c. which will supply some of your wants, and colonel Laurens will bring a considerable addition, if Providence favours his passage. You will receive from him the particulars, which makes my writing more fully by him unnecessary.

"Your friends have heard of your being gone against the traitor *Arnold*, and are anxious to hear of your success, and that you have brought him to punishment. Inclosed is a copy of a letter from his agent in England,*

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* *Copy of a letter from Mr. Meyrick, army agent in London, to General Arnold.*

"PARLIAMENT STREET, 30th Jan. 1781

"SIR,—I am honoured with your several letters, inclosing bills on Harley and Drummond to the amount of five thousand pounds, the receipt of which I have regularly by packet acknowledged On the day they were paid I invested the amount in the fund you mentioned, and it was a very favourable time. I flatter myself it will meet your approbation, also the mode in which it was done.

"As it is possible some directions might come from you for disposing of the money in some other mode, I thought it might not be so advantageous to lock it up captured by one of our cruisers, and by which the price or reward he received for his treachery may be guessed at. Judas sold only one man, Arnold three millions. Judas got for his one man, thirty pieces of silver, Arnold not a halfpenny a head. A miserable bargain! especially when one considers the quantity of infamy he has acquired to himself, and entailed on his family.

"The English are in a fair way of gaining still more enemies: they play a desperate game. Fortune may favour them, as it sometimes does a drunken dicer; but by their tyranny in the east, they have at length roused the powers there against them; and I do not know that they have in the west a single friend. If they lose their India commerce, (which is one of their present great supports,) and one battle at sea, their credit is gone, and their power follows. Thus empires by pride, folly, and extravagance, ruin themselves like individuals. M. La Mothe Piquet has snatched from between their teeth, a good deal of their West India prey, having taken twenty-two sail of their homeward-bound prizes. One of our American privateers has taken two more, and brought them into Brest, and two were burnt; there were thirty-four in company, with two men of war of the line and two frigates, who saved themselves by flight, but we do not hear of their being yet got in.

"I think it was a wise measure to send colonel Laurens here, who could speak knowingly of the state of the army. It has been attended with all the success that perhaps could reasonably be expected; though not with all that was wished. He has fully justified your character of him, and returns thoroughly possessed of my esteem; but that cannot and ought not to please him so much as a little more money would have done for his beloved army. This court continues firm and steady in its friendship, and does every thing it can for us. Can we not do a little more for ourselves? My successor (for I have desired the congress to send me one) will find it in the best disposition towards us, and I hope he will take care to cultivate that disposition. You, who know the leading people of both countries, can perhaps judge better than any member of congress of a person suitable for this station. I wish you may be in the way to give your advice, when the matter is agitated in that assembly. I have been long tired of the trade of minister, and wished for a little repose before I went to sleep for good and all. I thought I might have held out till the peace; but as that seems at a greater distance than the end of my days, I grow impatient. I would not, however, quit the service of the public, if I did not sincerely think that it would be easy for the congress, with your counsel, to find a fitter man. God bless you, and crown all your labours with success.

"With the highest regard and most sincere affection, I am, dear sir, &c. &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Notwithstanding Dr. Franklin's various and important occupations, he occasionally amused himself in composing and printing, by means of a small set of types, and a press he had in his house, several of his light essays, *bagatelles*, or *jeux d'esprit*, written chiefly for the amusement of his intimate friends; among these were the annexed; printed on a half sheet of coarse paper, so as to imitate, as much as possible, a portion of a Boston newspaper.

The repeated accounts received from America of the horrible and cruel manner in which the Indian allies of great Britain prosecuted the war against the peaceable inhabitants of the United States; murdering defenceless

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totally, as it might be a long while before I could receive a power of attorney from you to transfer, had I put it in your name; and meantime the dividend could not be received for your use. The mode I have adopted has been used in like cases, and can be instantly altered to any you direct, on your favouring me with a letter.

"The account is as follows, viz.

"Bought by Samuel and William Scholey, stockbrokers for major-general Arnold, 7000*l.* stock, in new 4 per cents. a. 71 1-4, as follows:

In name of major-general Benedict Arnold,		Paid.
100*l.*	stock a. 71 1-4 new 4 per cent consols.	£4,987 10*s* 0*d*
6,900*l.*	stock a. 71 1-4 in name of J. Meyrick, esq.	
7,000*l*		
	Commission paid to brokers	8 15 0
	Letter of attorney to receive dividends	1 6
		£4,996 6 6

"There then remains of the 5000*l.*, three pounds, thirteen shillings and sixpence.

"Thus, by this method, if I receive any instructions from you for employing your money in a different manner. I can sell out the 6900*l.* and dispose of your money agreeable to your directions before this letter reaches you; and if it is your wish that it should remain in the funds, it can be placed under your name, by my transferring the 6900*l* and joining it to your 100*l.* The reason of my purchasing the latter sum in your name was, that you might have an account open. Also, the power of attorney now inclosed will enable me to receive the dividends on the whole 7000*l* stock, after I have made the transfer, should you choose I should do so. I hope I have made myself properly understood, and can assure you I have, to the best of my abilities, acted for you as myself. I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient, and most humble servant,

"Major-general Arnold. JAMES MEYRICK."

N. B In addition to this supposed purchase money of the general himself, the following pensions were afterwards granted to his family. By warrant dated July 20, 1783.

To Edward Shippen
James Robertson
George and
Sophia Matilda ......ARNOLD, 400*l.*

By warrant dated 12th June, 1805.
To Sophia Matilda Arnold, ... 100*l.*

farmers, with their wives and children, and carrying off their scalps, for the reward promised in proportion to the number, (said already to have amounted to *two thousand*), was the foundation of a project which he formed for awakening the feelings of humanity to a due sense of the barbarity which one of the cabinet ministers had avowed in the house of lords, as *employing the means which Providence placed in their hands*; the following letter shows the nature of the facts upon which he projected a series of *newspapers*, or of papers so printed as to imitate a paper at that time printed in Boston called the *Boston Independent Chronicle.*

"*To Mr. Hutton.*

"Passy, 7th July, 1782.

"My dear old Friend,—A letter written by you to M. Bertin, *ministre d'etat*, containing an account of the abominable murders committed by some of the frontier people on the poor Moravian Indians, has given me infinite pain and vexation. The dispensations of Providence in this world puzzle my weak reason; I cannot comprehend why cruel men should have been permitted thus to destroy their fellow creatures. Some of the Indians may be supposed to have committed sins, but one cannot think the little children had committed any worthy of death. Why has a single man in England, who happens to love blood and to hate Americans, been permitted to gratify that bad temper, by hiring German murderers, and joining them with his own, to destroy in a continued course of bloody years, near one hundred thousand human creatures, many of them possessed of useful talents, virtues, and abilities, to which he has no pretension! It is he who has furnished the savages with hatchets and scalping knives, and engages them to fall upon defenceles farmers, and murder them with their wives and children, paying for their scalps, of which an account kept in America, already amounts as I have heard to near *two thousand.* Perhaps the people of the frontiers, exasperated by the cruelties of the Indians, have been induced to kill all Indians that fall into their hands without distinction; so that even these horrid murders of our poor Moravians may be laid to his charge. And yet this man lives, enjoys all the good things this world can afford, and is surrounded by flatterers who keep even his conscience quiet by telling him he is the best of princes! I wonder at this, but I cannot therefore part with the comfortable belief of a divine Providence: and the more I see the impossibility from the extent and number of his crimes, of giving equivalent punishment to a wicked man in this life, the more I am convinced of a future state, in which all that here appears to be wrong shall be set right, all that is crooked made straight. In this faith let you and I, my friend, comfort our selves; it is the only comfort, in the present dark scene of things that is allowed us.

"I shall not fail to write to the government of America, urging that effectual care may be taken to protect and save the remainder of those unhappy people. Since writing the above I have received a Philadelphia paper, containing some account of the same horrid transaction, a little different, and some circumstances alleged as excuses or palliations, but extremely weak and insufficient. I send it to you enveloped. B. FRANKLIN."

The other article is a *jeu d'esprit* of a gayer turn, originating from a memorial of the British ambassador, sir Joseph Yorke, reclaiming the king's ships, the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, prizes carried into Holland by the American squadron under commodore Jones; whom sir Joseph designated, "the *pirate* Paul Jones of Scotland; a rebel subject, and a criminal of the state."

The deception intended by this supposed "*Supplement*," (which was very accurately imitated with respect to printing, paper, the insertion of advertisements, &c.) was, that by transmitting it to England, it might actually be taken for what it purported to be, and the two prominent articles contained in it consequently, copied into the English papers, as genuine intelligence from America.

The end proposed thereby, was to shame the British government. It is uncertain whether this artifice succeeded as well as a similar one of Dr. Franklin's, the "*Prussian Edict*," did, as related in his Private Correspondence.

Dr. Franklin had a great opinion of the effects to be produced by suitable writings in the public prints, as will appear from the following letter to Dr. Price.

"Passy, June 13, 1782.

* * * * * *

——"I congratulate you on the late revolution in your public affairs. Much good may arise from it, though possibly not all that good men, and even the new ministers themselves, may have wished or expected. The change, however, in the sentiments of the nation, in which I see evident effects of your writings, with those of our deceased friend Mr. Burgh, and others of our valuable club, should encourage you to proceed. The ancient Roman and Greek orators could only speak to the number of citizens capable of being assembled within the reach of their voice; their writings had little effect, because the bulk of the people could not read. Now by the press we can speak to nations; and good books, and well-written pamphlets, have great and general influence. The facility with which the same truths may be repeatedly enforced by placing them in different lights, in *newspapers* which are every where read, gives a great chance of establishing them. And we now find, that it is not only right to strike while the iron is hot, but that it is very practicable to heat it by continual striking."

In the month of June, 1782, Mr. Jones afterwards sir William Jones, so eminently distinguished for his virtues, genius, and learning, came to Paris, accompanied by the late Mr. Paradise, with the intention of proceeding thence to America. These gentlemen had been long connected by a most intimate friendship, and the object of this journey is stated by lord Teignmouth (in his life of the former) to have been "*professional*, to procure the restitution of a very large estate of a client and friend, which had been attached by an order of the States, who had threatened the confiscation of the property, unless the owner appeared in person to claim it." His lordship adds, " This object is mentioned by Mr. Jones in his correspondence, and his own evidence will be conclusive against some *surmises* and *insinuations*, which, were propagated respecting the motives of his intended journey. The irresolution of his friend, increased by indisposition, prevented the execution of the plan, and Mr. Jones, after having procured a passport from Franklin, the American minister at the court of France, returned to England through Normandy and Holland." Of sir William Jones's account of his motives for going to America, as given by him to his friends in *England*, the editor has no knowledge; but at *Passy*, where he and Mr. Paradise frequently partook of the hospitalities and conversation of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jones assigned no other motive for his intended voyage, than that of accompanying his friend, and gratifying his curiosity by seeing a country for whose rights he had been a decided advocate. Mr. Paradise had never been the client of Mr. Jones, notwithstanding their friendship, he having never been engaged in any law-suit in England, nor had he the smallest need of a lawyer in America, where nothing more was required than his presence, to avoid the penalty to which absent proprietors residing in a country at that time hostile, were made liable, unless they came to the United States within a limited time; a penalty which Mr. Paradise did in fact avoid, without any lawyer, and even without going to America, until nearly five years after the war had terminated. It could not, therefore, have been a professional object which actuated sir William Jones in this undertaking; and in fact, by some expressions which escaped from him in a conversation with Mr. Jay (one of the American plenipotentiaries), the latter strongly suspected, that the real purpose of this intended visit to the United States, was to endeavour to produce a disposition in persons of influence *there*, to accept a reconciliation with Great Britain, on terms more favourable, or less humiliating, than those of *absolute independency;* and this suspicion soon after received a strong confirmation in the mind of Mr. Jay, upon his accidentally noticing in a printed account of the then *recent* proceedings of the "*society for constitutional information*," which had been incautiously put into his hands by Mr. Jones, a communication made by the latter to this society, of his intention to leave England speedily on a *mission* greatly connected with the interests and welfare of his country. As the editor has not been able to procure this publication, he cannot pretend to give any thing more than the import of the *words* of this communication, which however made so strong an impression upon Mr. Jay, that he took the first opportunity of writing to his friends in congress, &c. to put them on their guard against any attempts from Mr. Jones for the purpose beforementioned. Probably this communication gave rise to the "*surmises* and *insinuations*" mentioned by lord Teignmouth. In fact, Mr. Paradise was not in any want of a lawyer, and especially an *English* lawyer; nor was his estate in Virginia of the magnitude supposed by lord Teignmouth, nor his finances in such a state as to enable him to defray the expenses of the voyage intended by Mr. Jones, and much less to afford him a compensation for leaving his then increasing professional business in England. But whatever may have been Mr. Jones's object in going to America, the failure of it, by Mr Paradise's timidity and unwillingness to proceed further, after they had reached Nantes, was so displeasing to Mr. Jones, that it *there* produced a separation, and final termination of all intercourse between these gentlemen during the remainder of their lives.

While at Paris, Mr. Jones put into the hands of Dr. Franklin the following composition, entitled, A FRAGMENT OF POLYBIUS, which certainly was well calculated to promote that sort of reconciliation which is supposed to have been the *real* object of his intended voyage to the United States, and which, from its intrinsic merits, as well as the celebrity of the author, will, it is presumed, be acceptable to the readers of these memoirs. If to be considered as a diplomatic document, it is certainly of a very superior cast.—The allusions are evident.

A FRAGMENT OF POLYBIUS.

From his Treatise on the Athenian Government.

* * * * * *

"Athens had long been an object of universal admiration, and consequently of envy; her navy was invincible, her commerce extensive; Europe and Asia supplied her with wealth; of her citizens, all were intrepid, many virtuous; but some too much infected with principles unfavourable to freedom.—Hence an oligarchy was, in a great measure, established; crooked councils were thought supreme wisdom; and the Athenians, having lost their true relish for their own freedom, began to attack that of their colonies, and of the states which they had before protected! Their arrogant claims of unlimited dominion, had compelled the Chians, Coans, Rhodians, Lesbians, to join with nine other small communities in the *social war*, which they began with inconceivable ardour, and continued with industry surpassing all example, and almost surpassing belief. They were openly assisted by *Mausolus*, king of *Caria*, to whose metropolis the united islands had sent a philosopher, named *Eleutherion*, eminent for the deepest knowledge of nature, the most solid judgment, most approved virtue, and most ardent zeal for the cause of general liberty. The war had been supported for three years with infinite exertions of valour on both sides, with deliberate firmness on the part of the allies, and with unabated violence on the part of the *Athenians;* who had, nevertheless, despatched commissioners to Rhodes, with intent to propose terms of accommodation; but the states (perhaps too pertinaciously) refused to hear any proposal whatever, without a previous recognition of their total independence by the magistrates and people of Athens. It was not long after this, that an Athenian, who had been a pupil of Isæus, together with Demosthenes, and began to be known in his country as a pleader of causes, was led by some affair of his clients to the capital of Caria. He was a man, unauthorised, unemployed, unconnected; independent in his circumstances as much as in his principles: admitting no governor, under Providence, but the laws; and no laws but those which justice and virtue had dictated, which wisdom approved, which his country had freely enacted. He had been known at Athens to the sage Eleutherion; and, their acquaintance being renewed, he sometimes took occasion in their conversations to lament the increasing calamities of war, and to express his eager desire of making a general peace on such terms as *would produce the greatest good from the greatest evil;* for 'this,' said he, 'would be a work not unworthy of the divine attributes, and if mortals could effect it, they would act like those beneficent beings, whom *Socrates* believed to be the constant friends and attendants of our species.'

"He added, 'As to the united nations, I applaud, admire, and almost envy them; I am even tempted to wish that I had been born a Chian or a Rhodian; but let them be satisfied with the prize of virtue which they have already obtained. I will yield to none of your countrymen, my friend, in my love of *liberty;* but she seems more lovely to my eyes, when she comes hand in hand with *peace*. From that union we can expect nothing but the highest happiness of which our nature is capable; and it is an union, which nothing now obstructs but—a mere word.

"'Let the confederates be contented with the *substance* of that *independence* which they have asserted, and the *word* will necessarily follow.

"'Let them not hurt the natural, and, perhaps, not reprehensible, pride of *Athens*, nor demand any concession, that may sink in the eyes of *Greece*, a nation to whom they are and must be united in language, in blood, in manners, in interest, in principles. Glory is to a nation, what reputation is to an individual; it is not an empty sound: but important and essential. It will be glorious in Athens to acknowledge her error in attempting to reduce the islands, but an acknowledgment of her inability to reduce them (if she *be* unable) will be too public a confession of weakness, and her rank among the states of Greece will instantly be lowered.

"'But, whatever I might advise, if my advice had any chance of being taken, this *I know*, and positively pronounce, that while Athens is Athens, her proud but brave citizens will never *expressly* recognize the independence of the islands: their resources are no doubt exhaustible, but will not be exhausted in the lives of us and of our children. In this resolution all parties agree: I, who am of no party, dissent from them; but what is a single voice in so vast a multitude? Yet the independence of the United States was tacitly acknowledged by the very offer of terms, and it would result in silence from the natural operation of the treaty. An *express* acknowledgment of it is merely *formal* with respect to the allies; but the prejudices of mankind have made it *substantial* with respect to Athens.

"'Let this obstacle be removed: it is slight, but fatal; and, whilst it lasts, thousands and ten thousands will perish. In war much will always depend upon blind chance, and a storm or sudden fall of snow *may* frustrate all your efforts for liberty; but let commissioners from both sides meet, and the islanders, by not insisting on a *preliminary* recognition of independence, will *ultimately* establish it for ever.

"'But *independence* is not *disunion*.—Chios, Cos, Lesbos, Rhodes, are *united*, but *independent* on each other: they are connected by a common tie, but have different forms and different constitutions. They are gems of various colours and various properties, strung in one bracelet. Such an *union* can only be made between states, which, how widely soever they differ in form, agree in one common property, *freedom.* Republics may form *alliances*, but not *a federal union*, with arbitrary monarchies. Were *Athens* governed by the *will* of a monarch, she could never be co-ordinate with the free islands; for such an union would not be dissimilarity, but dissonance: but she is and shall be ruled by *laws* alone, that is, by the *will of the people*, which is the *only law.* Her Archon, even when he was *perpetual*, had no essential properties of monarchy. The constitution of Athens, if we must define it, was then *a republic with a perpetual administrator of its laws.* Between *Athens*, therefore, and the freest states in the world, an *union* may naturally be formed.

"'There is a *natural* union between her and the islands, which the gods have made, and which the powers of hell cannot dissolve. Men, speaking the same idiom, educated in the same manner, perhaps, in the same place; professing the same principles; sprung from the same ancestors, in no very remote degree; and related to each other in a thousand modes of consanguinity, affinity, and friendship, such men (whatever they may say through a temporary resentment) can never in their hearts consider one another as *aliens.*

"'Let them meet then with fraternal and pacific dispositions, and let this be the *general* ground-work and plan of the treaty.

"1. 'The *Carians* shall be included in the pacification, and have such advantages as will induce them to consent to the treaty rather than continue a hazardous war.

"2. 'The archon, senate, and magistrates of Athens shall make a complete *recognition of rights* of all the Athenian citizens of all orders whatever, and all former laws for that purpose shall be combined in one. There shall not be one *slave* in Attica.

"Note. ['By making this a *preliminary*, the islanders will show their affection for the people of Athens; their friendship will be cemented and fixed on a solid basis; and *the greatest good will be extracted*, as I at first proposed, *from the greatest evil.*]

"3. 'There shall be a perfect *co-ordination* between Athens and the thirteen united islands, they considering her not as a *parent*, whom they must *obey*, but as an elder *sister*, whom they cannot help *loving*, and to whom they shall give *pre-eminence of honour and co-equality of power.*

"4. 'The new constitutions of the confederate islands shall remain.

"5. 'On every occasion requiring *acts* for the *general* good, there shall be an assembly of deputies from the senate of Athens and the congress of the islands, who shall fairly adjust the whole business, and settle the ratio of the contributions on both sides. This committee shall consist of fifty islanders and fifty Athenians, or of a smaller number chosen by them.

"6. 'If it be thought necessary and found convenient, a proportionable number of Athenian citizens shall have seats, and power of debating and voting on questions of *common* concern, in the great assembly of the islands, and a proportionable number of islanders shall sit with the like power in the assembly at Athens.

"Note. ['This *reciprocal representation* will cement the union.]

"7. 'There shall be no obligation to make war but for the *common* interest.

"8. 'Commerce shall flow in a free course, for the *general* advantage of the united powers.

"9. 'An universal unlimited *amnesty* shall be proclaimed in every part of Greece and Asia.

"'This,' said the *Athenian*, 'is the rough sketch of a treaty founded on virtue and liberty. The idea of it still fills and expands my soul; and *if* it cannot be realized, I shall not think it less glorious, but shall only grieve more and more at the perverseness of mankind. May the eternal Being, whom the wise and the virtuous adore, and whose attribute it is to convert into good, that evil which his unsearchable wisdom permits, inspire all ranks of men to promote either this or a similar plan! If this be impracticable, O miserable human nature! But I am fully confident that, if * * * more at large * * happiness of all.'

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"No more is extant of this interesting piece, upon which the commentary of the sage Polybius would have been particularly valuable in these times."

This classical and ingenious communication did not divert Dr. Franklin's fixed sentiments respecting the perfect independence of his country, as fully appears by several of his letters written immediately after to America, and particularly in one to Mr. secretary Livingston, of the 28th June, 1782, wherein he remarks, that the intentions of the British ministry had, for some weeks past, appeared somewhat equivocal and uncertain, and adds: "It looks as if, since their late success in the West Indies, they a little repented of the advances they had made in their declarations respecting the *acknowledgment of our independence;* and we have good information, that some of the ministry still flatter the king with the hope of recovering his sovereignty over us, on the same terms as are now making with Ireland.—However willing we might have been at the commencement of this contest, to have accepted such conditions, be assured that we can have no safety in them at present. *The king hates us most cordially.*

If he is once admitted to any degree of power or government amongst us, *however limited*, it will soon be extended by corruption, artifice, and force, till we are reduced to absolute subjection; and that the more easily, as by receiving him again for our king, we shall draw upon ourselves the contempt of all Europe, who now admire and respect us; and shall never again find a friend to assist us. There are, as reported, great divisions in the ministry on other points as well as this; and those who aim at engrossing the power, flatter the king with this project of *re-union;* and it is said, have much reliance on the operation of *private agents* sent into America to dispose minds in favour of it, and to bring about a separate treaty there with general Carleton."

Strong suspicions were undoubtedly entertained by some of the American commissioners, that Mr. Jones, under the particular influence of his friend and patron lord Shelburne, (then minister,) had really agreed to lend the assistance of his talents and exertions in aid of this object. How far such "*surmises*" are borne out by what has preceded, is left to the reader's decision. On his return to England, however, Mr. Jones thus expresses his sentiments on the subject of America, in a letter to lord Althorp, dated Oct. 5, 1782, as given by lord Teignmouth. "As to *America*, I know not what * * * * * thinks: but this I know, that the sturdy transatlantic yeomanry will neither be *dragooned* nor *bamboozled* out of their liberty."

The negotiations for peace with America had been going on at Passy, either directly or indirectly, ever since the late change of ministry in England. The particulars of the whole of these important transactions, and the letters and documents connected therewith, will be found in Dr. Franklin's PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE; concerning the *negotiations for peace and commerce between Great Britain and the United States of America*, for the reasons already given.

At the end of half a century of independence, the rise and progress of the revolution may be viewed with the same temper as we read Vertot or Volney; and so the services and hazards of the great founders of the Republic should be preserved in history. In the correspondence of the doctor, while at Paris, will be found some examples of persuasion and artifice to undermine his principles and to awake his fears; an answer of his to David Hartley, displays at once the dignity of his mind and the characteristic playfulness of his imagination.

Mr. Hartley, in a postscript to a letter of 23 April, 1778, hints,—"If tempestuous times should come, take care of your own safety: events are uncertain, and men may be capricious." To which the doctor replied —"I thank you for your kind caution, but having nearly finished a long life, I set but little value on what remains of it. Like a draper when one cheapens with him for a remnant, I am ready to say,—"As it it only the fag end, I will not differ with you about it; take it for what you please." Perhaps the *best use such an old fellow could be put to, is to make a martyr of him.*

About the same time, 20th May, 1778, he received an anonymous note inviting to an interview to the Garden of the Fountains, of which he took no notice.

He received an argumentative letter from Brussels, 1st July, of the same year, the answer to which will be found under this date in the Foreign Correspondence; and another of 3d Feb. 1779, which he closes with the humourous story of the Wreckers.

The doctor one day received a letter, inviting him to an interview in the church of Notre Dame, where he would find a man having a rose in his hand, who would let the rose fall, on the doctor's approach, as an identification of the writer. The doctor's first step was to communicate this letter to the minister of police, M. Lenoir, who advised him to go to Notre Dame at the hour indicated. About half an hour after the doctor had been in the church, a person passed and repassed him several times, but appearing to discover some agents of the police at no great distance, he precipitately retired out of the church, when after several rapid turns, he reached a hotel in the Rue Colombier, where he called for post horses, and drove off and was traced to Calais, where he embarked for Dover before the agents of the police could overtake him.

A case more remarkable was that of an English physician, who resided at Paris in apparent indifference to political affairs; his admiration of Dr. Franklin was professedly that of a philosopher, and in that character had found the usual urbanity of the doctor a passport to his familiar acquaintance. In the progress of this intimacy, having tasted of the doctor's wines, he tendered as a small acknowledgment of courtesy some wine of a rare quality, which of course was accepted; but as the doctor had before been presented with medicated wine, he uniformly adopted the precaution to examine it, and on examination this wine of rare quality was found to contain an ample quantity of deadly poison. To have the premeditated assassin arrested was a matter of no difficulty, but the magnanimous Franklin preferred a course more generous and worthy of himself, he caused the villain to be informed that his purpose was not accomplished, but that his design was detected; and advised him to quit Paris before the next morning, and France without delay; that if found after the period proscribed he would be placed in charge of the police; admonishing him to repent and reform and lead a correct life thereafter.

The revolt of the colonies produced an extreme animosity towards the Americans in England. There was always a large mass who, while they regretted the separation, held the principle of resistance to be just and right. No example can better illustrate the temper of the ministry and their adherents than the conversion of the celebrated Dr. Johnson to the views of the ministers, which he manifested in a well known pamphlet of which the title was *Taxation no tyranny.* But this pamphlet, however energetic and vehement, affords no more than the display of a partisan for a pension. In June 1781, being in company with Dr. Campbell an Episcopalian clergyman, and Baretti, a literary Italian of that day, the two latter had been in conversation concerning the Irish volunteers, who excited much notice in Europe at that period; Dr. Johnson who had sat listening to the conversation, abruptly broke in upon them, exclaiming, "What, sir, don't you call it disturbance to oppose legal government with arms in your hands, and compel it to make laws in your favour? Sir, I call it rebellion, as much as the rebellion in Scotland."

"I am exceedingly sorry," said Dr. Campbell, "to hear this from you, whom I always understood to be a friend of Ireland. The Irish have a separate legislature, and they have never indicated any inclination to resist."

"Sir," replied Dr. Johnson, "the Irish do resist, they owe allegiance to the English parliament; they are a conquered nation; and had I been minister, would soon have made them submit to it—I would have done as Cromwell did; I would have burnt their cities, and roasted them in flames."

"Very horrid avowals," said Dr. Campbell, "but your advice to treat the Americans in that manner, appears not to have been altogether successful,—the times are altered!"

"Sir," said Dr. Johnson, "you say truly; the times are altered; for power is no where; our government is a government of influence, not of power; yet had we treated the Americans as we ought, and as they deserved, we should at once have razed their towns, and let them enjoy the forests. But when we should have roasted them as rebels, we only whipt them as children, and we did not succeed because my advice was not taken."

The following are extracts from two letters of Dr. Franklin's, written shortly after the preliminaries were signed. They give a general account of the manner in which the peace was brought about, and are expressive of his feelings and sentiments on that auspicious event.

"*To Robert R. Livingston.*

"Passy, Dec. 5, 1782.

——"You desire to be very particularly acquainted with '*every step which tends to a negotiation.*' I am, therefore, encouraged to send you the first part of the Journal, which accidents, and a long severe illness, interrupted; but which, from notes I have by me, may be continued if thought proper. In its present state, it is hardly fit for the inspection of congress, certainly not for public view. I confide it therefore to your prudence.

"The arrival of Mr. Jay, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Laurens, relieved me from much anxiety, which must have continued if I had been left to finish the treaty alone; and it has given me the more satisfaction, as I am sure the business has profited by their assistance.

"Much of the summer was taken up in objecting to the powers given by Great Britain, and in removing those objections. The using any expressions that might imply an *acknowledgment* of our independence, seemed, at first, industriously to be avoided. But our refusing otherwise to treat, at length induced them to get over that difficulty: and then we came to the point of making propositions. Those made by Jay and me, before the arrival of the other gentlemen, you will find in the paper No. 1, which was sent by the British plenipotentiary to London for the king's consideration. After some weeks, an under-secretary of state, Mr. Strachey, arrived, with whom we had much contestation about the boundaries and other articles which he proposed; we settled some, which he carried to London, and returned with the propositions, some adopted, others omitted or altered, and new ones added; which you will see in paper No. 2. We spent many days in discussing and disputing, and at length agreed on and signed the Preliminaries, which you will receive by this conveyance. The British ministers struggled hard for two points, that the favours granted to the royalists should be extended, and our fishery contracted. We silenced them on the first, by threatening to produce an account of the mischiefs done by those people; and as to the second, when they told us they could not possibly agree to it as we required it, and must refer it to the ministry in London, we produced a new article to be referred at the same time, with a note of facts in support of it, which you have, No. 3. Apparently it seemed that, to avoid the discussion of this, they suddenly changed their minds, dropped the design of recurring to London, and agreed to allow the fishery as demanded.

"You will find in the preliminaries some inaccurate and ambiguous expressions that want explanation, and which may be explained in the definitive treaty. And as the British ministry excluded our proposition relating to commerce, and the American prohibition of that with England may not be understood to cease merely by our concluding a treaty of peace, perhaps we may then, if the congress shall think fit to direct it, obtain some compensation for the injuries done us, as a condition of our opening again the trade. Every one of the present British ministry has, while in the minority, declared the war against us *unjust*, and nothing is clearer in reason, than that those who injure others by an unjust war, should make full reparation. They have stipulated, too, in these preliminaries, that in evacuating our towns, they shall carry off no plunder, which is a kind of acknowledgment, that they ought not to have done it before.

"The reason given us for dropping the article relating to commerce, was, that some statutes were in the way, which must be repealed before a treaty of that kind could well be formed; and that this was a matter to be considered in parliament.

"They wanted to bring their boundary down to the *Ohio*, and to settle their loyalists in the *Illinois country.* We did not choose such neighbours.

"We communicated all the articles, as as soon as they were signed, to Mons. le comte de Vergennes, (except the separate one) who thinks we have managed well, and told me,—that we had settled what was most apprehended as a difficulty in the work of a general peace, by obtaining *the declaration of our independence.*

* * * * * *

"I am now near entering my seventy-eighth year. Public business has engrossed fifty of them. I wish, for the little time I have left, to be my own master. If I live to see this peace concluded, I shall beg leave to remind the congress of their promise then to dismiss me. I shall be happy to sing with old Simeon, '*Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.*'

"With great esteem, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Dr. Cooper.*

"PASSY, Dec. 26, 1782.

* * * * * *

"We have taken some good steps here towards a peace. Our independence is acknowledged; our boundaries as good and extensive as we demanded; and our fishery more so than the congress expected. I hope the whole preliminaries will be approved, and with the definitive treaty, when made, give entire satisfaction to our country. But there are so many interests to be considered between five nations, and so many claims to adjust, that I can hardly flatter myself to see the peace soon concluded, though I wish and pray for it, and use my best endeavours to promote it.

"I am extremely sorry to hear language from Americans on this side the water, and to hear of such language from your side, as tends to hurt the good understanding that has hitherto so happily subsisted between this court and ours. There seems to be a party with you that wish to destroy it. If they could succeed, they would do us irreparable injury. It is our firm connection with France that gives us weight with England, and respect throughout Europe. If we were to break our faith with this nation, *on whatever pretence*, England would again trample on us, and every other nation despise us. We cannot, therefore, be too much on our guard, how we permit the *private resentments* of particular persons to enter into our public counsels. You will hear much of an intercepted letter communicated to us by the British ministry. The channel ought to be suspected. It may have received additions and alterations; but, supposing it all genuine, the forward, mistaken zeal of a secretary of legation should not be imputed to the king, who has in so many ways proved himself our faithful and firm friend and ally.*

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* *Copy of a letter from Barbe de Marbois to M. le Comte de Vergennes, decyphered and translated.*

PHILADELPHIA, March 13, 1782.

SIR,—South Carolina again enjoys the benefit of a legislative body, after having been deprived of it for two years; it was summoned together towards the latter end of last January, at Jacksonburg, only ten leagues distant from Charleston; where deliberations are carried on with as much tranquillity as if the state was in profound peace. Mr. Rutledge, who was the governor, opened the meeting with a speech greatly applauded, wherein he represents, in their full extent, the important services rendered by the king to the United States, expressing their just acknowledgments for the same. This sentiment prevails much, sir; the different states are eager to declare it, in their public acts, and the principal members of government, and the writers employed by them, would forfeit their popularity were they to admit any equivocal remarks respecting the alliance. General Greene affirms that in no one state is attachment to independence carried to a higher pitch; but that this affection is yet exceeded by the hatred borne to England. The assembly of Carolina is going to make levies of men, and has imposed pretty large sums; as there is but little money in the country, the taxes will be gathered in indigo; and what deficiency may there be found, will be supplied by the sale of lands of such Carolinians as joined the enemy while they were in possession of the country. South Carolina was the only state that had not confiscated the property of the disaffected. The step just taken puts her on a footing with the other states of the union. The assembly of this state has passed a resolution in consequence of which a purchase of land is to be made of the value of two hundred and forty thousand *livres tournois*, which Carolina makes a present to general Greene as the saviour of that province.

Mr. Matthews, a delegate from congress, lately arrived in Carolina, has, it is said, been chosen governor in the room of Mr. Rutledge: he has communicated to persons of the most influence in his state, the ultimatum of the month of ———— last, who approved of the clauses in general, and particularly that

"In my opinion, the true political interest of America consists in observing and fulfilling, with the greatest exactitude, the engagements of our alliance with France; and behaving at the same time towards England, so as not entirely to extinguish her hopes of a reconciliation.

"I long to see you and my country once more before I die, being ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately.

"B. FRANKLIN."

In another part of the preceding letter to the honourable Robert R. Livingston, Dr. Franklin thus notices the commencement of the negotiation ordered by congress to be opened with the court of Sweden.

"As soon as I received the commission and instructions for treating with Sweden, I waited on its ambassador here; who told me, he daily expected a courier on that subject. Yesterday he wrote a note to acquaint me, that he would call on me to-day, having something to communicate. Being obliged to go to Paris, I waited on him, when he showed me the full powers he had just received, and I showed

one which leaves the king master of the terms of the treaty of peace or truce, excepting independence, and treaties of alliance. A delegate from South Carolina told me, that this ultimatum was equally well known by persons of note in this state, and this had given entire satisfaction there; it is the same with regard to several other states; and I believe I may assure you, upon the testimony of several delegates, that this measure is approved by a great majority; but Mr. Samuel Adams is using all his endeavours to raise in the state of Massachusetts a strong opposition to peace, if the eastern states are not thereby admitted to the fisheries, and particularly to that of Newfoundland. Samuel Adams delights in trouble and difficulty, and prides himself on forming an opposition against the government whereof he is himself the president His aim and intentions are to render the minority of consequence, and at this very moment he is attacking the constitution of Massachusetts, although it is in a great measure his own work; but he had disliked it since the people had shown their uniform attachment to it.

It may be expected that with this disposition, no measure can meet the approval of Mr. Samuel Adams, and if the United States should agree relative to the fisheries, and be certain of partaking therein, all his manœuvres and intrigues would be directed towards the conquest of Canada and Nova Scotia; but he could not have used a fitter engine than the fisheries for stirring up the passions of the Eastern people. By renewing this question, which had lain dormant during his two years absence from Boston, he has raised the expectation of the people of Massachusetts to an extraordinary pitch. The public prints hold forth the importance of the fisheries; the reigning toast in the East is, *May the United States ever maintain their rights to the fisheries.* It has been often repeated in the deliberation of the general court; *No peace without fisheries.* However clear this principle may be in this matter, it would be needless and even dangerous to attempt informing the people through the public papers, but it appears to me possible to use means for preventing the consequences of success to Mr. S. Adams and his party; and I take the liberty of submitting these to your discernment and indulgence; one of those means would be for the king to cause it to be intimated to congress or to the ministers, "his surprise that the Newfoundland fisheries have been intended in the additional instructions; that the United States set forth therein pretensions *without paying regard to the king's rights*, and without considering the impossibility they are under of making conquests, and keeping what belongs to Great Britain."

His majesty might at the same time cause a promise to be given to congress "of his assistance for procuring admission to the other fisheries, declaring however that he would not be answerable for the success, and that he is bound to nothing, as the treaty makes no mention of that article." This declaration being made before the peace, the hopes of the people could not be supported, nor could it one day be said that we left them in the dark on this point. It were even to be wished that this declaration should be made whilst New York, Charleston, and Penobscot are in the enemy's hands; our allies will be less tractable than ever upon these points whenever they recover these important ports. There are some judicious persons to whom one may speak of giving up the fisheries and the*——of the West for the sake of peace. But these are enthusiasts who fly out at this idea, and their numbers cannot fail increasing when, after the English are expelled this continent, the burden of the war will scarce be felt. It is already observable that the advocates for peace are those who lived in the country. The inhabitants of towns whom commerce enriches, mechanics who receive there a higher pay than before war, and 5 or 6 times more than in Europe, do not wish for it; but it is a happy circumstance that this division be nearly equal in the congress and among the states, since our influence can incline the beam either for peace or war which ever way we choose. Another means of preserving to France so important a branch of her commerce and negotiation, is that proposed to you, sir, by M——— viz. the conquest of Cape Breton; it seems to me, as it does to that minister, the only sure means of containing within bounds, when peace is made, those swarms of smugglers who, without regard to treaties, will turn all their activity, daring spirit, and means towards the fisheries, whose undertakings congress will not perhaps have the power or the will to repress. If it be apprehended, that the peace which is to put an end to the present war will prove disagreeable to any of the United States, there appears to me a certain method of guarding against the effects of this discontent, of preventing the declarations of some states and other resources which turbulent minds might employ for availing themselves of the present juncture. This would be for his majesty to cause a memorial to be delivered to congress, wherein should be stated the use made by his ministers of the powers entrusted to them by that assembly; and the impediments which may have stood in the way of a fuller satisfaction on every point. This step would certainly be pleasing to congress; and should it become necessary to inform the people of this memorial, it could easily be done; they would be flattered by it, and it might probably beget the voice and concurrence of the public. I submit these thoughts to you early, and although peace appears yet to be distant, sir, by reason of delays and difficulties attending the communications, that period will be a crisis when the partizans of France and England will openly appear, and when that power will employ every means to diminish our influence; and re-establish her own; it is true, the independent party will always stand in great want of our support, that the fears and jealousies which a remembrance of the former government will always produce, must operate as the safeguard to our alliance, and as a security for the attachment of the Americans to us. But it is best to be prepared for any discontent, although it should be but temporary. It is remarked by some, that as England has other fisheries besides Newfoundland, she may perhaps endeavour that the Americans should partake in that of the Great Bank, in order to conciliate their affection, or procure them some compensation, or create a subject of jealousy between them and us; but it does not seem likely that she will act so contrary to their true interest, and were she to do so, it will be for the better to have declared at an early period to the Americans, that their pretension is not founded, *and that his majesty does not mean to support it.*

I here inclose, sir, translations of the speech made by the governor of South Carolina to the assembly, and of their answer. These interesting productions convey in a forcible manner the sentiments of the inhabitants of that state, and appeared to me worth communicating to you.

I am, &c.

(Signed) BARBE DE MARBOIS

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* Supposed *Settlements*, or *Lands.*

him mine. We agreed to meet on Wednesday next, exchange copies, and proceed to business. His commission has some polite expressions in it; viz. 'That his majesty thought it for the good of his subjects to enter into a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States of America, who had established their independence, so justly merited by their courage and constancy,' or to that effect. I imagine this treaty will soon be completed."

This actually took place about four months afterwards, (April 3d, 1783,) when a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States of America and Sweden, was concluded and signed by the respective plenipotentiaries, Dr. Franklin and the count de Krutz.

Not long after this transaction, Dr. Franklin received the following letter from the Swedish chargé d'affaires, afterwards ambassador at the court of France. (baron de Staël) announcing the reception from his court of the ratification of the treaty, and renewing the request made by the late ambassador, count de Krutz, (intended no doubt as a compliment to Dr. Franklin,) relative to Mr. Franklin being appointed by congress, resident minister at the court of Sweden; where the count then held the situation of prime minister.

* "*A son Excellence M. Franklin.*

"Paris, le 13 Juin, 1783.

"Monsieur,—Je viens de recevoir la ratification de sa majesté, du traité de commerce conclu avec les Etats Unis; laquelle j'aurai l'honneur de vous remettre aussitôt qu'elle pourra être échangée contre celle du congrès.

"Permettez, monsieur, que je vous repète à cette occasion, la demande que Mons. l'ambassadeur (le comte de Krutz) vous a faite, au sujet de *monsieur Franklin, votre petit-fils.* Il a eu l'honneur de vous dire, 'que le Roi verroit avec plaisir résider auprès de lui, en qualité de ministre du congrès, une personne qui porte votre nom; et y joint des qualitiés aussi estimables que le jeune M. Franklin. Avant de partir,† il m'a chargé de vous répéter la même assurance; et vous me permettrez d'y ajouter les vœux que je fais en mon particulier, pour la réussite de cette affaire.

"J'ai l'honneur d'être avec l'estime et l'attachement les plus parfaits et inviolables, monsieur, &c. LE BARON DE STAEL."

Dr. Franklin shortly after communicated this request to the American secretary for foreign affairs (R. R. Livingston, esquire) in his official despatch of the 22d July, 1783, as follows:—

* * * * * *

—— "You mention that an entire new arrangement with respect to foreign affairs, is under consideration. I wish to know, whether any notice is likely to be taken in it of my grandson. He has now gone through an apprenticeship of near seven years in the ministerial business, and is very capable of serving the States in that line, as possessing all the requisites of knowledge, zeal, activity, language, and address. He is well liked here, and count de Vergennes has expressed to me in warm terms his very good opinion of him. The late Swedish ambassador, count de Krutz, who is gone home to be prime minister, desired I would endeavour to procure his being sent to Sweden with a public character, assuring me that he should be glad to receive him there as our minister, and that he knew it would be pleasing to the king. The present Swedish ambassador has also proposed the same thing to me, as you will see by a letter of his, which I inclose. One of the Danish ministers, Mr. Waltersdorff, who will probably be sent in a public character to congress, has also expressed his wish that my grandson may be sent to Denmark. But it is not my custom to solicit employments for myself or any of my family, and I shall not do it in this case. I only hope, that if he is not employed in your new arrangement, I may be informed of it as soon as possible; that while I have strength left for it, I may accompany him in a tour to Italy, returning through Germany, which I think he may make to more advantage with me than alone, and which I have long promised to afford him, as a reward for his faithful service, and his tender filial attachment to me."

These intimations from foreign courts, and this honourable and satisfactory testimony from one who had rendered the most eminent services to his country, were unnoticed by the American government; they are, however, no mean consolation to the object of them.

Shortly after signing the preliminary articles of peace with Great Britain, Mr. Oswald's functions ceased; and a change in administration taking place, David Hartley, esq. was appointed minister plenipotentiary, and re-

TRANSLATION.

* *To his Excellency Mr. Franklin.*

Sir,—I have received the ratification from his majesty, of the treaty of commerce concluded with the United States, which I shall have the power of transmitting to you as soon as it can be exchanged for that of the Congress.

Permit me, sir, to repeat to you on this occasion, the request that the ambassador (count de Krutz) made to you, on the subject of Mr. Franklin, your grandson, he has had the honour to say to you, that the king will see with pleasure reside near him, in quality of minister of the congress, a person who bears your name, and joins thereto, qualities so estimable as the young Mr. Franklin. Before parting, he has charged me to repeat to you the same assurance; and permit me to add my own wishes, for the success of this affair.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect esteem, and inviolable attachment, sir, &c.

BARON DE STAEL.

(† de Paris.)

paired to Paris, invested, as expressed in his commission, with full powers there to meet and confer with the ministers of the United States of America, duly authorised, for the purpose of perfecting and establishing the peace, friendship, and good understanding so happily commenced; and for opening, promoting, and rendering perpetual, the mutual intercourse of trade and commerce between the British dominions and the United States of America.

Several private communications had taken place relative to these objects, between Dr. Franklin and Mr. Hartley, previous to the latter receiving his appointment; these, together with the subsequent propositions and various transactions that occurred, after the respective plenipotentiaries had exchanged their full powers, will be seen in the PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE. Those with Mr. Hartley proceeded very slowly, owing principally to his conceiving it necessary to send every proposition, either of his own or the American ministers, to his court for their approbation, and their delay in answering. Eventually, the English ministry would not agree to any of the propositions that had been made on either side; and sent over a project for the *definitive treaty*, consisting merely of the *preliminaries* formerly signed, with a short introductory paragraph, and an article at the conclusion, confirming and ratifying the said articles.

Finding nothing could be determined upon at that time with respect to commercial regulations, the American ministers, in order to terminate the affair, agreed to sign the plan offered them by Mr. Hartley, as the *definitive treaty;* which accordingly took place at Paris, on the 3d of Sept. 1783.

This business being accomplished, and Dr. Franklin not receiving any answer whatever from congress to his repeated official applications to be recalled; and his anxiety to return home increasing with his age and infirmities, he addressed a private request to the same effect to his friend general Mifflin, then president of congress, in order, through his interposition and influence, to obtain the wished-for object. The following is a copy of that letter:—

" *To his Excellency Thomas Mifflin, president of Congress.*

(Private.)

" PASSY, Dec. 26, 1783.

" DEAR SIR,—I congratulate you very sincerely on your appointment to that very honourable station, the presidency of congress. Every testimony you receive of the public sense of your services and talents, gives me pleasure.

"I have written to you a long letter on business, in my quality of minister. This is a private letter, respecting my personal concerns, which I presume to trouble you with on the score of our ancient friendship.

" In a letter of the 12th of March, 1781, I stated my age and infirmities to the congress, and requested they would be pleased to recall me, that I might enjoy the little left me of the evening of life in repose, and in the sweet society of my friends and family. I was answered by the then president, that when peace should be made, if I persisted in the same request, it should be granted. I acquiesced; the preliminaries were signed in November, 1782, and I then repeated my petition. A year is past, and I have no answer. Undoubtedly, if the congress should think my continuing here necessary for the public service, I ought as a good citizen to submit to their judgment and pleasure; but as they may easily supply my place to advantage, that cannot be the case; I suppose, therefore, that it is merely the multiplicity of more important affairs, that has put my request out of their mind. What I would then desire of you is, to put this matter in train to be moved and answered as soon as possible, that I may arrange my affairs accordingly.

"In the first letter above mentioned, to which I beg leave to refer you, I gave a character of my grandson, William Temple Franklin, and solicited for him the favour and protection of congress. I have nothing to abate of that character; on the contrary, I think him so much improved as to be capable of executing with credit to himself and advantage to the public, any employment in Europe the congress may think fit to honour him with. He has been seven years in the service, and is much esteemed by all that know him, particularly by the minister here, who, since my new disorder, (the stone,) makes my going to Versailles inconvenient to me, transacts our business with him in the most obliging and friendly manner. It is natural for me, who love him, to wish to see him settled before I die, in some employ that may probably be permanent; and I hope you will be so good to me, as to get that affair likewise moved and carried through in his favour. He has, I think, this additional merit to plead, that he has served in my office as secretary several years, for the small salary of 300 louis a year, while the congress gave 1000 a year to the secretaries of other ministers, who had not half the employ for a secretary that I had. For it was long before a consul was sent here, and we had all that business on our hands, with a great deal of admiralty business in examining and condemning captures taken by our cruisers, and by the French cruisers under American commissions; besides the constant attendance in examining and recording the acceptances of the congress bills of exchange, which has been, from the immense number, very fatiguing; with many other extra affairs, not usually occurring to other ministers, such as the care of the prisoners in England, and the constant correspondence relating to them, in all which he served me as secretary, with the assistance only of a clerk at low wages, (fifty louis a year,) so that the saving has been very considerable to the public."

* * * * * *

Some months after this, Dr. Franklin again repeated the same earnest requests, to his friends and former colleagues, Mr. Jay and Mr. Laurens, then on the point of returning to the United States with their families.

To Mr. and Mrs. Jay he thus writes:

"PASSY, May 13, 1784.

"MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I find I shall not be able to see you again as I intended. My best wishes, however, go with you, that you may have a prosperous voyage and a happy sight of your friends and families.

"Mr. Jay was so kind as to offer his friendly services to me in America. He will oblige me much by endeavouring to forward my discharge from this employment. Repose is now my only ambition.—If too he should think with me, that my grandson is qualified to serve the States as secretary to a future minister at this court, or as chargé des affaires, and will be kind enough to recommend such an appointment, it will exceedingly oblige me. I have twice mentioned this in my letter to congress, but have not been favoured with any answer; which is hard, because the suspense prevents my endeavouring to promote him in some other way. I would not however be importunate; and therefore if Mr. Jay should use his interest without effect, I will trouble them no more on the subject. My grandson's acquaintance with the language, with the court, and customs here, and the particular regard monsieur de Vergennes has for him, are circumstances in his favour.

"God bless and protect you both. Embrace my little friend for me, and believe me ever yours, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

To Mr. Laurens he writes thus:

"PASSY, May 13, 1784.

* * * * * *

—— "I am sorry for the numerous disappointments you have lately met with. The world, it is true, is full of disappointments, but they are not equally divided, and you have had more than your share.

"The ratifications of the definitive treaty are now exchanged; but Mr. Hartley waits for instructions respecting a treaty of commerce, which, from what you observe, may probably never arrive. I shall however be glad to receive what you are so good as to promise me, your thoughts on the subject of such a treaty.

"You have been so kind as to offer me your friendly services in America. You will oblige me greatly in forwarding my dismission from this employment, for I long much to be at home: and if you should think my grandson qualified to serve the States as secretary to my successor, or chargé des affaires till a successor arrives, I shall thank you for recommending him. His knowledge of this court, and acquaintance with the language; and the esteem the minister has for him, are circumstances in his favour: his long experience in the business here is another, he having served an apprenticeship to it for more than seven years. His intelligence, discretion, and address, you can judge better than myself, who may be partial. His fidelity and exactitude in performing his duty, I can answer for.

"My best wishes attend you, your very valuable son, and amiable daughter. God bless you all, and give you a good voyage, and a happy meeting with your friends, with long life, health, and prosperity, is the sincere prayer of your affectionate, humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Dr. Franklin, as will have been previously seen, occasionally kept a private journal. The following extracts from one kept about this time, may not be found void of interest.

Private Journal.

PASSY, June 26, 1784.

Mr. Waltersdorff called on me, and acquainted me with a duel that had been fought yesterday morning, between a French officer,* and a Swedish gentleman of that king's suite, in which the latter was killed on the spot, and the other dangerously wounded:—that the king does not resent it, as he thinks his subject was in the wrong.

He asked me if I had seen the king of Sweden?—I had not yet had that honour. He said his behaviour here was not liked: that he took little notice of his own ambassador, who being acquainted with the usages of this court, was capable of advising him, but was not consulted. That he was always talking of himself, and vainly boasting of *his* revolution, though it was known to have been the work of M. de Vergennes. That they began to be tired of him here, and wished him gone, but he proposed staying till the 12th July. That he had now laid aside his project of invading Norway, as he found Denmark had made preparations to receive him. That he pretended the Danes had designed to invade Sweden, though it was a known fact, that the Danes had made no military preparations, even for defence, till six months after his began. I asked if it was clear that he had had an intention to invade Norway? He said that the marching and disposition of his troops, and the fortifications he had erected, indicated it very plainly. He added, that Sweden was at present greatly distressed for provisions; that many people had actually died of hunger! That it was reported the king came here to borrow money, and to offer to sell Gottenburg to France; a thing not very probable.

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* The Count de la Marck.

M. Dessaulx called, and said, it is reported, there is an alliance treating between the emperor of Austria, Russia, and England; the purpose not known; and that a counter alliance is proposed between France, Prussia, and Holland, in which it is supposed Spain will join. He added that changes in the ministry are talked of; that there are cabals against M. de Vergennes; that M. de Calonne is to be *Garde dos Sceaux*, with some other rumours fabricated perhaps at the *Palais Royal.*

June 29. Mr. Hammond, secretary to Mr. Hartley, called to tell me that Mr. Hartley had not received any orders by the last courier, either to stay or return, which he had expected; and that he thought it occasioned by their uncertainty what terms of commerce to propose, till the report of the committee of council was laid before parliament, and its opinion known; and that he looked on the delay of writing to him as a sign of their intending to do something.

He told me it was reported that the king of Sweden had granted the free use of Gottenburg as a port for France, which alarmed the neighbouring powers. That in time of war, the northern coast of England might be much endangered by it.

June 30th. M. Dupont, inspector of commerce, came to talk with me about the free port of L'Orient, and some difficulties respecting it; I referred him to Mr. Barclay, an American merchant and commissioner for accounts; and as he said he did not well understand English when spoken, and Mr. Barclay did not speak French, I offered my grandson to accompany him as interpreter, which he accepted.

I asked him whether the Spaniards from the continent of America did not trade to the French Sugar islands? He said not. The only commerce with the Spaniards was for cattle between them and the French at St. Domingo. I had been told the Spaniards brought flour to the French islands from the continent. He had not heard of it. If we can find that such a trade is allowed (perhaps from the Mississippi,) have not the United States a claim by treaty to the same privilege?

July 1st. The pope's Nuncio called and acquainted me that the pope had, on my recommendation, appointed Mr. John Carrol, superior of the Catholic clergy in America, with many of the powers of a bishop; and that probably he would be made a bishop *in partibus* before the end of the year. He asked me which would be most convenient for him, to come to France, or go to St. Domingo for ordination by another bishop, which was necessary. I mentioned Quebec as more convenient than either. He asked whether, as that was an English province, our government might not take offence at his going thither? I thought not, unless the ordination by that bishop should give him some authority over our bishop: he said, not in the least: that when our bishop was once ordained he would be independent of the others, and even of the pope; which I did not clearly understand. He said the congregation *de propaganda fidei* had agreed to receive and maintain and instruct two young Americans in the languages and sciences at Rome: (he had formerly told me that more would be educated *gratis* in France.) He added, they had written from America that there are twenty priests, but that they are not sufficient; as the new settlements near the Mississippi have need of some.

The Nuncio said we should find that the Catholics were not so intolerant as they had been represented; that the inquisition in Rome had not now so much power as that in Spain; and that in Spain it was used chiefly as a prison of state. That the congregation would have undertaken the education of more American youths, and may hereafter, but that at present they are overburdened, having some from all parts of the world. He spoke lightly of their new Bostonian convert, *Thayer's* conversion: that he had advised him not to go to America, but settle in France. That he wanted to go to convert his countrymen; but he knew nothing yet of his new religion himself, &c.

Received a letter from Mr. Bridgen of London, dated the 22d past, acquainting me that the council of the Royal Society had voted me a gold medal, on account of my letter in favour of captain Cooke. Lord Howe had sent me his Journal, 3 vols. 4to., with a large volume of engravings, on the same account, and, as he writes, "*with the king's approbation.*"

July 3. Mr. Smeathman comes, and brings two English or Scotch gentlemen: one a chevalier of some order, the other a physician who had lived long in Russia. Much conversation. Putrid fevers common in Russia, and in winter much more than in summer: therefore supposed to be owing to their hot rooms. In a gentleman's house there are sometimes one hundred domestics; these have not beds, but sleep twenty or thirty in a close room warmed by a stove, lying on the floor and on benches. The stoves are heated by wood. As soon as it is burnt to coals, the chimney is stopped, to prevent the escape of hot, and entry of cold air. So they breathe the same air over and over again all night. These fevers he cured by wrapping the patient in linen wet with vinegar, and making them breathe the vapour of vinegar thrown on hot bricks. The Russians have the art of distilling spirits from milk. To prepare it for distillation it must, when beginning to sour, be kept in continual motion or agitation for twelve hours; it then becomes an uniform vinous liquor, the cream, curd, and aqueous part or whey, all intimately mixed. Excellent in this state for restoring emaciated bodies. This operation on milk was discovered long since by the Tartars, who, in their rambling life often carry milk in leather bags on their horses, and the motion produced the effect. It may be tried with us by attaching a large bag of milk to some part of one of our mills.

July 6. Directed Temple Franklin, who goes to court to-day, to mention three things to the minister. The *main levee* of the arrested goods, the port of L'Orient, and the consular convention; which he did with effect.—The port is fixed—and the convention preparing. Hear that Gottenburg is to be a free port for France, where they may assemble northern stores, &c.

Mr. Hammond came and dined with me. He acquaints me, from Mr. Hartley, that no instructions are yet come from England.

July 7. A very hot day. Received a visit from the secretary of the king of Sweden, M. Franke, accompanied by the secretary of the embassy.

July 8. M. Franke dines with me, in company with Mde. Helvetius, abbe de la Roche, M. Cabanis, and an American captain. The king of Sweden does not go to England.

July 10. Mr. Grand came to propose my dining with the Swedish court at his house, which is next door, and I consented. While he was with me the consul came. We talked about the Barbary powers; they are four, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. He informed me that Salee, the principal port belonging to the emperor of Morocco, had formerly been famous for corsairs. That this prince had discouraged them, and in 1768, published an edict declaring himself in peace with all the world, and forbid their cruising any more, appointing him consul for those Christian states who had none in his country. That Denmark pays him 25,000 *piastres fortes* yearly, in money; Sweden is engaged to send an ambassador every two years with presents; and the other powers buy their peace in the same manner; except Spain and the Italian States, with whom they have constant war. That he is consul for Sardinia and Prussia, for whom he procured treaties of peace. That he proposed a peace for Russia; but that the emperor having heard that Russia was going to war with his brother, the grand seignior, he refused it. Mr. Audibert Caille (the consul) thinks it shameful for Christendom to pay tribute to such *canaille*, and proposes two ways of reducing the barbarians to peace with all Europe, and obliging them to quit their piratical practices. They have need of many articles from Europe, and of a vent for their superfluous commodities. If, therefore, all Europe would agree to refuse any commerce with them, but on condition of their quitting piracy, and such an agreement could be faithfully observed on our part, it would have its effect upon them. But if any one power would continue the trade with them, it would defeat the whole. There was another method he had projected, and communicated in a memorial to the court here, by Mr. de Rayneval; which was, that France should undertake to suppress their piracies and give peace to all Europe, by means of its influence with the Porte: for all the people of these states being obliged by their religion to go at times in caravans to Mecca, and to pass through the grand seignior's dominions, who gives them escorts of troops through the desart, to prevent their being plundered and perhaps massacred by the Arabs, he could refuse them passage and protection, but on condition of their living peaceably with the Europeans, &c. He spoke of Montgomery's transaction, and of Crocco, whom he understands was authorised by the court. The barbarians, he observed, having no commercial ships at sea, had vastly the advantage of the Europeans; for one could not make reprisals on their trade. And it has long been my opinion, that if the European nations, who are powerful at sea, were to make war upon us Americans, it would be better for us to renounce commerce in our own bottoms, and convert them all into cruisers. Other nations would furnish us with what we wanted, and take off our produce. He promised me a note of the commerce of Barbary, and we are to see each other again, as he is to stay here a month.

Dined at Mr. Grand's, with the Swedish gentlemen. They were Mons. Losenstein, secretary of the embassy, and ****, with whom I had a good deal of conversation relating to the commerce possible between our two countries. I found they had seen at Rome, Charles Stuart, the *pretender:* they spoke of his situation as very hard: that France, who had formerly allowed him a pension, had withdrawn it, and that he sometimes almost wanted bread!

July 11. M. Waltersdorff called. He heard that the agreement with Sweden respecting the port of Gottenburg is not likely to be concluded. That Sweden wanted an island in the West Indies, to exchange. I think she is better without it.

July 13. Messrs. Mirabeau and Champfort came and read their translation of the American pamphlet written by Mr. Ædanus Burke of South Carolina, against the Cincinnati, which they have much enlarged, *intending it as a covered satire against noblesse in general.* It is well done. There are also remarks on the last letter of general Washington on that subject. They say general Washington missed a *beau moment*, when he accepted to be of that society, which some affect to call an *order*. The same of the marquis de la Fayette.

July 14. Mr. Hammond calls to acquaint me that Mr. Hartley is still without any instructions relating to the treaty of commerce; and supposes it occasioned by their attention to the India bill. I said to him,—your court and this seem to be waiting for one another, with respect to the American trade with your respective islands. You are both afraid of doing too much for us, and yet each wishes to do a little more than the other. You had better have accepted our generous proposal at first, to put us both on the same footing of free intercourse that existed before the war. You will make some narrow regulations, and then France will go beyond you in generosity. You never see your follies till too late to mend them.—He said, lord Sheffield was continually exasperating the parliament against America. He had lately been publishing an account of loyalists murdered there, &c. Probably invented.

Thursday, July 15. The duke de Chartres's balloon went off this morning from St. Cloud, himself and three others in the gallery. It was foggy, and they were soon out of sight. But the machine being disordered, so that the trap or valve could not be opened to let out the expanding air, and fearing that the balloon would burst, they cut a hole in it, which ripped larger, and they fell rapidly, but received no harm. They had been a vast height, met with a cloud of snow, and a tornado which frightened them.

Friday, 16. Received a letter from two young gentlemen in London, who are come from America for ecclesiastical orders, and complain that they have been delayed there a year, and that the archbishop will not permit them to be ordained, unless they will take the oath of allegiance; and desiring to know if they may be ordained here. Inquired and learned, that if ordained here, they must vow obedience to the archbishop of Paris. Directed my grandson to ask the Nuncio, if their bishop in America might not be instructed to do it literally?

Saturday, 17. The Nuncio says the thing is impossible, unless the gentlemen become Roman Catholics. Wrote them an answer.

Sunday, 18. A good abbe brings me a large manuscript, containing a scheme of reformation of all churches and states, religion, commerce, laws, &c., which he has planned in his closet, without much knowledge of the world. I have promised to look it over, and he is to call next Thursday. It is amazing the number of legislators that kindly bring me new plans for governing the United States.

Monday, July 19. Had the Americans at dinner, with Mr. White and Mr. Arbuthnot from England. The latter was an officer at Gibraltar during the late siege. He says the Spaniards might have taken it; and that it is now a place of no value to England. That its supposed use as a port for a fleet to prevent the junction of the Brest and Toulon squadrons, is chimerical. That while the Spaniards are in possession of Algeziras, they can with their gun-boats, in the use of which they are grown very expert, make it impossible for any fleet to lie there.

Tuesday, 20. My grandson went to court. No news there, except that the Spanish fleet against Algiers is sailed. Received only one American letter by the packet, which is from the college of Rhode Island, desiring me to solicit benefactions of the king, which I cannot do, for reasons which I shall give them. It is inconceivable why I have no letters from congress. The treaties with Denmark, Portugal, &c. all neglected! Mr. Hartley makes the same complaint. He is still without orders. Mr. Hammond called and dined with me; says Mr. Pitt begins to lose his popularity; his new taxes, and project about the navy bills, give great discontent. He has been burnt in effigy at York. His East India bill is not likely to go down; and it is thought he cannot stand long. Mr. Hammond is a friend of Mr. Fox;—whose friends, that have lost their places, are called *Fox's Martyrs*.

Wednesday, July 21. Count de Haga (the king of Sweden) sends his card to take leave. M. Grand tells me he has bought here my bust, with that of M. D'Alembert or Diderot, to take with him to Sweden. He set out last night.

Thursday, 22. Lord Fitzmaurice, son of lord Shelburne, arrives; brought me sundry letters and papers.

He thinks Mr. Pitt in danger of losing his majority in the house of commons, though great at present; for he will not have wherewithal to pay them. I said, that governing by a parliament which must be bribed, was employing a very expensive machine, and that the people of England would in time find out, though they had not yet, that since the parliament must always do the will of the minister, and be paid for doing it, and the people must find the money to pay them, it would be the same thing in effect, but much cheaper, to be governed by the minister at first hand, without a parliament. Those present seemed to think the reasoning clear. Lord Fitzmaurice appears a sensible, amiable young man.

Tuesday, 27. Lord Fitzmaurice called to see me. His father having requested that I would give him such instructive hints as might be useful to him, I occasionally mentioned the old story of Demosthenes' answer to one who demanded what was the first point of oratory? *Action.* The second? *Action.* The third? *Action:* which, I said, had been generally understood to mean the action of an orator with his hands, &c. in speaking; but that I thought another kind of action of more importance to an orator, who would persuade people to follow his advice, viz. such a course of action in the conduct of life, as would impress them with an opinion of his integrity, as well as of his understanding. That this opinion once established, all the difficulties, delays, and oppositions, usually occasioned by doubts and suspicions, were prevented; and such a man, though a very imperfect speaker, would almost always carry his points against the most flourishing orator, who had not the character of sincerity. To express my sense of the importance of a good private character in public affairs more strongly, I said the advantage of having it, and the disadvantage of not having it, were so great, that I even believed if George III. had had a bad private character, and John Wilkes a good one, the latter might have turned the former out of his kingdom.—Lord Shelburne, the father of lord Fitzmaurice, has unfortunately the character of being *insincere;* and it has hurt much of his usefulness; though in all my concerns with him, I never saw any instance of that kind.

[This Journal does not appear to have been continued further at this period; it is to be regretted that it is not more extensive.]

In the year 1784, when *animal magnetism* made considerable noise in the world, particularly at Paris, it was thought a matter of such importance, that the king appointed commissioners to examine into the foundation of this pretended science. Dr. Franklin, at the particular request of his majesty, signified to him by a letter from the minister, consented to be one of the number. After a fair and diligent examination, in the course of which, doctor Delon, a pupil and partner of Mesmer, repeated a number of experiments, in the presence of the commissioners, some of which were tried upon themselves, they determined that it was a mere trick, intended to impose on the ignorant and credulous; and gave in their report accordingly to his majesty; which was afterwards published for the information of the public. Mesmer, and his associate Delon, were thus interrupted in their career to wealth and spurious fame; and a most insolent attempt to impose upon the human understanding, baffled.

Sometime after, Dr. Franklin, in a letter to his friend, Dr. Ingenhäusz, thus notices the subject:—

"Mesmer continues here, and has still some adherents, and some practice. It is surprising how much credulity still subsists in the world. I suppose all the physicians in France put together, have not made so much money, during the time he has been here, as he alone has done! And we have now a fresh folly. A magnetiser pretends, that he can, by establishing what is called a *rapport* between any person and a *somnambule,* put it in the power of that person to direct the actions of the *somnambule* by a simple strong volition only, without speaking or making any signs; and many people daily flock to see this strange operation."

The important ends of Dr. Franklin's mission to Europe being attained by the establishment and acknowledgment of American independence; and the infirmities of age and disease increasing upon him, he became more and more desirous of being relieved from his public situation, and of returning to his native country. Upon a renewed application to congress to be recalled, he at length obtained his request, and Mr. Thomas Jefferson was appointed to succeed him; a more able and suitable successor, in every respect, could not have been found.

The following letters passed on this occasion, between Dr. Franklin, and the French minister for foreign affairs.

"*To his Excellency Count de Vergennes.*

"Passy, May 3, 1785.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint your excellency, that I have at length obtained, and yesterday received, the permission of congress to return to America. As my malady makes it impracticable for me to pay my devoirs at Versailles personally, may I beg the favour of you, sir, to express respectfully for me to his majesty, the deep sense I have of all the inestimable benefits his goodness has conferred on my country; a sentiment that it will be the business of the little remainder of life now left me, to impress equally on the minds of all my countrymen. My sincere prayers are, that God may shower down his blessings on the king, the queen, their children, and all the royal family, to the latest generations!

"Permit me, at the same time, to offer you my thankful acknowledgments for the protection and countenance you afforded me at my arrival, and your many favours during my residence here; of which I shall always retain the most grateful remembrance.

"My grandson would have had the honour of waiting on you with this letter, but he has been some time ill of a fever.

"With the greatest esteem and respect, and best wishes for the constant prosperity of yourself, and all your amiable family, I am, sir, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

[Answer to the foregoing.]

*"*A son Excellence Monsieur Franklin.*

"A Versailles, le 22 Mai, 1785.

"J'ai appris avec beaucoup de peine, monsieur, votre retraite et votre prochain départ pour l'Amerique. Vous ne devez pas douter que les regrets que vous laisserez, ne soient proportionnés à la considération dont vous jouissez à si juste titre. Je puis vous assurer, monsieur, que l'estime que le roi vous porte, ne vous laisse rien à désirer, et que sa majesté apprendra avec une véritable satisfaction, que vos compatriotes ont récompensé d'une manière digne de vous, les importans services que vous leur avez rendus.

"Je vous prie, monsieur, de me conserver une part dans votre souvenir, et de ne jamais douter de la sincérité de l'intérêt que je prends à votre bonheur: il a pour principe les sentimens d'attachement que je vous ai voués, et avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, monsieur, votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur, DE VERGENNES."

One of the last public acts of Dr. Franklin in Europe, as plenipotentiary from congress, took place on the 9th of July, 1785, when he concluded and signed (jointly with other American commissioners) a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States of America and the king of Prussia. This treaty is remarkable as containing a strong and lasting testimony of Dr. Franklin's wonted philanthropy. In it was introduced for the first time, (and, to the disgrace of governments, perhaps for the last) that benevolent article against the molestation of the persons and property of *unarmed citizens* in time of war; and against privateering. The establishing of this principle as the future law of nations, was a favourite object of Dr. Franklin. In the beginning of the year 1783, he formally proposed the same to the British government, through the medium of one of its envoys, as appears by his letter to Mr. Oswald of the 14th January, 1783, to which is subjoined his motives and arguments at length, in favour of this improvement of the law of nations. The article then proposed was nearly the same as that which he afterwards actually introduced, and constituted as part of the treaty with Prussia; it runs thus:

ARTICLE 23.

"If war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country then residing in the other, shall be allowed to remain nine months, to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance. And all women and children, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, artizans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed, and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, and places; and in general all others whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, and shall not be molested in their persons; nor shall their houses or goods be burnt or otherwise destroyed, nor their fields wasted by the armed force of the enemy, into whose power, by the events of the war, they may happen to fall: but if any thing is necessary to be taken from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price. And all merchant and trading vessels, employed in exchanging the products of different places, and thereby rendering the necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of human life, more easy to be obtained, and more general, shall be allowed to pass free and unmolested; and neither of the contracting powers shall grant or issue any commission to any private armed vessels, empowering them to take or destroy such trading vessels, or interrupt such commerce."*

During Dr. Franklin's residence in France, notwithstanding the important and multifarious concerns attending his public situation, he nevertheless found time to write several papers on philosophical and other subjects; which will appear in their appropriate places.

A few days before he left Passy, he received an additional proof of the personal esteem entertained for him at the court of France, by the following letter from the marechal duc de Castries, the minister of the marine.

"*A son Excellence M. Franklin.*

"Versailles, le 10 Juillet, 1785.

"Je n'ai appris, monsieur, que depuis trés-peu de jours, les dispositions que vous avez faites pour votre départ. Si j'en eusse été informé plutôt, je me serois empressé à proposer au roi de destiner une frégate pour vous transporter dans votre patrie, d'une manière à lui faire connoître la considération que les services distingues que vous avez rendus vous

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TRANSLATION.

* *To his Excellency M. Franklin.*

Versailles, 22d May, 1785.

I learn with great pain, sir, of your resignation, and that you are about to return to America. You can have no doubt of the regrets which your departure will produce: it will be proportioned to that consideration to which you are so justly entitled. I can assure you, sir, that the esteem which the king bears for you, is not less than you could wish, and that his majesty contemplates with true gratification, that your countrymen will appreciate in a manner worthy of you, the importance of the services which you have rendered to your country.

I pray you, sir, to retain for me a place in your remembrance, and never to doubt the sincerity of the interest which I take in your happiness: it is in the spirit of these feelings of attachment that I offer you the wishes with which I have the honour to be, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,
DE VERGENNES.

*This Prussian treaty, entered into on the 9th July, 1785, to continue in force ten years; a new treaty was entered into the 11th July, 1799; in which the humane clause was *specially* abandoned, upon the pretence of "the article respecting *free ships making* free goods not being sufficiently respected during the two last wars;" John Quincy Adams being the negotiator, and John Adams being president of the United States.
Phila. Edit.

out acquis en France, et les bontés particulières de sa majesté pour vous.

"Je vous prie, monsieur, d'agréer mes regrets, et une nouvelle assurance de la plus parfaite considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être, monsieur, votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

"LE MARL. DE CASTRIES."*

The infirmity under which Dr. Franklin laboured, was such, that he could not support the motion of a carriage. In consequence, the queen's litter, borne by Spanish mules, was kindly offered and gratefully accepted, to convey him from Passy to Havre-de-Grace, where he proposed embarking. In this easy vehicle he made that journey, followed by his family and some friends in carriages. On the road, he experienced every mark of respect, attention, and kindness, from several of the nobility and gentry whose *chateaux* lay adjoining, and particularly from the cardinal de la Rochefoucault, at Gaillon, where he passed a night with his accompanying friends and attendants. He arrived safe at Havre, without having experienced any material inconvenience from the journey, and there embarked in a small packet, crossed the British channel, and landed at Southampton. Here he remained a few days, and had the satisfaction of seeing his son, the former governor of New Jersey; and receiving the visits of several of his English friends. Among these were the bishop of St. Asaph (Dr. Shipley,) Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, &c. &c. He embarked on board a Philadelphia ship called the *London Packet*, captain Thomas Truxton, on the 27th July, and after a prosperous voyage arrived at Philadelphia on the 14th September. But his own account of his journey from Passy, to Havre, and his subsequent voyage to Southampton and thence to America, as taken from his pocket journal, may not perhaps be entirely void of interest. It is as follows.

Private Journal.

"Having staid in France about eight and a half years, I took leave of the court and my friends, and set out on my return home, July 12, 1785, leaving Passy with my two grandsons, at four P. M.; arrived about eight at *St. Germains*. M. de Chaumont, with his daughter Sophia, accompanied us to *Nanterre*. M. le Veillard will continue with us to Havre. We met at *St. Germains* the Miss Alexanders with Mrs. Williams our cousin, who had provided a lodging for me at M. Benoit's. I found that the motion of the litter, lent me by the duc de Coigny, did not much incommode me. It was one of the queen's, carried by two very large mules, the muleteer riding another; M. le Veillard and my children in a carriage. We drank tea at M. Benoit's, and went early to bed.

Wednesday, July 13. Breakfast with our friends, take leave and continue our journey, dine at a good inn at *Meulan*, and get to *Mantes* in the evening. A messenger from the cardinal de Rochefoucault meets us there, with an invitation to us to stop at his house at *Gaillon* the next day, acquainting us at the same time, that he would take no excuse, for being all-powerful in his archbishopric, he would stop us *nolens volens* at his habitation, and not permit us to lodge any where else. We consented. Lodged at *Mantes*. Found myself very little fatigued with the day's journey, the mules going only foot pace.

Thursday, July 14. Proceed early, and breakfasted at *Vernon*. Received a visit there from vicomte de Tilly and his comtesse. Arrive at the cardinal's without dining, about six in the afternoon. It is a superb ancient chateau, built about three hundred and fifty years since, but in fine preservation, on an elevated situation, with an extensive and beautiful view over a well cultivated country. The cardinal is archbishop of Rouen. A long gallery contains the pictures of all his predecessors. The chapel is elegant in the old style, with well-painted glass windows. The terrace magnificent. We supped early. The entertainment was kind and cheerful. We were allowed to go early to bed, on account of our intention to depart early in the morning. The cardinal pressed us to pass another day with him, offering to amuse us with hunting in his park: but the necessity we are under of being in time at Havre, would not permit. So we took leave and retired to rest. The cardinal is much respected and beloved by the people of this country, bearing in all respects an excellent character.

Friday, July 15. Set out about five in the morning, travelled till ten, then stopped to breakfast, and remained in the inn during the heat of the day. We had heard at the cardinal's, that our friend Mr. Holker of Rouen had been out as far as Port St. Antoine to meet us; expecting us there from a letter of M. de Chaumont's. Here came to us one of his servants, who was sent to inquire if any accident

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TRANSLATION.

* *To his Excellency Mr. Franklin.*

VERSAILLES, 10 July, 1785.

I was not apprized, sir, until within a few hours, of the arrangements which you have made for your departure. Had I been informed of it sooner, I should have proposed to the king to order a frigate to convey you to your own country, in a manner suitable to the known importance of the services you have been engaged in, to the esteem you have acquired in France, and the particular esteem which his majesty entertains for you.

I pray you, sir, to accept my regrets and a renewed assurance of the most entire consideration, with which I have the honour to be, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

LE MARECHAL DE CASTRIES.

had happened to us on the road, and was ordered to proceed till he got intelligence. He went directly back, and we proceeded. We passed a chain of chalk mountains very high, with strata of flints. The quantity that appears to have been washed away on one side of these mountains, leaving precipices of three hundred feet high, gives an idea of extreme antiquity. It seems as if done by the beating of the sea. We got to *Rouen* about five, were most affectionately received by Mr. and Mrs. Holker. A great company of genteel people at supper, which was our dinner. The chief president of the parliament and his lady invite us to dine the next day; but being pre-engaged with Mr. Holker, we compounded for drinking tea. We lodge all at Mr. Holker's.

Saturday, July 16. A deputation from the academy of Rouen came with their compliments, which were delivered in form, and a present for me by one of the directors, being a magical square, which I think he said expressed my name. I have perused it since, but do not comprehend it. The duke de Chabot's son, lately married to a Montmorency, and colonel of a regiment now at Rouen, was present at the ceremony, being just come in to visit me. I forgot to mention that I saw with pleasure in the cardinal's cabinet, a portrait of this young man's grandmother, madame la duchesse d'Enville, who had always been our friend, and treated us with great civilities at Paris; a lady of uncommon intelligence and merit.

I received here also a present of books, 3 vol. 4to., from Dr. ———, with a very polite letter, which I answered.

We had a great company at dinner; and at six went in a chair to the president's, where were assembled some gentlemen of the robe. We drank tea there, awkwardly made, for want of practice, very little being drunk in France. I went to bed early; but my company supped with a large invited party, and were entertained with excellent singing.

Sunday, July 17. Set out early. Mr. Holker accompanied us some miles, when we took an affectionate leave of each other. Dine at *Ivetot*, a large town, and arrive at *Bolbec*, being the longest day's journey we have yet made. It is a market town of considerable bigness, and seems thriving; the people well clad, and appear better fed than those of the wine countries. A linen printer here offered to remove to America, but I did not encourage him.

Monday, July 18. Left *Bolbec*, about ten o'clock, and arrive at *Havre* at five P. M., having stopt on the road at a miserable inn to bait. We were very kindly received by M. and Mde. Ruellan. The governor makes us a visit, and some other gentlemen.

Tuesday, July 19. We receive visits in form from the intendant, the governor or commandant, the officers of the regiment of Poitou and Picardy, the corps of engineers, and M. Limosin.

M. Limosin proposes several vessels; all very dear. We wait for the packet from Southampton. Dine at M. Ruellan's, where we lodge. Receive the affiliation of the lodge at Rouen.

Wednesday, July 20. Return the visits. Receive one from the *corps de marine;* and one from the *corps d'artillerie*. M. Houdon arrives and brings me letters. Dine at M. Limosin's. Present M. and Mde. le Mesurier and their sister, agreeable people of Alderney (Auyigny.) Kindly entertained by M. L. and his daughter. Return the last visits.

The packet-boat arrives, and the captain (Jennings) calling at our lodging, we agreed with him to carry us and the baggage we have here for ten guineas, to land us at *Cowes*. We are to depart to-morrow evening.

Thursday, July 21. We had another visit from M. de Villeneuve, the commandant, inviting us to dine with him to-morrow; but intending to go off this evening, we could not accept that honour.

Dine with our friendly host and hostess. Madame Feines, madame de Clerval, and two other ladies, visit M. le Veillard with several gentlemen.

In the evening, when we thought we were on the point of departing, the captain of the packet comes and acquaints us that the wind is right against us, and blows so hard, that it is impossible to get out, and we give up the project till to-morrow.

Friday, July 22. Breakfast and take leave of some friends, and go on board the packet at half after ten. Wind not very fair.

Saturday, July 23. Buffet all night against the north west wind, which was full in our teeth. This continued till two o'clock today, then came fair, and we stand our course. At seven P. M. we discover land, the *Isle of Wight*.

Sunday, July 24. We had a fair wind all night, and this morning at seven o'clock, being off *Cowes*, the captain represented to me the difficulty of getting in there against the flood; and proposing that we should rather run up to *Southampton*, which we did, and landed there between eight and nine. Met my son, who had arrived from London the evening before, with Mr. Williams and Mr. J. Alexander. Wrote a letter to the bishop of St. Asaph, acquainting him with my arrival, and he came with his lady and daughter, Miss Kitty, after dinner, to see us; they talk of staying here as long as we do. Our meeting was very affectionate. I write letters to London, viz. to Messrs. W. J. M. and Co., to acquaint them with our arrival, and desire to know when the ship will sail, and to Mr. Williams. These letters went by post, before we knew of his being here. Wrote also to Mr. B. Vaughan.

Monday, July 25. The bishop and family lodging in the same inn, the Star, we all breakfast and dine together. I went at noon to bathe in Martin's salt water hot bath, and floating on my back, fell asleep, and slept near an hour by my watch without sinking or turning; a thing I never did before, and should hardly have thought possible. Water is the easiest bed that can be. Read over the writings of conveyance, &c. of my son's lands in New Jersey and New York, to my grandson. Write to M. Ruellan, M. Limosin, and M. Holker, and M. Grand. Southampton a very neat pretty place. The two French gentlemen, our friends, much pleased with it. The bishop gives me a book in 4to. written by dean Paley, and the family dine with us. Sundry friends came to see me from London, by one I received a present of my friend Dr. Fothergill's works, from Dr. Lettsom; and a book on finance from Mr. Gale. Mr. Williams tells me the ship had fallen down to Gravesend the 22d, so that she might be in the Downs the 24th, and possibly here to-morrow, that is, on the Mother Bank, which we can see hence. Mr. Williams brought a letter from Mr. Nepean, secretary to lord Townsend, addressed to Mr. Vaughan, expressing, that orders would be sent to the custom-house at Cowes not to trouble our baggage, &c. It is still here on board the packet that brought it over. Mr. Alexander takes leave for London; write by him to Mr. Jackson, Dr. Jeffries, Dr. Lettsom, and my son-in-law Bache, the latter to be sent by the packet.

July 26. Deeds signed between W. Franklin and W. T. Franklin.

Mr. Williams having brought sundry necessaries for me, goes down with them to *Cowes*, to be ready for embarking. Captain Jennings carries down our baggage that he brought from Havre. My dear friend, M. le Veillard, takes leave to go with him. Mr. Vaughan arrives from London, to see me.

Wednesday, July 27. Give a power to my son to recover what may be due to me from the British government. Hear from J. Williams that the ship is come.

We all dine once more with the bishop and family, who kindly accept our invitation to go on board with us. We go down in a shallop to the ship. The captain entertains us at supper. The company stay all night.

Thursday, July 28. When I waked in the morning found the company gone, and the ship under sail."

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Nothing material occurred during the passage: Dr. Franklin occupied himself, as in former voyages, in ascertaining daily the temperature of the sea-water by the thermometer; and he wrote a very interesting and useful paper on "*Improvements in Navigation*," which he addressed to monsieur Alphonse le Roy, at Paris. It was afterwards read in the American Philosophical Society, December 3, 1785, and will be found in his philosophical writings.

The foregoing little journal concludes thus:

"Tuesday, Sept. 13. The wind springing fair last evening after a calm, we found ourselves, this morning at sun-rising, abreast of the light-house, and between Capes May and Henlopen. We sail into the bay very pleasantly; water smooth, air cool, day fair and fine.

We passed Newcastle about sun-set, and went on near to Redbank before the tide and wind failed, then came to an anchor.

Wednesday, Sept. 14. With the flood in the morning came a light breeze, which brought us above Gloucester Point, in full view of dear Philadelphia! when we again cast anchor to wait for a health-officer, who, having made his visit, and finding no sickness, gave us leave to land. My son-in-law came with a boat for us, we landed at Market street wharf, where we were received by a crowd of people with huzzas, and accompanied with acclamations quite to my door. Found my family well.

God be praised and thanked for all his mercies!"

MEMOIRS

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

PART V.

On the arrival of Dr. Franklin in Philadelphia, he was received amidst the acclamations of an immense number of the inhabitants, who flocked from all parts in order to see him, and conducted him in triumph to his own house. In the mean time, the cannon and the bells of the city announced the glad tidings to the neighbouring country; and he was waited upon by the congress, the university, and all the principal citizens, who were eager to testify their esteem and veneration for his character.

His entry into Philadelphia resembled a triumph; and he traversed the streets of that capital amidst the benedictions of a free and grateful people, who had not forgotten his services.

The warriors who had shed their blood for an independence, insured by means of his sagacity, were eager to exhibit to him their glorious wounds. He was surrounded by old men, who had petitioned Heaven to live long enough to behold his return; and by a new generation eager to survey the features of a great man, whose talents, whose services, and whose virtues, had excited in their hearts the first raptures of enthusiasm. Having advanced from a port, henceforth open to all nations, to a city, the model of all future capitals, he beheld the public school which he had founded,—in a state of splendour; and saw the hospital, the establishment of which had been one of his first services, and the increase of which was owing to his foresight,—now fully commensurate to all his wishes: the latter by solacing suffering humanity; the former by aiding the progress of reason. He then turned his eyes towards the neighbouring country, embellished by liberty, in which, in the midst of public prosperity, were still to be seen some vestiges of the ravages of the English; but these only served by their contrast to endear still more the pleasures arising from peace—and victory!

The following are some of the numerous congratulatory addresses presented to Dr. Franklin on his return:

"*To the Honourable Benjamin Franklin, Esq., L. L. D, &c. &c.*

"The representatives of the freemen of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met; in the most affectionate manner congratulate you on your safe arrival in your country, after so long an absence on the most important business. We likewise congratulate you on the firm establishment of the independence of America, and the settlement of a general peace, after the interesting struggle in which we were so long engaged.

"We are confident, sir, that we speak the sentiments of this whole country, when we say, that your services, in the public councils and negotiations, have not only merited the thanks of the present generation, but will be recorded in the pages of history, to your immortal honour. And it is particularly pleasing to us, that, while we are sitting as members of the assembly of Pennsylvania, we have the happiness of welcoming into the state, a person who was so greatly instrumental in forming its free constitution.

"May it please God to give you a serene and peaceful enjoyment of the evening of life, and a participation of that happiness you have been so instrumental in securing to others.

"Signed, by order of the house,
"JOHN BAYARD, Speaker.
"Assembly Chambers, Sept. 15, 1785."

"*Dr. Franklin's Reply.*

"Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen,—I am extremely happy to find by your friendly and affectionate address, that my endeavours to serve our country in the late important struggle, have met with the approbation of so respectable a body as the representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania. I esteem that approbation as one of the greatest honours of my life. I hope the peace with which God has been graciously pleased to bless us may be lasting, and that the free constitution we now enjoy, may long contribute to promote our common felicity. The kind wishes of the general assembly for my particular happiness affect me very sensibly, and I beg they would accept my thankful acknowledgments."

"*To the Hon. Benjamin Franklin, Esq., L. L. D., &c.*

"Sir,—It is with peculiar pleasure that the *American Philosophical Society*, address you on this occasion.

"The high consideration and esteem in which we hold your character, so intimately combine with our regard for the public welfare, that we participate eminently in the general satisfaction which your return to America produces.

"We bid you welcome to your native country, for which you have done the most essential services:—and we welcome you to this chair, your occupying of which, as *President*, adds to our institution much lustre in the eyes of the world.

"Sir, it reflects honour on *philosophy*, when one distinguished by his deep investigations, and many valuable improvements in it, is known to be equally distinguished for his philanthropy, patriotism, and liberal attachment to the rights of human nature.

"We know the favourable influence that freedom has upon the growth of sciences and arts. We derive encouragement and extraordinary felicity from an assemblage of recent memorable events.

"And while we boast in a most pleasing equality permanently ascertained; and that independence which you had so great a share in establishing; we have reason to expect, that this society will proceed with an increasing success, to conduct the important business for which they originally associated."

The President's Answer.

"Gentlemen,—The great honour done me by the society, in choosing me so many years successively their president, notwithstanding my absence in Europe, and the very kind welcome they are pleased to give me on my return, demand my most grateful acknowledgments; which I beg they would be pleased to accept, with my warmest wishes of success to their laudable endeavours for the promoting of useful knowledge among us, to which I shall be happy if I can in any degree contribute."

"*To the Hon. Benjamin Franklin, Esq., L. L. D., &c.*

"The Address of the Provost, Vice-Provost, and Professors of the University of Pennsylvania.

"Honoured Sir,—The Provost, Vice-Provost, and Professors of the University of Pennsylvania, beg leave to congratulate you on your safe arrival in your native country, after having accomplished the duties of your exalted character with dignity and success.

"While we participate in the general happiness of America, to the establishment of which your political abilities and patriotic exertions have so signally contributed; we feel a particular pleasure in paying our acknowledgments to the gentleman who first projected the liberal plan of the institution, over which we have the honour to preside.

"Not contented with enriching the world with the most important discoveries in natural philosophy, your benevolence and liberality of sentiment early engaged you to make provision for exciting a spirit of inquiry into the secret operations of nature; for exalting and refining the genius of America, by the propagation of useful learning; and for qualifying many of her sons to make that illustrious figure which has commanded the esteem and admiration of the most polished nations of Europe.

"Among the many benevolent projections which have laid so ample a foundation for the esteem and gratitude of your native country, permit this seminary to reckon her first establishment, upon the solid principles of equal liberty, as one of the most considerable and important: and now when restored, through the influence of our happy constitution, to her original broad and catholic bottom; when enriched by the protection and generous donations of a public-spirited and patriotic assembly; and when flourishing under the countenance of the best friends of religion, learning, and liberty in the state; she cannot but promise herself the continued patronage of the evening of that life which divine Providence has so eminently distinguished.

"May the same indulgent Providence yet continue your protracted life, enriched and crowned with the best of blessings, to nurse and cherish this favourite child of your youth; that the future sons of science in this western world, may have additional reason to remember the name of FRANKLIN, with gratitude and pleasure.

"Signed in the name and by order of the faculty, by
"JOHN EWING, Provost.

"Philadelphia, Sept. 16, 1785."

Dr. Franklin's Answer.

"I am greatly obliged, gentlemen, by your kind congratulations on my safe arrival.

"It gives me extreme pleasure to find, that seminaries of learning are increasing in America, and particularly that the university over which you preside, continues to flourish. My best wishes will always attend it.

"The instruction of youth is one of those employments which to the public are most useful; it ought therefore to be esteemed among the most honourable; its successful exercise does not, however, always meet with the reward it merits, except in the satisfaction of having contributed to the forming of virtuous and able men for the service of their country."

The constitutional society of Philadelphia, the justices of the city, the officers of the militia, and several other bodies, presented to Dr. Franklin, on his arrival, addresses of congratulation nearly similar; and shortly after he received the following letter from that illustrious character, general Washington:—

"Mount Vernon, Sept. 25, 1785.

"Dear Sir,—Amid the public gratulations on your safe return to America, after a long absence, and the many eminent services you have rendered it—for which as a benefited person I feel the obligation—permit an individual to join the public voice in expressing his sense of them; and to assure you, that as no one entertains more respect for your character, so none can salute you with more sincerity or with greater pleasure than I do on the occasion.

"I am, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, G. WASHINGTON.

"*The Hon. Dr. Franklin.*"

Soon after Dr. Franklin's arrival in Philadelphia, he was chosen a member of the supreme executive council of that city; and shortly after was elected president of the state of Pennsylvania; which honourable situation he filled the whole time allowed by the constitution, viz. three successive years.

When a general convention of the states was summoned to meet in Philadelphia, in 1787, for the purpose of giving more energy to the government of the Union, by revising and amending the articles of confederation, Dr. Franklin was appointed a delegate from the state of Pennsylvania to that convention; as such he signed the new constitution agreed on for the United States, and gave it his qualified approbation.

The following *Notes* and *Remarks*, drawn up by Dr. Franklin, together with the substance of some of his *Speeches* in this convention, will be found of considerable interest; and on this account, as well as to show his general ideas on government, are here inserted.

Proposal for Consideration.

June 26, 1787.

That the legislatures of the several states shall choose and send an equal number of delegates, namely ———— who are to compose the second branch of the general legislature.

That in all cases or questions wherein the sovereignties of the individual states may be affected, or whereby their authority over their own citizens may be diminished, or the authority of the general government within the several states augmented, each state shall have *equal* suffrage.

That in the appointment of all civil officers of the *general government*, in the election of whom the second branch may by the constitution have part, each state shall have *equal* suffrage.

That in fixing the salaries of such officers, in all allowances for public services, and generally in all appropriations and dispositions of money to be drawn out of the general treasury, and in all laws for supplying the treasury, the delegates of the several states shall have suffrage *in proportion to the sums their respective states had actually contributed to that treasury from their taxes or internal excises.*

That in case the general duties should be laid by impost on goods imported, a liberal estimation shall be made of the amount of such impost paid in the price of the commodities by those states that import but little, and a proportionate addition shall be allowed of suffrage to such states, and an equal diminution of the suffrage of the states importing.

REMARKS.

The steady course of public measures is most probably to be expected from a number.

A single person's measures may be good: the successor often differs in opinion on those measures, and adopts others: often is ambitious of distinguishing himself, by opposing them, and offering new projects: one is peaceably disposed; another may be fond of war, &c. Hence foreign states can never have that confidence in the treaties or friendship of such a government, as in that which is conducted by a number.

The single head may be sick; who is to conduct the public affairs in that case? When he dies, who are to conduct till a new election? If a council, why not continue them? Shall we not be harassed with factions for the election of successors? become, like Poland, weak from our dissensions.

Consider the present distracted condition of Holland: they had at first a stadtholder, the prince of Orange, a man of undoubted and great merit: they found some inconveniences, however, in the extent of powers annexed to that office, and exercised by a single person. On his death, they resumed and divided those powers among the states and cities; but there has been a constant struggle since between that family and the nation. In the last century the then prince of Orange found means to inflame the populace against their magistrates, excite a general insurrection, in which an excellent minister, *Dewit*, was murdered, all the old magistrates displaced, and the stadtholder re-invested with all the former powers. In this century the father of the present stadtholder, having married a British princess, did, by exciting another insurrection, force from the nation a decree, that the stadtholdership should be thenceforth hereditary in his family. And now his son, being suspected of having favoured England in the late war, and thereby lost the confidence of the nation, is forming an internal faction to support his power, and reinstate his favourite the duke of Brunswick; and he holds up his family alliances with England and Prussia to terrify opposition. It was this conduct of the stadtholder which induced the states to recur to the protection of France and put their troops under a French, rather than the stadtholder's German general, the duke of Brunswick: and this is the source of all the present disorders in Holland, which if the stadtholder has abilities equal to his inclinations, will, probably, after a ruinous and bloody civil war, end in establishing an hereditary monarchy in his family.

QUERIES and REMARKS on a Paper, entitled, "*Hints for the Members of Convention.*" No. II. in the Federal Gazette of Tuesday, Nov. 3, 1789.

HINT I. OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

"*Your executive should consist of a single person.*"

On this I would ask, is he to have no council? How is he to be informed of the state and circumstances of the different counties, their wants, their abilities, their dispositions, and the characters of the principal people, respecting their integrity, capacities, and qualifications for offices? Does not the present construction of our executive provide well for these particulars? And during the number of years it has existed, have its errors or failures in answering the end of its appointment been more or greater than might have been expected from a single person?

"*But an individual is more easily watched and controlled than any greater number.*"

On this I would ask, who is to watch and control him? And by what means is he to be controlled? Will not those means, whatever they are, and in whatever body vested, be subject to the same inconveniences of expense, delay, obstruction of good intentions, &c., which are objected to the present executive?

II. THE DURATION OF THE APPOINTMENT.

"*This should be governed by the following principles, the independency of the magistrate, and the stability of his administration: neither of which can be secured but by putting both beyond the reach of every annual gust of folly and of faction.*"

On this it may be asked, ought it not also to be put beyond the reach of every triennial, quinquennial, or septennial gust of folly and faction, and in short beyond the reach of folly and of faction at any period whatever? Does not this reasoning aim at establishing a monarchy at least for life, like that of Poland? or, to prevent the inconveniences such as that kingdom is subject to in a new election on every decease? Are the freemen of Pennsylvania convinced from a view of the history of such governments, that it will be for their advantage to submit themselves to a government of such construction?

III. ON THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.

"*A plural legislature is as necessary to good government as a single executive. It is not enough that your legislature should be numerous, it should also be divided. Numbers alone are not a sufficient barrier against the impulses of passion, the combinations of interest, the intrigues of faction, the haste of folly, or the spirit of encroachment. One division should watch over and control the other; supply its wants, correct its blunders, and cross its designs, should they be criminal or erroneous. Wisdom is the specific quality of the legislature, grows out of the number of the body, and is made up of the portions of sense and knowledge which each member brings to it.*"

On this it may be asked, may not the wisdom brought to the legislature by each member be as effectual a barrier against the impulses of passion, &c., when the members are united in one body as when they are divided? If one part of the legislature may control the operations of the other, may not the impulses of passion, the combinations of interest, the intrigues of faction, the haste of folly, or the spirit of encroachment in one of those bodies obstruct the good proposed by the other, and frustrate its advantages to the public? Have we not experienced in this state, when a province under the government of the proprietors, the mischiefs of a second branch existing in the proprietary family countenanced and aided by an aristocratic counsel? How many delays and what great expenses were occasioned in carrying on the public business; and what a train of mischiefs, even to the preventing of the defence of the province during several years, when distressed by an Indian war, by the iniquitous demand that the proprietary property should be exempt from taxation! The wisdom of a few members in one single legislative body, may it not frequently stifle bad motions in their infancy, and so prevent their being adopted? whereas if those wise men, in case of a double legislature, should happen to be in that branch wherein the motion did not arise, may it not, after being adopted by the other, occasion long disputes and contentions between the two bodies, expensive to the public, obstructing the public business, and promoting factions among the people, many tempers naturally adhering obstinately to measures they have once publicly adopted? Have we not seen in one of our neighbouring states, a bad measure adopted by one branch of the legislature, for want of the assistance of some more intelligent members who had been packed into the other, occasion many debates, conducted with much asperity, which could not be settled but by an expensive general appeal to the public? And have we not seen in another neighbouring state, a similar difference between the two branches, occasioning long debates and contentions, whereby the state was prevented for many months enjoying the advantage of having senators in the congress of the United States? And has our present legislative, in one assembly, committed any errors of importance, which they have not remedied, or may not easily remedy; more easily probably than if divided into two branches? And if the wisdom brought by the members to the assembly is divided into two branches, may it not be too weak in each, to support a good measure or obstruct a bad one? The division of the legislature into two or three branches in England, was it the product of wisdom, or the effect of necessity, arising from the pre-existing prevalence of an odious feudal system? which government, notwithstanding this division, is now become, in fact, an absolute monarchy; since the KING, by bribing the representatives with the people's money, carries, by his ministers, all the measures that please him; which is equivalent to governing without a parliament, and renders the machine of government much more complex and expensive, and from its being more complex, more easily put out of order. Has not the famous political fable of the snake with two heads and one body, some useful instruction contained in it? She was going to a brook to drink, and in her way was to pass through a hedge, a twig of which opposed her direct course; one head chose to go on the right side of the twig, the other on the left: so that time was spent in the contest, and before the decision was completed, the poor snake died with thirst.

"*Hence it is that the two branches should be elected by persons differently qualified; and in short, that, as far as possible, they should be made to represent different interests. Under this reasoning, I would establish a legislature of two houses. The upper, should represent the property; the lower, the population of the state. The upper should be chosen by freemen possessing in lands and houses one thousand pounds; the lower, by all such as had resided four years in the country, and paid taxes. The first should be chosen for four, the last for two years. They should be in authority co-equal.*"

Several questions may arise upon this proposition. 1st. What is the proportion of freemen possessing lands and houses of one thousand pounds value, compared to that of freemen whose possessions are inferior? Are they as one to ten? Are they even as one to twenty? I should doubt whether they are as one to fifty. If this minority is to choose a body expressly to control that which is to be chosen by the great majority of the freemen, what have this great majority done to forfeit so great a portion of their right in elections? Why is this power of control, contrary to the spirit of all democracies, to be vested in a minority, instead of a majority? Then is it intended, or is it not, that the rich should have a vote in the choice of members for the lower house, while those of inferior property are deprived of the right of voting for members of the upper house? And why should the upper house, chosen by a minority, have equal power with the lower chosen by a majority? Is it supposed that wisdom is the necessary concomitant of riches, and that one man worth a thousand pounds must have as much wisdom as twenty who have each only nine hundred and ninety-nine; and why is property to be represented at all?—Suppose one of our Indian nations should now agree to form a civil society; each individual would bring into the stock of the society little more property than his gun and his blanket, for at present he has no other; we know that when one of them has attempted to keep a few swine, he has not been able to maintain a property in them, his neighbours thinking they have a right to kill and eat them whenever they want provision, it being one of their maxims, that hunting is free for all: the accumulation therefore of property in such a society, and its security to individuals in every society, must be an effect of the protection afforded to it by the joint strength of the society, in the execution of its laws. Private property, therefore, is a creature of society, and is subject to the calls of that society whenever its necessities shall require it, even to its last farthing; its contributions, therefore, to the public exigencies, are not to be considered as conferring a benefit on the public, entitling the contributors to the distinctions of honour and power; but as the return of an obligation previously received, or the payment of a just debt.—The combinations of civil society are not like those of a set of merchants who club their property in different proportions for building and freighting a ship, and may therefore have some right to vote in the disposition of the voyage in a greater or less degree, according to their respective contributions: but the important ends of civil society, and the personal securities of life and liberty, there remain the same in every member of the society; and the poorest continues to have an equal claim to them with the most opulent, whatever difference time, chance, or industry may occasion in their circumstances. On these considerations I am sorry to see the signs this paper I have been considering affords, of a disposition among some of our people to commence an aristocracy, by giving the rich a predominancy in government, a choice peculiar to themselves in one half the legislature to be proudly called the UPPER house, and the other branch chosen by the majority of the people, degraded by the denomination of the LOWER, and giving to this *upper house* a permanency of four years, and but two to *the lower*. I hope therefore, that our representatives in the convention will not hastily go into these innovations, but take the advice of the Prophet,—"*Stand in the old ways, view the ancient paths, consider them well, and be not among those that are given to change.*"

Speech of Dr. Franklin in the Convention on the subject of Salaries.

SIR,—It is with reluctance that I rise to express a disapprobation of any one article of the plan, for which we are so much obliged to the honourable gentleman who laid it before us. From its first reading I have borne a good will to it, and in general wished it success. In this particular of salaries to the executive branch, I happen to differ; and as my opinion may appear new and chimerical, it is only from a persuasion that it is right, and from a sense of duty that I hazard it. The committee will judge of my reasons when they have heard them, and their judgment may possibly change mine. I think I see inconveniencies in the appointment of salaries, I see none in refusing them, but on the contrary great advantages.

Sir, there are two passions which have a powerful influence in the affairs of men. These are *ambition* and *avarice;* the love of power and the love of money. Separately, each of these has great force in prompting men to action; but when united in view of the same object, they have in many minds the most violent effects. Place before the eyes of such men, a post of *honour* that shall at the same time be a place of *profit*, and they will move heaven and earth to obtain it. The vast number of such places it is, that renders the British government so tempestuous. The struggles for them are the true source of all those factions which are perpetually dividing the nation, distracting its councils, hurrying it sometimes into fruitless and mischievous wars, and often compelling a submission to dishonourable terms of peace.

And of what kind are the men that will strive for this profitable pre-eminence, through all the bustle of cabal, the heat of contention, the infinite mutual abuse of parties, tearing to pieces the best of characters? It will not be the wise and moderate, the lovers of peace and good order, the men fittest for the trust. It will be the bold and the violent, the men of strong passions and indefatigable activity in their selfish pursuits. These will thrust themselves into your government, and be your rulers. And these, too, will be mistaken in the expected happiness of their situation; for their vanquished competitors of the same spirit and from the same motives, will perpetually be endeavouring to distress their administration, thwart their measures, and render them odious to the people.

Besides these evils, sir, though we may set out in the beginning with moderate salaries, we shall find that such will not be of long continuance. Reasons will never be wanting for proposed augmentations; and there will always be a party for giving more to the rulers, that the rulers may be able in return to give more to them. Hence, as all history informs us, there has been in every state and kingdom, a constant kind of warfare between the governing and the governed; the one striving to obtain more for its support, and the other to pay less. And this has alone occasioned great convulsions, actual civil wars, ending either in dethroning of the princes or enslaving of the people. Generally, indeed, the ruling power carries its point, and we see the revenue of princes constantly increasing, and we see that they are never satisfied, but always in want of more. The more the people are discontented with the oppression of taxes, the greater need the prince has of money to distribute among his partizans, and pay the troops that are to suppress all resistance, and enable him to plunder at pleasure. There is scarce a king in a hundred who would not if he could, follow the example of Pharaoh,—get first all the people's money, then all their lands, and then make them and their children servants for ever. It will be said, that we do not propose to establish kings.—I know it.—But there is a natural inclination in mankind to kingly government. It sometimes relieves them from aristocratic domination. They had rather have one tyrant than five hundred. It gives more of the appearance of equality among citizens; and that they like. I am apprehensive, therefore,—perhaps too apprehensive,—that the government of these states, may in future times end in a monarchy. But this catastrophe, I think, may be long delayed, if in our proposed system we do not sow the seeds of contention, faction, and tumult, by making our posts of honour places of profit. If we do, I fear, that though we employ at first a number, and not a single person, the number will in time be set aside; it will only nourish the fœtus of a king, (as the respectable gentleman from Virginia very aptly expressed it,) and a king will the sooner be set over us.

It may be imagined by some, that this is an Utopian idea, and that we can never find men to serve us in the executive department, without paying them well for their services. I conceive this to be a mistake. Some existing facts present themselves to me, which incline me to a contrary opinion. The high sheriff of a county in England is an honourable office, but not a profitable one. It is rather expensive, and therefore not sought for. But yet it is executed, and well executed, usually by some of the principal gentlemen of the county. In France, the office of counsellor, or member of their judiciary parliament, is more honourable. It is therefore purchased at a high price: there are indeed fees on law proceedings, which are divided among them, but these fees do not amount to more than three per cent on the sum paid for the place. Therefore, as legal interest is there at five per cent., they in fact pay two per cent., for being allowed to do the judiciary business of the nation, which is at the same time entirely exempt from the burden of paying them any salaries for their services. I do not, however, mean to recommend this as an eligible mode for our judiciary department. I only bring the instance to show that the pleasure of doing good and serving their country, and the respect such conduct entitles them to, are sufficient motives with some minds to give up a great portion of their time to the public, without the mean inducement of pecuniary satisfaction.

Another instance is that of a respectable society, who have made the experiment, and practised it with success, now more than a hundred years.—I mean the Quakers. It is an established rule with them that they are not to go to law, but in their controversies they must apply to their monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings. Committees of these sit with patience to hear the parties, and spend much time in composing their differences. In doing this, they are supported by a sense of duty; and the respect paid to usefulness. It is honourable to be so employed, but it was never made profitable by salaries, fees, or perquisites. And indeed in all cases of public service, the less the profit the greater the honour.

To bring the matter nearer home, have we not seen the greatest and most important of our offices, that of general of our armies, executed for eight years together, without the smallest salary, by a patriot whom I will not now offend by any other praise; and this through fatigues and distresses, in common with the other brave men his military friends and companions, and the constant anxieties peculiar to his station? and shall we doubt finding three or four men in all the United States, with public spirit enough to bear sitting in peaceful council, for perhaps an equal term, merely to preside over our civil concerns, and see that our laws are duly executed? Sir, I have a better opinion of our country. I think we shall never be without a sufficient number of wise and good men to undertake and execute, well and faithfully, the office in question.

Sir, the saving of the salaries, that may at first be proposed, is not an object with me. The subsequent mischiefs of proposing them are what I apprehend. And therefore it is that I move the amendment. If it is not seconded or accepted, I must be contented with the satisfaction of having delivered my opinion frankly, and done my duty.

Speech of Dr. Franklin in a Committee of the Convention, on the Proportion of Representation and Votes.

Mr. Chairman,—It has given me great pleasure to observe that till this point, the *Proportion of Representation*, came before us, our debates were carried on with great coolness and temper. If any thing of a contrary kind has on this occasion appeared, I hope it will not be repeated; for we are sent hither to *consult*, not to *contend*, with each other; and declarations of a fixed opinion and of determined resolutions never to change it, neither enlighten nor convince us: positiveness and warmth on one side naturally beget their like on the other; and tend to create and augment discord, and division, in a great concern, wherein harmony and union are extremely necessary, to give weight to our councils, and render them effectual in promoting and securing the common good.

I must own, that I was originally of opinion it would be better if every member of congress, or our national council, were to consider himself rather as a representative of the whole, than as an agent for the interests of a particular state, in which case the proportion of members for each state would be of less consequence, and it would not be very material whether they voted by states or individually. But as I find this is not to be expected, I now think the number of representatives should bear some proportion to the number of the represented, and that the decisions should be by the majority of members, not by the majority of states. This is objected to from an apprehension that the greater states would then swallow up the smaller. I do not at present clearly see what advantage the greater states could propose to themselves, by swallowing the smaller, and therefore do not apprehend they would attempt it. I recollect that in the beginning of this century, when the union was proposed of the two kingdoms, England and Scotland, the Scotch patriots were full of fears, that unless they had an equal number of representatives in parliament, they should be ruined by the superiority of the English. They finally agreed, however, that the different proportions of importance in the union, of the two nations, should be attended to; whereby they were to have only forty members in the house of commons, and only sixteen of their peers were to sit in the house of lords; a very great inferiority of numbers! And yet to this day I do not recollect that any thing has been done in the parliament of Great Britain to the prejudice of Scotland; and whoever looks over the lists of public officers civil and military of that nation, will find, I believe, that the North Britons enjoy at least their full proportion of emolument.

But, sir, in the present mode of voting by states, it is equally in the power of the lesser states to swallow up the greater; and this is mathematically demonstrable. Suppose, for example, that seven smaller states had each three members in the house, and the six larger to have, one with another, six members. And that upon a question, two members of each smaller state should be in the affirmative, and one in the negative, they will make

Affirmatives - - - 14 Negatives 7
And that all the larger states should be unanimously in the negative, they would make - - - - Negatives 36
In all 43

It is then apparent, that the 14 carry the question against the 43, and the minority overpowers the majority, contrary to the common practice of assemblies in all countries and ages.

The greater states, sir, are naturally as unwilling to have their property left in the disposition of the smaller, as the smaller are to leave theirs in the disposition of the greater. An honourable gentleman has, to avoid this difficulty, hinted a proposition of equalizing the states. It appears to me an equitable one; and I should, for my own part, not be against such a measure, if it might be found practicable. Formerly, indeed, when almost every province had a different constitution, some with greater, others with fewer privileges, it was of importance to the borderers, when their boundaries were contested, whether by running the division lines they were placed on one side or the other. At present, when such differences are done away, it is less material. The interest of a state is made up of the interests of its individual members. If they are not injured, the state is not injured. Small states are more easily, well, and happily governed than large ones. If, therefore, in such an equal division, it should be found necessary to diminish Pennsylvania, I should not be averse to the giving a part of it to New Jersey, and another to Delaware; but as there would probably be considerable difficulties in adjusting such a division; and however equally made at first, it would be continually varying by the augmentation of inhabitants in some states, and their more fixed proportion in others; and thence frequent occasion for new divisions; I beg leave to propose for the consideration of the committee another mode, which appears to me to be as equitable, more easily carried into practice, and more permanent in its nature.

Let the weakest state say what proportion of money or force it is able and willing to furnish for the general purposes of the union.

Let all the others oblige themselves to furnish each an equal proportion.

The whole of these joint supplies to be absolutely in the disposition of congress.

The congress in this case to be composed of an equal number of delegates from each state:

And their decisions to be by the majority of individual members voting.

If these joint and equal supplies should on particular occasions not be sufficient, let congress make requisitions on the richer and more powerful states for further aids, to be voluntarily afforded; so leaving each state the right of considering the necessity and utility of the aid desired, and of giving more or less as it should be found proper.

This mode is not new; it was formerly practised with success by the British government, with respect to Ireland and the colonies. We sometimes gave even more than they expected or thought just to accept; and in the last war, carried on while we were united, they gave us back in five years a million sterling. We should probably have continued such voluntary contributions, whenever the occasion appeared to require them for the common good of the empire. It was not till they chose to force us, and to deprive us of the merit and pleasure of voluntary contributions, that we refused and resisted. Those contributions, however, were to be disposed of at the pleasure of a government in which we had no representative. I am therefore persuaded that they will not be refused to one in which the representation shall be equal.

My learned colleague has already mentioned, that the present mode of voting by states, was submitted to originally by congress, under a conviction of its impropriety, inequality, and injustice. This appears in the words of their resolution. It is of Sept. 6, 1774. The words are,

"Resolved, That in determining questions in this congress, each colony or province shall have one vote: the congress not being possessed of, or at present able to procure, materials for ascertaining the importance of each colony."

Dr. Franklin's Motion for Prayers in the Convention.

Mr. President,—The small progress we have made after four or five weeks' close attendance and continual reasonings with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many *Noes* as *Ayes*, is methinks a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We indeed seem to *feel* our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running all about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics, which, having been originally formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist; and we have viewed modern states all round Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

In this situation of this assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark, to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings?—In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the divine protection! Our prayers, sir, were heard;—and they were graciously answered. All of us, who were engaged in the struggle, must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favour. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful friend?—or do we imagine we no longer need its assistance.—I have lived, sir, a long time; and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, *That* God *governs in the affairs of men!* And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid?—We have been assured, sir, in the Sacred Writings, that "except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it." I firmly believe this; and I also believe, that without his concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel: we shall be divided by our little partial local interests, our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a by-word down to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

I therefore beg leave to move,

That henceforth prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven, and its blessing on our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.

[Note by Dr. Franklin.] "*The convention, except three or four persons, thought prayers unnecessary!!*"

Dr. Franklin's private sentiments with respect to this new constitution, may be gathered from the following extracts from letters he wrote about this time to some of his friends.

"*To M. Veillard, Passy.*

"Philadelphia, Feb. 17th, 1788.

——— "I sent you with my last a copy of the new constitution proposed for the United States, by the late general convention. I sent one also to our excellent friend the duke de la Rochefoucault.

"I attended the business of the convention faithfully for four months. Inclosed you have the last speech I made in it. Six states have already adopted the constitution, and there is now little doubt of its being accepted by a sufficient number to carry it into execution, if not immediately by the whole.—It has however met with great opposition in some of the states; for we are at present a nation of politicians. And though there is a general dread of giving too much *power* to our *governors*, I think we are more in danger from the little obedience in the *governed*."

To the same.

"April 22, 1788.

——— "It is very possible, as you suppose, that all the articles of the proposed new government will not remain unchanged after the first meeting of congress. I am of opinion with you, that the *two* chambers were not necessary, and I disliked some other articles that are in, and wished for some that are not in, the proposed plan: I nevertheless hope it may be adopted, though I shall have nothing to do with the execution of it, being determined to quit all public business with my present employment.* At 83 one certainly has a right to *ambition* repose."

To the same.

"Philadelphia, June 8, 1788.

"My dear Friend,—I received a few days ago your kind letter of the 3d January.

"The *arret* in favour of the *non-catholiques* gives pleasure here, not only from its present advantages, but as it is a good step towards general toleration, and to the abolishing in time all party spirit among christians, and the mischiefs that have so long attended it. Thank God, the world is growing wiser and wiser; and as by degrees men are convinced of the folly of wars for religion, for dominion, or for commerce, they will be happier and happier.

"Eight states have now agreed to the proposed new constitution; there remain five who have not yet discussed it; their appointed times of meeting not being yet arrived. Two are to meet this month, the rest later. One more agreeing, it will be carried into execution. Probably some will not agree at present, but time may bring them in; so that we have little doubt of its becoming general, perhaps with some corrections. As to your friend's taking a share in the management of it, his age and infirmities render him unfit for the business, as the business would be for him. After the expiration of his presidentship, which will now be in a few months, he is *determined* to engage no more in public affairs, even if required; but his countrymen will be too reasonable to require it. You are not so considerate; you are a hard task-master. You insist on his writing *his life*, already a long work, and at the same time would have him continually employed in augmenting the subject, while the time shortens, in which the work is to be executed. General Washington is the man that all our eyes are fixed on for *president*, and what little influence I may have, is devoted to him.

"B. FRANKLIN."

" *To the Duke de la Rochefoucault.*

"Philadelphia, Oct. 32, 1788.

"Our public affairs begin to wear a more quiet aspect. The disputes about the faults of the new constitution are subsided. The first congress will probably mend the principal ones, and future congresses the rest. That which you mentioned did not pass unnoticed in the convention. Many, if I remember right, were for making the president incapable of being chosen after the first four years; but the majority were for leaving the electors free to choose whom they pleased; and it was alleged that such incapacity might tend to make the president less attentive to the duties of his office, and to the interests of the people, than he would be if a second choice depended on their good opinion of him. We are *making experiments* in politics; what knowledge we shall gain by them will be more certain, though perhaps we may hazard too much in *that* mode of acquiring it."

" *To M. Veillard.*

"Oct. 24, 1788.

"Our affairs mend daily, and are getting into good order very fast. Never was any measure so thoroughly discussed as our proposed new constitution. Many objections were made to it in the public papers, and answers to those objections. Much party heat there was, and some violent personal abuse. I kept out of the dispute, and wrote only one little paper on the occasion, which I enclose.* You seem to be too apprehensive about our presidents being perpetual. Neither he nor we have any such intentions: of what danger there may be of such an event we are all aware, and shall take care effectually to prevent it. The choice is from four years to five years; the appointments will be small: thus we may change our president if we do not like his conduct, and he will have less inducement to struggle for a new election. As to the *two* chambers I am of your opinion, that *one alone* would be better; but, my dear friend, nothing in human affairs and schemes is perfect; and perhaps this is the case of our opinions."

" *To Charles Carrol, Member of Congress.*

"Philadelphia, May 25, 1789.

"Dear Friend,—I am glad to see by the papers that our grand machine has at length begun to work. I pray God to bless and guide its operations. If any form of government is capable of making a nation happy, ours I think bids fair now for producing that effect. But after all, much depends upon the people who are to be governed. We have been guarding against an evil that old states are most liable to, *excess of power* in the rulers; but our present danger seems to be *defect of obedience* in the subjects. There is hope, however, from the enlightened state of this age and country, we may guard effectually against that evil as well as the rest.

"My grandson, William Temple Franklin,

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* President of the state of Pennsylvania.

* A comparison between the ancient Jews and Antifederalists.

will have the honour of presenting this line; he accompanied me to France, and remained with me during my mission: I beg leave to recommend him to your notice, and that you would believe me, my dear friend, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN."

Dr. Franklin having served the full period limited by the constitution of the state of Pennsylvania for the continuance in office of its presidents; and his infirmities and desire of repose increasing, in Oct. 1788 he retired wholly from public affairs; and thus noticed the circumstance, in a letter to his friend the duke de la Rochefoucault:—

"*Philadelphia, Oct.* 22, 1788.

—— "Having now finished my turn of being president, and promising myself to engage no more in public business, I hope to enjoy the small remains of life that are allowed me, in the repose I have so long wished for. I purpose to employ it in completing the personal history you mention. It is now brought down to my fiftieth year.* What is to follow will be of more important transactions: but it seems to me what is done will be of more general use to young readers, exemplifying strongly the effects of *prudent* and *imprudent* conduct in the commencement of a life of business."

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Though Dr. Franklin had every reason to be well satisfied with the reception he met on his return to the United States, from his *fellow-citizens;* he was by no means so with the *general government.* This he feelingly expresses in a letter to his particular friend, Charles Thomson, secretary of congress.

"*To Charles Thompson.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 29, 1788.

"DEAR OLD FRIEND,—Inclosed, I send a letter to the president of congress, for the time being, which, if you find nothing improper in it, or that in regard to me you could wish changed or amended, I would request you to present. I rely much on your friendly counsel, as you must be better acquainted with persons and circumstances than I am: and I suppose there will be time enough before the new congress is formed to make any alterations you may advise, though if presented at all, it should be to the old one.

"In the copy of my letter to Mr. Barclay, you may observe, that mention is made of some 'considerable articles which I have not charged in my accounts with congress, but on which I should expect from their equity some consideration." That you may have some information what those articles are, I inclose also a "*Sketch of my services to the United States,*" wherein you will find mention of the *extra services* I performed that do not appertain to the office of plenipotentiary, viz. as judge of admiralty, as consul before the arrival of Mr. Barclay, as banker in examining and accepting the multitude of bills of exchange, and as secretary for several years, none being sent to me, though other ministers were allowed such assistance.

"I must own, I did hope, that as it is customary in Europe to make some liberal provision for ministers when they return home from foreign service, the congress would at least have been kind enough to have shown their approbation of my conduct by a grant of a small tract of land in their western country, which might have been of use and some honour to my posterity. And I cannot but still think they will do something of the kind for me whenever they shall be pleased to take my services into consideration, as I see by their minutes that they have allowed Mr. Lee handsomely for his services in England, before his appointment to France, in which services I and Mr. Bollan co-operated with him, but have had no such allowance; and since his return, he has been very properly rewarded with a good place, as well as my friend Mr. Jay: though these are trifling compensations in comparison with what was granted by the king to M. Gerard on his return from America. But how different is what has happened to me. On my return from England in 1775, the congress bestowed on me the office of postmaster-general, for which I was very thankful. It was indeed an office I had some kind of right to, as having previously greatly enlarged the revenue of the post, by the regulations I had contrived and established, while I possessed it under the crown. When I was sent to France, I left it in the hands of my son-in-law, who was to act as my deputy. But soon after my departure it was taken from me and given to Mr. Hazard. When the English ministry formerly thought fit to deprive me of the office, they left me, however, the privilege of receiving and sending my letters free of postage, which is the usage when a postmaster is not displaced for misconduct in the office: but in America, I have ever since had the postage demanded of me, which since my return from France has amounted to above fifty pounds, much of it occasioned by my having acted as minister there.

"When I took my grandson, William Temple Franklin, with me to France, I purposed, after giving him the French language, to educate him in the study and practice of the law. But by the repeated expectations given me of a secretary, and constant disappointments, I was induced, and indeed obliged, to retain him with me, to assist in the secretary's office, which disappointments continued till my return, by which time, so many years of the opportunity of his studying the law were lost, and his habits of life became so different, that it appeared no longer advisable; and I then considering him as brought up in the diplomatic line, and well qualified by his knowledge in that branch for the employ of a secretary at least, (in which opinion I was not alone, for three of my colleagues, without the smallest solicitation from me, chose him secretary of the negotiation for treaties, which they had been empowered to do) I took the liberty of recommending him to the congress for their protection. This was the only favour I ever asked of them: and the only answer I received was, a resolution superceding him, and appointed Col. Humphreys in his place; a gentleman, who, though he might have indeed a good deal of military merit, certainly had none in the diplomatic line, and had neither the French language, nor the experience, nor the address proper to qualify him for such an employment.

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* Close of Part II. The subsequent state of his health did not enable him to continue it further.

"This is all to yourself only, as a private friend: for I have not, nor ever shall, make any public complaint: and even if I could have foreseen such unkind treatment from congress, their refusing me thanks, would not in the least have abated my zeal for the cause, and ardour in support of it. I know something of the nature of such changeable assemblies, and how little successors know of the services that have been rendered to the corps, before their admission, or feel themselves obliged by such services; and what effect in obliterating a sense of them, during the absence of the servant in a distant country, the artful and reiterated malevolent insinuations of one or two envious and malicious persons may have on the minds of members, even of the most equitable, candid, and honourable dispositions; and therefore, I will pass these reflections into oblivion.

"My good friend, excuse, if you can, the trouble of this letter; and if the reproach thrown on republics, that *they are apt to be ungrateful*,* should ever unfortunately be verified, with respect to *your* services, remember that you have a right to unbosom yourself in communicating your griefs to your ancient friend, and most obedient humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN.

"*Charles Thomson, Esq.,*
Sec'y to Congress."

[Inclosed in the foregoing.]

SKETCH OF THE SERVICES OF B. FRANKLIN TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In England,

He combated the Stamp Act, and his writings in the papers against it, with his examination in parliament, were thought to have contributed much to its repeal.

He opposed the Duty Act, and though he could not prevent its passing, he obtained of Mr. Townshend an omission of several articles, particularly salt.

In the subsequent difference he wrote and published many papers, refuting the claim of parliament to tax the colonies.

He opposed all the oppressive acts.

He had two secret negotiations with the ministers for their repeal, of which he has written a narrative. In this he offered payment for the destroyed tea, at his own risk, in case they were repealed.

He was joined with Messrs. Bolland and Lee in all the applications to government for that purpose.—Printed several pamphlets at his own considerable expense against the then measures of government, whereby he rendered himself obnoxious, was disgraced before the privy council, deprived of a place in the post office of 300*l*. sterling a year, and obliged to resign his agencies, viz.

of Pennsylvania	500*l*
of Massachusetts	400
of New Jersey	100
of Georgia	200
	1200

In the whole 1500*l*. sterling per annum.

Orders were sent to the king's governors not to sign any warrants on the treasury for the orders of his salaries; and though he was not actually dismissed by the colonies that employed him, yet thinking the known malice of the court against him, rendered him less likely than others to manage their affairs to their advantage, he judged it to be his duty to withdraw from their service, and leave it open for less exceptionable persons, which saved them the necessity of removing him.

Returning to America, he encouraged the revolution; was appointed chairman of the committee of safety, where he projected the *cheveaux de frize* for securing Philadelphia, then the residence of congress.

Was sent by congress to head-quarters near Boston with Messrs. Harrison and Lynch in 1775, to settle some affairs with the northern governments and general Washington.

In the Spring of 1776, was sent to Canada with Messrs. Chase and Carrol, passing the Lakes while they were not yet free from ice.—In Canada was with his colleagues instrumental in redressing sundry grievances, and thereby reconciling the people more to our cause. He there advanced to general Arnold and other servants of congress, then in extreme necessity, 353*l*. in gold out of his own pocket, on the credit of congress, which was a great service at that juncture, in procuring provisions for our army.

Being at the time he was ordered on this service, upwards of seventy years of age, he suffered in his health by the hardships of this journey: lodging in the woods, &c. in so inclement a season; but being recovered, the congress in the same year ordered him to France. Before his departure, he put all the money he could raise, between three and four thousand pounds, into their hands; which demonstrating his confidence, encouraged others to lend their money in support of the cause.

He made no bargain for appointments, but was promised by a vote, the *net* salary of 500*l*. sterling per annum, his expenses paid, and to be assisted by a secretary, who was to have 1000*l*. per annum, to include all contingencies.

When the Pennsylvania assembly sent him to England in 1764 on the same salary, they allowed him one year's advance for his passage, and in consideration of the prejudice to his private affairs that must be occasioned by his sudden departure and absence. He has had no such allowance from congress, was badly accommodated in a miserable vessel, improper for those northern seas, (and which actually foundered in her return) was badly fed, so that on his arrival, he had scarce strength to stand.

His services to the states as commissioner, and afterwards minister plenipotentiary, are known to congress, as may appear in his correspondence. His *extra services* may not be so well known, and therefore may be here mentioned. No secretary ever arriving, the business was in part before, and entirely when the other commissioners left him, executed by himself, with the help of his grandson, who at first was only allowed clothes, board, and lodging; and afterwards a salary never exceeding 300*l.* a-year (except while he served as secretary to the commissioners for peace) by which difference in salary continued many years the congress saved, if they accept it, 700*l. sterling a-year.*

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* "*Ploravere suis non respondere favorem*
Speratum meritis." Hor. lib. ii. ep. 1.
[Their toils and services could hardly raise
The slight return of gratitude or praise.]
is applicable not only to the heroes particularly specified, but to the valiant and wise in other ages and countries.

He served as *Consul* entirely several years, till the arrival of Mr. Barclay, and even after, as that gentleman was obliged to be much and long absent in Holland, Flanders, and England; during which absence what business of the kind occurred, still came to Mr. F.

He served, though without any special commission for the purpose, as a *Judge of Admiralty;* for the congress having sent him a quantity of blank commissions for privateers, he granted them to cruisers fitted out in the ports of France, some of them manned by old smugglers, who knew every creek on the coast of England, and running all round the island, distressed the British coasting trade exceedingly, and raised their general insurance. One of those privateers alone, the *Black Prince*, took in one year 75 sail! All the papers taken in each prize brought in, were, in virtue of an order of council, sent up to Mr. F., who was to examine them, judge of the legality of the capture, and write to the admiralty of the port, that he found the prize good, and that the sale might be permitted. These papers, which are very voluminous, he has to produce.

He served also as *Merchant* to make purchases, and direct the shipping of stores to a very great value, for which he has charged no commission.

But the part of his service which was the most fatiguing and confining, was that of receiving and accepting, after a due and necessary examination, the bills of exchange drawn by congress for interest money; to the amount of *two millions and a half of livres annually;* multitudes of the bills very small, each of which, the smallest, gave as much trouble in examining as the largest. And this careful examination was found absolutely necessary from the constant frauds attempted by presenting *seconds* and *thirds* for payment, after the *firsts* had been discharged. As these bills were arriving more or less by every ship and every post, they required constant attendance. Mr. F. could make no journey for exercise as had been annually his custom, and the confinement brought on a malady that is likely to afflict him while he lives.

In short, though he has always been an active man, he never went through so much business during eight years, in any part of his life, as during those of his residence in France; which however he did not decline till he saw peace happily made, and found himself in the 80th year of his age; when, if ever, a man has some right to expect repose.

Some time after Dr. Franklin's return to Philadelphia, a society for *Political Inquiries* was formed in that city, of which he was chosen president; and on account of his bodily infirmities the meetings were held at his own house. Two or three of the essays read in this society were published; its existence, however, was not of long continuance.

Two other societies were also established in Philadelphia about this period, founded on the principles of the most liberal and refined humanity: one "*for alleviating the miseries of public prisons,*" and the other, "*for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improvement of the condition of the African race.*" –Of each of these Dr. Franklin was president. He had as early as the year 1772, strongly expressed his abhorrence of the traffic in slaves, as appears by his letter of the 22d August in that year, to Mr. Anthony Benezett, inserted in the 1*st Part* of his *Private Correspondence.*"

The following **Address** with a **Plan** of the latter society are supposed to have been drawn up by Dr. Franklin.

An Address to the Public, from the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes, unlawfully held in Bondage.

It is with peculiar satisfaction, we assure the friends of humanity, that, in prosecuting the design of our association, our endeavours have proved successful, far beyond our most sanguine expectations.

Encouraged by this success, and by the daily progress of that luminous and benign spirit of liberty, which is diffusing itself throughout the world, and humbly hoping for the continuance of the divine blessing on our labours, we have ventured to make an important addition to our original plan, and do. therefore, earnestly solicit the support and assistance of all, who can feel the tender emotions of sympathy and compassion, or relish the exalted pleasure of beneficence.

Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature, that its very extirpation, if not performed with solicitous care, may sometimes open a source of serious evils.

The unhappy man, who has long been treated as a brute animal, too frequently sinks beneath the common standard of the human species. The galling chains, that bind his body, do also fetter his intellectual faculties, and impair the social affections of his heart. Accustomed to move like a mere machine, by the will of a master, reflection is suspended; he has not the power of choice; and reason and conscience have but little influence over his conduct, because he is chiefly governed by the passion of fear. He is poor and friendless—perhaps worn out by extreme labour, age, and disease.

Under such circumstances, freedom may often prove a misfortune to himself, and prejudicial to society.

Attention to emancipated black people, it is therefore to be hoped, will become a branch of our national police; but as far as we contribute to promote this emancipation, so far that attention is evidently a serious duty incumbent on us, and which we mean to discharge to the best of our judgment and abilities.

To instruct, to advise, to qualify those, who have been restored to freedom, for the exercise and enjoyment of civil liberty, to promote in them habits of industry, to furnish them with employments suited to their age, sex, talents, and other circumstances, and to procure their children an education calculated for their future situation in life; these are the great outlines of the annexed plan, which we have adopted, and which we conceive will essentially promote the public good, and the happiness of these our hitherto too much neglected fellow-creatures.

A plan so extensive cannot be carried into execution without considerable pecuniary resources, beyond the present ordinary funds of the society. We hope much from the generosity of enlightened and benevolent freemen, and will gratefully receive any donations or subscriptions for this purpose, which may be made to our treasurer, James Starr, or to James Pemberton, chairman of our committee of correspondence.

Signed by order of the society,
B. FRANKLIN, President.
Philadelphia, 9th of November, 1789.

The labours of both these societies have been crowned with great success, and they continue to prosecute with unwearied diligence the laudable designs for which they were established.

According to Dr. Stuber's account, "Dr. Franklin's name, as president of the Abolition Society, was signed to the memorial presented to the house of representatives of the United States, on the 12th of February, 1789, praying them to exert the full extent of power vested in them by the constitution in discouraging the traffic of the human species.

This was his last public act. In the debates to which this memorial gave rise, several attempts were made to justify the trade. In the Federal Gazette of March 25th, 1790, there appeared an essay, signed Historicus, written by Dr. Franklin, in which he communicated a speech, said to have been delivered in the Divan of Algiers, in 1687, in opposition to the prayer of the petition of a sect called *Erika*, or Purists, for the abolition of piracy and slavery. This pretended African speech was an excellent parody of one delivered by Mr. Jackson, of Georgia. All the arguments urged in favour of negro slavery, are applied with equal force to justify the plundering and enslaving of Europeans. It affords, at the same time, a demonstration of the futility of the arguments in defence of the slave trade, and of the strength of mind and ingenuity of the author, at his advanced period of life. It furnished, too, a no less convincing proof of his power of imitating the style of other times and nations, than his celebrated parable against persecution. And as the latter led many persons to search the scriptures with a view to find it, so the former caused many persons to search the book-stores and libraries, for the work from which it was said to be extracted."

This piece, of itself so ingenious, and being one of the last compositions of Dr. Franklin, (written only a few weeks previous to his demise) is inserted here.

" *To the Editor of the Federal Gazette.*

" March 23, 1790.

" Sir,—Reading last night in your excellent paper the speech of Mr. Jackson in congress, against their meddling with the affair of slavery, or attempting to mend the condition of the slaves, it put me in mind of a similar one made about one hundred years since, by Side Mehemed Ibrahim, a member of the Divan of Algiers, which may be seen in Martin's account of his consulship, *Anno* 1687. It was against granting the petition of the sect called *Erika* or *Purists*, who prayed for the abolition of piracy and slavery as being unjust. Mr. Jackson does not quote it, perhaps he has not seen it. If therefore some of its reasonings are to be found in his eloquent speech, it may only show that men's interests and intellects operate and are operated on with surprising similarity in all countries and climates, whenever they are under similar circumstances. The African's speech, as translated, is as follows:

" *Allah Bismillah, &c.*

" *God is great, and Mahomed is his prophet.*

" Have these *Erika* considered the consequences of granting their petition? If we cease our cruises against the Christians, how shall we be furnished with the commodities their countries produce; and which are so necessary for us? If we forbear to make slaves of their people, who in this hot climate are to cultivate our lands? Who are to perform the common labours of our city, and in our families? Must we not then be our own slaves? And is there not more compassion and more favour due to us as Mosslemen than to these Christian dogs? We have now above fifty thousand slaves in and near Algiers; this number, if not kept up by fresh supplies, will soon diminish and be gradually annihilated. If we then cease taking and plundering the infidel ships, and making slaves of the seamen and passengers, our lands will become of no value for want of cultivation; the rents of houses in the city will sink one half; and the revenue of government arising from its share of prizes be totally destroyed! And for what? to gratify the whims of a whimsical sect, who would have us not only forbear making more slaves, but even to manumit those we have! But who is to indemnify their masters for the loss? Will the state do it? Is our treasury sufficient? Will the *Erika* do it? Can they do it! Or would they, to do what they think justice to the slaves, do a greater injustice to the owners? And if we set our slaves free, what is to be done with them? Few of them will return to their countries, they know too well the greater hardships they must there be subject to: they will not embrace our holy religion: they will not adopt our manners: our people will not pollute ourselves by intermarrying with them: must we maintain them as beggars in our streets; or suffer our properties to be the prey of their pillage? for men accustomed to slavery, will not work for a livelihood when not compelled. And what is there so pitiable in their present condition? Were they not slaves in their own countries? Are not Spain, Portugal, France, and the Italian States, governed by despots, who hold all their subjects in slavery, without exception? Even England treats its sailors as slaves, for they are, whenever the government pleases, seized, and confined in ships of war, condemned not only to work but to fight, for small wages or a mere subsistence, not better than our slaves are allowed by us. Is their condition then made worse by their falling into our hands? No, they have only exchanged one slavery for another, and I may say a better: for here they are brought into a land where the sun of Islamism gives forth its light, and shines in full splendour, and they have an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the true doctrine, and thereby saving their immortal souls. Those who remain at home have not that happiness. Sending the slaves home then would be sending them out of light into darkness.—I repeat the question, what is to be done with them? I have heard it suggested that they may be planted in the wilderness, where there is plenty of land for them to subsist on, and where they may flourish as a free state; but they are, I doubt, too little disposed to labour without compulsion, as well as too ignorant to establish a good government, and the wild Arabs would soon molest and destroy or again enslave them. While serving us, we take care to provide them with every thing, and they are treated with humanity. The labourers in their own country, are, as I am well informed, worse fed, lodged, and clothed. The condition of most of them is therefore already mended, and requires no further improvement. Here their lives are in safety. They are not liable to be impressed for soldiers, and forced to cut one another's Christian throats, as in the wars of their own countries. If some of the religious mad bigots who now teaze us with their silly petitions, have in a fit of blind zeal freed their slaves, it was not generosity, it was not humanity that moved them to the action; it was from the conscious burden of a load of sins, and a hope, from the supposed merits of so good a work, to be excused from damnation.—How grossly are they mistaken to suppose slavery to be disallowed by the Koran! Are not the two precepts, to quote no more, "*Masters treat your slaves with kindness: slaves serve your masters with cheerfulness and fidelity*," clear proofs to the contrary? Nor can the plundering of infidels be in that sacred book forbidden, since it is well known from it, that God has given the world, and all that it contains, to his faithful Mosslemen, who are to enjoy it of right, as fast as they conquer it. Let us then hear no more of this detestable proposition, the manumission of christian slaves, the adoption of which would by depreciating our lands and houses, and thereby depriving so many good citizens of their properties, create universal discontent, and provoke insurrections, to the endangering of government, and producing general confusion. I have therefore no doubt, but this wise council will prefer the comfort and happiness of a whole nation of true believers to the whim of a few *Erika*, and dismiss their petition."

"The result was, as *Martin* tells us, that the Divan came to this resolution, 'The doctrine that plundering and enslaving the Christians is unjust, is at best *problematical;* but that it is the interest of this state to continue the practice, is clear; therefore let the petition be rejected.'

"And it was rejected accordingly.

"And since like motives, are apt to produce in the minds of men like opinions and resolutions, may we not, Mr. Brown, venture to predict, from this account, that the petitions to the parliament of England for abolishing the slave trade, to say nothing of other legislatures, and the debates upon them, will have a similar conclusion.

"I am, sir, your constant reader and humble servant, HISTORICUS."

Towards the close of the year (1789,) Dr. Franklin received a new and unexpected honour; that of being elected a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburgh.—It was communicated to him by the following handsome letter (*in English*) from the princess Daschkoff, the lady president, whom Dr. Franklin had occasionally met at Paris:—

"*To his Excellency Dr. Benjamin Franklin, &c. &c. Philadelphia.*

"DEAR SIR,—Having always supposed, and even cherished the idea, that you were a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, which is at St. Petersburgh, under my direction, I was greatly surprised, when reviewing the list of its members some days ago, I did not find your name in the number. I hastened therefore, to acquire this honour for the academy, and you were received among its members with an unanimous applause and joy. I beg you, sir, to accept of this title, and to believe that I look upon it as an honour acquired by our academy.

"I shall order the patent to be dispatched to you as soon as possible. In the mean time be assured, that it is with the greatest pleasure, that I profit of the present occasion, to give you a token of regard and veneration for your eminent character, and that I shall always recollect with pride, the advantage I had to be personally noticed by you.

"With a sincere consideration, I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

"PRINCESS OF DASCHKOFF.

"*St. Petersburgh, Nov.* 4, 1789."

During the greatest part of his life, Dr. Franklin had enjoyed an almost uninterrupted state of good health, and this he entirely attributed to his exemplary temperance.

In the year 1735, indeed, he had been seized with a pleurisy, which ended in a suppuration of the left lobe of the lungs, so that he was almost suffocated by the quantity of matter thrown up. But from this, as well as from another attack of the same kind, he recovered so completely, that his breathing was not in the least affected.

As he advanced in years, however, he became subject to fits of the gout, to which, in 1782, a nephritic cholic was superadded. From this time, he was also affected with the stone, as well as the gout; and for the last twelve months of his life, these complaints almost entirely confined him to his bed.

Notwithstanding his distressed situation, neither his mental faculties nor his natural cheerfulness ever forsook him. His memory was tenacious to the very last; and he seemed to be an exception to the general rule,—that at a certain period of life, the organs which are subservient to this faculty become callous; a remarkable instance of which is, that he learned to speak French after he had attained the age of seventy!

In the beginning of April, 1790, he was attacked with a fever and complaint of his breast, which terminated his existence. The following account of his last illness was written by his friend and physician, Dr. Jones.

"The stone, with which he had been afflicted for several years, had for the last twelve months confined him chiefly to his bed; and during the extremely painful paroxysms, he was obliged to take large doses of laudanum to mitigate his tortures—still, in the intervals of pain, he not only amused himself with reading and conversing cheerfully with his family, and a few friends who visited him, but was often employed in doing business of a public as well as private nature, with various persons who waited on him for that purpose; and in every instance displayed, not only that readiness and disposition of doing good, which was the distinguishing characteristic of his life, but the fullest and clearest possession of his uncommon mental abilities; and not unfrequently indulged himself in those *jeux d'esprit* and entertaining anecdotes, which were the delight of all who heard him.

"About sixteen days before his death, he was seized with a feverish indisposition, without any particular symptoms attending it, till the third or fourth day, when he complained of a pain in the left breast, which increased till it became extremely acute, attended with a cough and laborious breathing. During this state, when the severity of his pains drew forth a groan of complaint, he would observe—that he was afraid he did not bear them as he ought—acknowledged his grateful sense of the many blessings he had received from that Supreme Being, who had raised him from small and low beginnings to such high rank and consideration among men—and made no doubt but his present afflictions were kindly intended to wean him from a world, in which he was no longer fit to act the part assigned him. In this frame of body and mind he continued till five days before his death, when his pain and difficulty of breathing entirely left him, and his family were flattering themselves with the hopes of his recovery, when an imposthumation, which had formed itself in his lungs, suddenly burst, and discharged a great quantity of matter, which he continued to throw up while he had sufficient strength to do it, but, as that failed, the organs of respiration became gradually oppressed—a calm lethargic state succeeded—and, on the 17th of April, 1790, about eleven o'clock at night, he quietly expired, closing a long and useful life of eighty-four years and three months."*

The following account of his funeral, and the honours paid to his memory, is derived from an anonymous source, but is correct.

"All that was mortal of this great man was interred on the 21st of April, in the cemetery of Christ church, Philadelphia, in that part adjoining to Arch street, N. W. corner, in order that, if a monument should be erected over his grave, it might be seen to more advantage.

"Never was any funeral so numerously and so respectably attended in any part of the States of America. The concourse of people assembled upon this occasion was immense. All the bells in the city were muffled, and the very newspapers were published with black borders. The body was interred amidst peals of artillery; and nothing was omitted that could display the veneration of the citizens for such an illustrious character.

"The congress ordered a general mourning for one month, throughout America; the National Assembly of France paid the same compliment for three days; and the commons of Paris, as an extraordinary tribute of honour to his memory, assisted in a body at the funeral oration, delivered by the abbé Fauchet, in the rotunda of the corn market, which was hung with black, illuminated with chandeliers, and decorated with devices analogous to the occasion.

"Dr. Smith, provost of the college of Philadelphia, and David Rittenhouse, one of its members, were selected by the Philosophical Society to prepare an eulogium to the memory of its founder; and the subscribers to the city library, who had just erected a handsome building for containing their books, left a vacant niche for a statue of their benefactor.

"This has since been placed there by the munificence of an estimable citizen of Philadelphia. It was imported from Italy; the name of the artist is Francis Lazzarini; it is composed of Carara marble, and cost 500 guineas.

"It was the first piece of sculpture of that size, which had been seen in America. Franklin is represented in a standing posture; one arm is supported by means of some books, in his right hand he holds an inverted sceptre, an emblem of anti-monarchical principles; and in his left, a scroll of paper. He is dressed in a Roman toga. The resemblance is correct; the head is a copy from the excellent bust produced by the chisel of Houdon. The following inscription is engraven on the pedestal:

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* Three days previous to his decease, he desired his daughter, Mrs. Sarah Bache, to have his bed made; "*in order that he might die in a decent manner*," as was his expression: an idea probably suggested by an acquaintance with the custom of the ancients.—Mrs. Bache having replied, that she hoped he would recover, and live many years longer; he instantly rejoined, "*I hope not.*"

THIS STATUE
OF
DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
WAS PRESENTED BY
WILLIAM BINGHAM, Esq.,
1792.

"Franklin's life," says the anonymous writer of the foregoing, "affords one of the finest moral lessons that can be offered up to the admiration, the applause, or the imitation of mankind.

"As a man, we have beheld him practising and inculcating the virtues of frugality, temperance, and industry.

"As a citizen, we have seen him repelling the efforts of tyranny, and ascertaining the liberty of his countrymen.

"As a legislator, he affords a bright example of a genius soaring above corruption, and continually aiming at the happiness of his constituents.

"As a politician, we survey him, on one hand, acquiring the aid of a powerful nation, by means of his skilful negotiations; and on the other, calling forth the common strength of a congress of republics, by fixing a central point to which they could all look up, and concentrating their common force, for the purposes of union, harmony, legislation, and defence.

"As a philosopher, his labours and his discoveries are calculated to advance the interests of humanity: he might, indeed, have been justly termed the friend of man, the benefactor of the universe!

"The pursuits and occupations of his early youth afford a most excellent and instructive example to the young; his middle life, to the adult; his advanced years, to the aged. From him the poor may learn to acquire wealth, and the rich to adapt it to the purposes of beneficence.

"In regard to his character, he was rather sententious than fluent; more disposed to listen, than to talk; a judicious, rather than an imposing companion. He was what, perhaps, every able man is, impatient of interruption; for he used to mention the custom of the Indians with great applause, who, after listening with a profound attention to the observations of each other, preserve a respectful silence for some minutes, before they begin their own reply.

"He was polite in his manners, and never gave a pointed contradiction to the assertions of his friends or his antagonists, but treated every argument with great calmness, and conquered his adversaries rather by the force of reason, than assertion."

The advice of his death reached France at a period well adapted to excite great emotions: and in the National Assembly, 11th June, 1790, Mr. Mirabeau the elder, addressed the assembly as follows:—

"FRANKLIN IS DEAD!"

[A profound silence reigned throughout the hall.]

"The genius, which gave freedom to America, and scattered torrents of light upon Europe, is returned to the bosom of the Divinity!

"The sage, whom two worlds claim; the man, disputed by the history of the sciences and the history of empires, holds, most undoubtedly, an elevated rank among the human species.

"Political cabinets have but too long notified the death of those who were never great but in their funeral orations; the etiquette of courts has but too long sanctioned hypocritical grief.—Nations ought only to mourn for their benefactors; the representatives of free men ought never to recommend any other than the heroes of humanity to their homage.

"The congress hath ordered a general mourning for one month throughout the fourteen confederated states, on account of the death of Franklin; and America hath thus acquitted her tribute of admiration in behalf of one of the fathers of her constitution.

"Would it not be worthy of you, fellow-legislators, to unite yourselves in this religious act, to participate in this homage rendered in the face of the universe to the rights of man, and to the philosopher who has so eminently propagated the conquest of them throughout the world?

"Antiquity would have elevated altars to that mortal, who for the advantage of the human race, embracing both heaven and earth in his vast and extensive mind, knew how to subdue thunder and tyranny!

"Enlightened and free, Europe at least owes its remembrance and its regret to one of the greatest men who has ever served the cause of philosophy and of liberty.

"I propose, that a decree do now pass, enacting, that the National Assembly shall wear mourning during three days for Benjamin Franklin."

M. M. de la Rochefoucault and La Fayette immediately rose, in order to second this motion.

The Assembly adopted it, at first by acclamation; and afterwards decreed, by a large majority, amidst the plaudits of all the spectators, that on Monday the 14th of June it should go into mourning for three days; that the discourse of M. Mirabeau should be printed; and that the President should write a letter of condolence, upon the occasion, to the Congress of America.*

The following character of Dr. Franklin, by one of his intimate friends, is so ably and accurately drawn, that we cannot refrain adding it to the foregoing.

"There is, in the character of every distinguished person, something to admire, and something to imitate. The incidents, that have marked the life of a great man, always excite curiosity, and often afford improvement. If there be talents, which we can never expect to equal; if there be a series of good fortune, which we can never expect to enjoy, we still need not lose the labour of our biographical inquiries. We may probably become acquainted with habits, which it may be prudent to adopt—and discover virtues, which we cannot fail to applaud. It will be easy for the reader to make a full application of these remarks in his contemplations upon the late celebrated Dr. Franklin. By his death, one of the best lights of the world may be said to be extinguished. I shall not attempt any historical details of the life of this illustrious patriot and philosopher, as I have nothing further in view than to make a few comments upon the most striking traits of his character.

"Original genius was peculiarly his attribute. The native faculties of his mind qualified him to penetrate into every science: and his unremitted diligence left no field of knowledge unexplored. There were no limits to his curiosity. His inquiries were spread over the whole face of nature. But the study of man seemed to be his highest delight: and if his genius had any special bias, it lay in discovering those things that made men wiser and happier. As truth was the sole object of his researches, he was of course no sectary: and as reason was his guide, he embraced no system which that did not authorise. In short, he laid the whole volume of nature open before him, and diligently and faithfully perused it.

"Nor were his political attainments less conspicuous than his philosophical. The ancients usually ranked good fortune among those circumstances of life which indicate merit. In this view, Dr. Franklin is almost unrivalled, having seldom undertaken more than he accomplished. The world are too well acquainted with the events of his political career, to require, at this time, a particular enumeration of them. It may be presumed the historians of the American revolution will exhibit them in proper colours.

"If Dr. Franklin did not aspire after the splendour of eloquence, it was only because the demonstrative plainness of his manner was superior to it. Though he neither loved political debate, nor excelled in it, he still preserved much influence in public assemblies, and discovered an aptitude in his remarks, on all occasions. He was not fond of taking a leading part in such investigations, as could never terminate in any degree of certainty. To come forward in questions, which, in their nature, are indefinite, and, in their issue, problematical, does not comport with the caution of a man, who has taught himself to look for demonstration. He reserved his observations, for those cases, which science could enlighten, and common sense approve. The simplicity of his style was well adapted to the clearness of his understanding. His conceptions were so bright and perfect, that he did not choose to involve them in a cloud of expressions. If he used metaphors, it was to illustrate, and not to embellish the truth. A man, possessing such a lively imagery of ideas, should never affect the arts of a vain rhetorician, whose excellence consists only in a beautiful arrangement of words.

"But whatever claims to eminence Dr. Franklin may have, as a politician, or a scholar, there is no point of light, in which his character shines with more lustre, than when we view him as a man or a citizen. He was eminently great in common things. Perhaps no man ever existed, whose life can, with more justice, be denominated useful.—Nothing ever passed through his hands, without receiving improvement: and no person ever went into his company, without gaining wisdom. His sagacity was so sharp, and his science so various, that, whatever might be the profession or occupation of those, with whom he conversed, he could meet every one upon his own ground. He could enliven every conversation with an anecdote, and conclude it with a moral.

"The whole tenor of his life was a perpetual lecture against the idle, the extravagant, and the proud. It was his principal aim to inspire mankind with a love of industry, temperance, and frugality; and to inculcate such duties as promote the important interests of humanity. He never wasted a moment of time, or lavished a farthing of money, in folly or dissipation. Such expenses as the dignity of his station required, he readily sustained, limiting them by the strictest rules of propriety. Many public institutions experienced his well-timed liberality; and he manifested a sensibility of heart by numerous acts of private charity.

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* The Congress of the United States thus expressed their sentiments in return.

RESOLVED, *by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled*, That the President of the United States be requested to cause to be communicated to the National Assembly of France, the peculiar sensibility of Congress, to the tribute paid to the memory of Benjamin Franklin, by the enlightened and free representatives of a great nation, in their decree of the eleventh June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

Signed FRED. AUG MUHLENBERG,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
JOHN ADAMS,
Vice-President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Approved, March the 2d, 1791.
Signed GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President of the United States.

"By a judicious division of time, Dr. Franklin acquired the art of doing every thing to advantage; and his amusements were of such a nature, as could never militate with the main objects of his pursuit. In whatever situation he was placed by chance or design, he extracted something useful for himself or others. His life was remarkably full of incident. Every circumstance of it turned to some valuable account. The maxims, which his discerning mind has formed, apply to innumerable cases and characters. Those who move in the lowest, equally with those who move in the most elevated rank in society, may be guided by his instructions. In the private department of his life, he, in many respects, has furnished a most excellent model. His manners were easy and accommodating, and his address winning and respectful. All, who knew him, speak of him as a most agreeable man; and all, who have heard of him, applaud him as a very useful one. A man so wise, and so amiable, could not but have many admirers, and many friends."

The following are extracts from the will and codicil of Dr. Franklin:

* * * * * *

"With regard to my books, those I had in France and those I left in Philadelphia, being now assembled together here, and a catalogue made of them, it is my intention to dispose of the same as follows:—My History of the Academy of Sciences in sixty or seventy volumes quarto, I give to the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, of which I have the honour to be president. My collection in folio of *Les Arts et les Metiers*, I give to the American Philosophical Society established in New England, of which I am a member. My quarto edition of the same *Arts et Metiers*, I give to the Library Company of Philadelphia. Such and so many of my books as I shall mark on the said catalogue with the name of my grandson *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, I do hereby give to him, and such and so many of my books as I shall mark in the said catalogue with the name of my grandson *William Bache*, I do hereby give to him, and such as shall be marked with the name of *Jonathan Williams*, I hereby give to my cousin of that name.—The residue and remainder of all my books, manuscripts, and papers, I do give to my grandson *William Temple Franklin*.—My share in the Library Company of Philadelphia, I give to my grandson *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, confiding that he will permit his brothers and sisters to share in the use of it.

"I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar schools established there: I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them, or those person or persons who shall have the superintendance and management of the said schools, put out to interest, and so continued at interest for ever, which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards annually by the directors of the said free schools for the encouragement of scholarship in the said schools, belonging to the said town, in such manner as to the discretion of the select men of the said town shall seem meet.—Out of the salary that may remain due to me as president of the state, I do give the sum of two thousand pounds to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to such person or persons as the legislature of this state, by an act of assembly shall appoint to receive the same in trust, to be employed for making the river Schuylkill navigable."

* * * * * *

"During the number of years I was in business as a stationer, printer, and postmaster, a great many small sums became due to me for books, advertisements, postage of letters, and other matters, which were not collected, when in 1757, I was sent by the assembly to England as their agent, and by subsequent appointments continued there till 1775, when on my return I was immediately engaged in the affairs of congress, and sent to France in 1776, where I remained nine years, not returning till 1785, and the said debts not being demanded in such a length of time, are become in a manner obsolete, yet are nevertheless justly due. These, as they are stated in my great folio ledger E, I bequeath to the contributors of the Pennsylvania hospital, hoping that those debtors, and the descendants of such as are deceased, who now as I find make some difficulty of satisfying such antiquated demands, as just debts, may however be induced to pay or give them as charity to that excellent institution. I am sensible that much must inevitably be lost, but I hope something considerable may be received. It is possible, too, that some of the parties charged, may have existing old unsettled accounts against me, in which case the managers of the said hospital will allow and deduct the amount, or pay the balances if they find it against me."

* * * * * *

"I request my friends Henry Hill, esquire, John Jay, esquire, Francis Hopkinson, esquire, and Mr. Edward Duffield of Benfield, in Philadelphia county, to be the executors of this my last will and testament, and I hereby nominate and appoint them for that purpose.

"I would have my body buried with as little expense or ceremony as may be."

* * * * *

Philadelphia, July 17, 1788.

CODICIL.

"I Benjamin Franklin, in the foregoing or annexed last will and testament named, having further considered the same, do think proper to make and publish the following codicil or addition thereto.

"It having long been a fixed political opinion of mine, that in a democratical state there ought to be no offices of profit, for the reasons I had given in an article of my drawing in our constitution; it was my intention when I accepted the office of president to devote the appointed salary to some public uses; accordingly, I had, before I made my will in July last, given large sums of it to colleges, schools, building of churches, &c. and in that will I bequeathed two thousand pounds more to the state, for the purpose of making Schuylkill navigable: but understanding since, that such sum will do but little towards accomplishing such a work, and that the project is not likely to be undertaken for many years to come, and having entertained another idea that I hope may be more extensively useful, I do hereby revoke and annul that bequest, and direct that the certificates I have for what remains due to me of that salary, be sold towards raising the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, to be disposed of as I am now about to order.

"It has been an opinion, that he who receives an estate from his ancestors, is under some kind of obligation to transmit the same to his posterity; this obligation does not lie on me who never inherited a shilling from any ancestor or relation. I shall, however, if it is not diminished by some accident before my death, leave a considerable estate among my descendants and relations. The above observation is made merely as some apology to my family, for my making bequests that do not appear to have any immediate relation to their advantage.

"I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar school established there: I have therefore already considered those schools in my will. But I am also under obligations to the state of Massachusetts, for having, unasked, appointed me formerly their agent in England, with a handsome salary, which continued some years, and although, I accidentally lost in their service, by transmitting governor Hutchinson's letters, much more than the amount of what they gave me, I do not think that ought in the least to diminish my gratitude.—I have considered that among artizans good apprentices are most likely to make good citizens, and having myself been bred to a manual art, printing, in my native town, and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia by kind loans of money from two friends there, which was the foundation of my fortune, and of all the utility in life that may be ascribed to me, I wish to be useful, even after my death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men that may be serviceable to their country in both those towns.—To this end I devote two thousand pounds sterling, which I give, one thousand thereof to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in Massachusetts, and the other thousand to the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, in trust, to and for the uses, intents, and purposes, hereinafter mentioned and declared.—The said sum of one thousand pounds sterling, if accepted by the inhabitants of the town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the select men, united with the ministers of the oldest episcopalian, congregational, and presbyterian churches in that town, who are to let out the same upon interest at five per cent. per annum, to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, so as to obtain a good moral character from at least two respectable citizens, who are willing to become their sureties in a bond with the applicants for the repayment of the monies so lent with interest, according to the terms hereinafter prescribed, all which bonds are to be taken for Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in current gold coin, and the managers shall keep a bound book or books, wherein shall be entered the names of those who shall apply for and receive the benefit of this institution, and of their sureties, together with the sums lent, the dates, and other necessary and proper records respecting the business and concerns of this institution. And as these loans are intended to assist young married artificers in setting up their business, they are to be proportioned by the discretion of the managers, so as not to exceed sixty pounds sterling to one person, nor to be less than fifteen pounds. And if the number of appliers so entitled, should be so large as that the sum will not suffice to afford to each as much as might otherwise not be improper, the proportion to each shall be diminished, so as to afford every one some assistance. These aids may therefore be small at first; but as the capital increases by the accumulated interest, they will be more ample. And in order to serve as many as possible in their turn, as well as to make the repayment of the principal borrowed more easy, each borrower shall be obliged to pay with the yearly interest one tenth part of the principal; which sums of principal and interest so paid in, shall be again let out to fresh borrowers.—And as it is presumed that there will always be found in Boston virtuous and benevolent citizens willing to bestow a part of their time in doing good to the rising generation, by superintending and managing this institution gratis, it is hoped that no part of the money will at any time be dead, or diverted to other purposes, but be continually augmenting by the interest, in which case there may in time be more than the occasion in Boston shall require, and then some may be spared to the neighbouring or other towns, in the said state of Massachusetts who may desire to have it, such towns engaging to pay punctually the interest and the proportions of the principal annually to the inhabitants of the town of Boston. If this plan is executed, and succeeds as is projected, without interruption for one hundred years, the sum will then be one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds, of which I would have the managers of the donations to the town of Boston, then lay out at their discretion one hundred thousand pounds in public works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants; such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers, resorting thither for health or a temporary residence.—The remaining thirty-one thousand pounds I would have continued to be let out on interest in the manner above directed for another hundred years, as I hope it will have been found that the institution has had a good effect on the conduct of youth, and been of service to many worthy characters and useful citizens. At the end of this second term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the sum will be four million and sixty-one thousand pounds sterling, of which I leave one million sixty-one thousand pounds to the disposition of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and three millions to the disposition of the government of the state, not presuming to carry my views farther.

"All the directions herein given, respecting the disposition and management of the donation to the inhabitants of Boston, I would have observed respecting that to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, only as Philadelphia is incorporated, I request the corporation of that city to undertake the management agreeably to the said directions, and I do hereby vest them with full and ample powers for that purpose: and having considered that the covering its ground-plat with buildings and pavements, which carry off most of the rain, and prevent its soaking into the earth and renewing and purifying the springs, whence the water of the wells must gradually grow worse, and in time be unfit for use, as I find has happened in all old cities, I recommend that at the end of the first hundred years, if not done before, the corporation of the city employ a part of the hundred thousand pounds in bringing by pipes the water of Wissahiccon Creek into the town so as to supply the inhabitants, which I apprehend may be done without great difficulty, the level of that creek being much above that of the city, and may be made higher by a dam; I also recommend making the Schuylkill completely navigable. At the end of the second hundred years, I would have the disposition of the four million and sixty-one thousand pounds divided between the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia and the government of Pennsylvania, in the same manner as herein directed with respect to that of the inhabitants of Boston and the government of Massachusetts.—It is my desire that this institution should take place and begin to operate within one year after my decease, for which purpose due notice should be publicly given previous to the expiration of that year, that those for whose benefit this establishment is intended, may make their respective applications; and I hereby direct my executors, the survivors or survivor of them, within six months after my decease, to pay over the said sum of two thousand pounds sterling to such persons as shall be duly appointed by the selectmen of Boston and the corporation of Philadelphia to receive and take charge of their respective sums of one thousand pounds each, for the purposes aforesaid.—Considering the accidents to which all human affairs and projects are subject, in such a length of time, I have perhaps too much flattered myself with a vain fancy, that these dispositions, if carried into execution, will be continued without interruption, and have the effects proposed; I hope, however, that if the inhabitants of the two cities should not think fit to undertake the execution, they will at least accept the offer of these donations as a mark of my good will, a token of my gratitude, and a testimony of my earnest desire to be useful to them, even after my departure. I wish, indeed, that they may both undertake to endeavour the execution of the project; because I think, that though unforeseen difficulties may arise, expedients will be found to remove them, and the scheme be found practicable. If one of them accepts the money with the conditions, and the other refuses, my will then is, that both sums be given to the inhabitants of the city accepting, the whole to be applied to the same purpose and under the same regulations directed for the separate parts, and if both refuse, the money of course remains in the mass of my estate, and it is to be disposed of therewith according to my will, made the seventeenth day of July, 1788.—I wish to be buried by the side of my wife, if it may be, and that a marble stone, to be made by Chambers, six feet long, four feet wide, plain, with only a small moulding round the upper edge, and this inscription,

Benjamin }
and } Franklin.
Deborah }
178 . be placed over us both.

"My fine crabtree walking-stick, with a gold head, curiously wrought in the form of the cap of liberty, I give to my friend and the friend of mankind, general Washington.—If it were a sceptre, he has merited it and would become it.—It was a present to me from that excellent woman Madame de Forbach, the Dowager Duchess of Deux Ponts, connected with some verses which should go with it."

* * * * * *

Philadelphia, 23*d June*, 1789.

The following epitaph was written by Dr. Franklin for himself, when he was only *twenty-three years of age*, as appears by the original (with various corrections) found among his papers, and from which this is a faithful copy:—

[*Epitaph written*, 1728.]

The Body
of
Benjamin Franklin,
Printer,
(Like the cover of an old book,
Its contents torn out,
And stripped of its lettering and gilding)
Lies here, food for worms.
But the work shall not be lost,
For it will (as he believed) appear once more,
In a new, and more elegant edition,
Revised and corrected
by
The Author.

MEMOIRS

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

PART VI.

ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY AND SOME MARKED POINTS OF CHARACTER.

Causes of the American Discontents.

[This article was published in a London paper Jan. 7, 1768, and at a subsequent period as a postscript to "The true Sentiments of America," printed for Almon, bookseller, 1768.]

The waves never rise but when the winds blow.
PROVERBS.

As the cause of the present ill humour in America, and of the resolutions taken there to purchase less of our manufactures, does not seem to be generally understood, it may afford some satisfaction to your readers, if you give them the following short historical state of facts.

From the time that the colonies were first considered as capable of *granting aids to the crown*, down to the end of the last war, it is said, that the constant mode of obtaining those aids was, by requisition made from the crown, through its governors, to the several assemblies, in circular letters from the secretary of state, in his majesty's name, setting forth the occasion, requiring them to take the matter into consideration, and expressing a reliance on their prudence, duty, and affection to his majesty's government, that they would grant such sums, or raise such numbers of men, as were suitable to their respective circumstances.

The colonies, being accustomed to this method, have from time to time granted money to the crown, or raised troops for its service, in proportion to their abilities, and, during all the last war, beyond their abilities; so that considerable sums were returned them yearly by parliament, as they had exceeded their proportion.

Had this happy method of requisition been continued (a method that left the king's subjects in those remote countries the pleasure of showing their zeal and loyalty, and of imagining that they recommended themselves to their sovereign by the liberality of their voluntary grants) there is no doubt but all the money that could reasonably be expected to be raised from them in any manner, might have been obtained, without the least heart-burning, offence, or breach of the harmony of affections, and interests, that so long subsisted between the two countries.

It has been thought wisdom in a government exercising sovereignty over different kinds of people, to have *some regard to prevailing and established opinions* among the people to be governed, wherever such opinions might in their effects obstruct or promote public measures. If they tend to obstruct public service, they are to be changed, if possible, before we attempt to act against them; and they can only be changed by reason and persuasion. But if public business can be carried on without thwarting those opinions, if they can be, on the contrary, made subservient to it; they are not unnecessarily to be thwarted, however absurd such popular opinions may be in their nature.

This had been the wisdom of our government with respect to raising money in the colonies. It was well known, that the colonists universally were of opinion, that no money could be levied from English subjects but by their own consent, given by themselves or their chosen representatives; that therefore whatever money was to be raised from the people in the colonies must first be granted by their assemblies, as the money raised in

Britain is first to be granted by the house of commons; that this right of granting their own money was essential to English liberty; and that if any man, or body of men, in which they had no representative of their own choosing, could tax them at pleasure, they could not be said to have any property, any thing they could call their own. But as these opinions did not hinder their granting money voluntarily and amply, whenever the crown, by its servants, came into their assemblies (as it does into its parliaments of Britain or Ireland) and demanded aids; therefore that method was chosen, rather than the hateful one of arbitrary taxes.

I do not undertake here to support these opinions of the Americans; they have been refuted by a late act of parliament, declaring its own power; which very parliament, however, showed wisely so much tender regard to those inveterate prejudices, as to repeal a tax that had militated against them. And those prejudices are still so fixed and rooted in the Americans, that it has been supposed, not a single man among them has been convinced of his error, even by that act of parliament.

The person then, who first projected to lay aside the accustomed method of requisition, and to raise money on America by *stamps*, seems not to have acted wisely, in deviating from that method (which the colonists looked upon as constitutional) and thwarting unnecessarily the fixed prejudices of so great a number of the king's subjects. It was not, however, for want of knowledge, that what he was about to do would give them offence; he appears to have been very sensible of this, and apprehensive that it might occasion some disorders; to prevent or suppress which, he projected another bill, that was brought in the same session with the stamp act, whereby it was to be made lawful for military officers in the colonies to quarter their soldiers in private houses. This seemed intended to awe the people into a compliance with the other act. Great opposition however being raised here against the bill by the agents from the colonies and the merchants trading thither (the colonists declaring, that under such a power in the army, no one could look on his house as his own, or think he had a home, when soldiers might be thrust into it and mixed with his family at the pleasure of an officer) that part of the bill was dropped; but there still remained a clause, when it passed into a law, to oblige the several assemblies to provide quarters for the soldiers, furnishing them with firing, bedding, candles, small beer or rum, and sundry other articles, at the expense of the several provinces. And this act continued in force when the stamp act was repealed; though, if obligatory on the assemblies, it equally militated against the American principle above mentioned, that money is not to be raised on English subjects without their consent.

The colonies, nevertheless, being put into high good humour by the repeal of the stamp act, chose to avoid a fresh dispute upon the other, it being temporary and soon to expire, never, as they hoped, to revive again; and in the mean time they, by various ways in different colonies, provided for the quartering of the troops, either by acts of their own assemblies, without taking notice of the act of parliament, or by some variety or small diminution, as of salt and vinegar, in the supplies required by the act; that what they did might appear a voluntary act of their own, and not done in due obedience to an act of parliament, which, according to their ideas of their rights, they thought hard to obey.

It might have been well if the matter had then passed without notice; but a governor having written home an angry and aggravating letter upon this conduct in the assembly of his province, the outed proposer* of the stamp act and his adherents (then in the opposition) raised such a clamour against America, as being in rebellion, and against those who had been for the repeal of the stamp act, as having thereby been encouragers of this supposed rebellion; that it was thought necessary to enforce the quartering act by another act of parliament, taking away from the province of New York (which had been the most explicit in its refusal) all the powers of legislation, till it should have complied with that act. The news of which greatly alarmed the people every where in America, as the language of such an act seemed to them to be—obey implicitly laws made by the parliament of Great Britain to raise money on you without your consent, or you shall enjoy no rights or privileges at all.

At the same time a person lately in high office† projected the levying more money from America, by new duties on various articles of our own manufacture (as glass, paper, painters' colours, &c.) appointing a new board of customs, and sending over a set of commissioners, with large salaries, to be established at Boston, who were to have the care of collecting those duties, which were by the act expressly mentioned to be intended for the payment of the salaries of governors, judges, and other officers of the crown in America; it being a pretty general opinion here, that those officers ought not to depend on the people there, for any part of their support.

It is not my intention to combat this opinion. But perhaps it may be some satisfaction to your readers, to know what ideas the Americans have on the subject. They say then, as to governors, that they are not like princes whose posterity have an inheritance in the

* Mr. George Grenville.
† Mr. Charles Townsend

government of a nation, and therefore an interest in its prosperity; they are generally strangers to the provinces they are sent to govern; have no estate, natural connection, or relation there, to give them an affection to the country; that they come only to make money as fast as they can; are sometimes men of vicious characters and broken fortunes, sent by a minister merely to get them out of the way; that as they intend staying in the country no longer than their government continues, and purpose to leave no family behind them, they are apt to be regardless of the good will of the people, and care not what is said or thought of them after they are gone. Their situation at the same time gives them many opportunities of being vexatious; and they are often so, notwithstanding their dependence on the assemblies for all that part of their support, that does not arise from fees established by law, but would probably be much more so, if they were to be supported by money drawn from the people without their consent or good-will, which is the professed design of this new act. That if by means of these forced duties, government is to be supported in America, without the intervention of the assemblies, their assemblies will soon be looked upon as useless; and a governor will not call them, as having nothing to hope from their meeting, and perhaps something to fear from their inquiries into, and remonstrances against, his mal-administration. That thus the people will be deprived of their most essential right. That it being (as at present) a governor's interest to cultivate the good-will, by promoting the welfare of the people he governs, can be attended with no prejudice to the mother-country, since all the laws he may be prevailed on to give his assent to are subject to revision here, and if reported against by the board of trade, are immediately repealed by the crown; nor dare he pass any law contrary to his instructions; as he holds his office during the pleasure of the crown, and his securities are liable for the penalties of their bonds, if he contravenes those instructions. This is what they say as to governors.

As to *judges*, they allege, that being appointed from hence, and holding their commissions not during good behaviour, as in Britain, but during pleasure: all the weight of interest or influence would be thrown into one of the scales (which ought to be held even) if the salaries are also to be paid out of duties raised upon the people without their consent, and independent of their assemblies approbation or disapprobation of the judges behaviour. That it is true, judges should be free from all influence; and therefore, whenever government here will grant commissions to able and honest judges during good behaviour, the assemblies will settle permanent and ample salaries on them during their commissions; but at present, they have no other means of getting rid of an ignorant or an unjust judge (and some of scandalous characters have, they say, been sometimes sent them) left, but by starving them out.

I do not suppose these reasonings of theirs will appear here to have much weight. I do not produce them with an expectation of convincing your readers. I relate them merely in pursuance of the task I have imposed on myself, to be an impartial historian of American facts and opinions.

The colonists being thus greatly alarmed, as I said before, by the news of the act for abolishing the legislature of New York, and the imposition of these new duties, professedly for such disagreeable purposes, (accompanied by a new set of revenue officers, with large appointments, which gave strong suspicions, that more business of the same kind was soon to be provided for them, that they might earn their salaries,) began seriously to consider their situation; and to revolve afresh in their minds, grievances, which, from their respect and love for this country, they had long borne and seemed almost willing to forget. They reflected how lightly the interest of *all* America had been estimated here, when the interests of a *few* of the inhabitants of Great Britain happened to have the smallest competition with it. That the whole American people was forbidden the advantage of a direct importation of wine, oil, and fruit, from Portugal; but must take them loaded with all the expense of a voyage one thousand leagues round about, being to be landed first in England, to be reshipped for America; expenses amounting, in war-time, at least to thirty pounds per cent. more than otherwise they would have been charged with; and all this merely, that a few Portugal merchants in London may gain a commission on those goods passing through their hands. (Portugal merchants, by the bye, that can complain loudly of the smallest hardships laid on their trade by foreigners, and yet even in the last year could oppose with all their influence the giving ease to their fellow-subjects labouring under so heavy an oppression!) That on a slight complaint of a few Virginia merchants, nine colonies had been restrained from making paper money, become absolutely necessary to their internal commerce, from the constant remittance of their gold and silver to Britain.—But not only the interest of a particular body of *merchants*, but the interest of any small body of British *tradesmen or artificers* has been found, they say, to outweigh that of all the king's subjects in the colonies. There cannot be a stronger natural right than that of a man's making the best profit he can of the natural produce of his lands, provided he does not thereby hurt the state in general. Iron is to be found every where in America, and beaver are the natural produce of that country: hats, and nails, and steel are wanted there as well as here. It is of no importance to the common welfare of empire, whether a subject of the king gets his living by making hats on this or on that side of the water. Yet the hatters of England have prevailed to obtain an act in their own favour, restraining that manufacture in America; in order to oblige the Americans to send their beaver to England to be manufactured, and purchase back the hats, loaded with the charges of a double transportation. In the same manner have a few nail-makers, and still a smaller body of steel-makers (perhaps there are not half a dozen of these in England) prevailed totally to forbid by an act of parliament the erecting of slitting-mills, or steel furnaces in America; that the Americans may be obliged to take all their nails for their buildings, and steel for their tools, from these artificers, under the same disadvantages.*

Added to these, the Americans remembered the act authorising the most cruel insult that perhaps was ever offered by one people to another, that of *emptying our gaols* into their settlements; Scotland too have within these two years obtained the privilege it had not before, of sending its rogues and villains also to the plantations—I say, reflecting on these things, they said one to another (their newspapers are full of such discourses) "These people are not content with making a monopoly of us (forbidding us to trade with any other country of Europe, and compelling us to buy every thing of them, though in many articles we could furnish ourselves ten, twenty, and even to fifty per cent. cheaper elsewhere;) but now they have as good as declared they have a right to tax us *ad libitum*, internally and externally; and that our constitution and liberties shall all be taken away, if we do not submit to that claim.

"They are not content with the high prices at which they sell us their goods, but have now begun to enhance those prices by new duties, and by the expensive apparatus of a new set of officers, appear to intend an augmentation and multiplication of those burdens, that shall still be more grievous to us. Our people have been foolishly fond of their superfluous modes and manufactures, to the impoverishing of our own country, carrying off all our cash, and loading us with debt; they will not suffer us to restrain the luxury of our inhabitants, as they do that of their own, by laws: they can make laws to discourage or prohibit the importation of French superfluities: but though those of England are as ruinous to us as the French ones are to them, if we make a law of that kind, they immediately repeal it. Thus they get all our money from us by trade; and every profit we can any where make by our fisheries, our produce, or our commerce, centres finally with them;—but this does not satisfy.—It is time, then, to take care of ourselves by the best means in our power. Let us unite in solemn resolution and engagements with and to each other, that we will give these new officers as little trouble as possible, by not consuming the British manufactures on which they are to levy the duties. Let us agree to consume no more of their expensive gewgaws. Let us live frugally, and let us industriously manufacture what we can for ourselves: thus we shall be able honourably to discharge the debts we already owe them; and after that, we may be able to keep some money in our country, not only for the uses of our internal commerce, but for the service of our gracious sovereign, whenever he shall have occasion for it, and think proper to require it of us in the old constitutional manner. For notwithstanding the reproaches thrown out against us in their public papers and pamphlets, notwithstanding we have been reviled in their senate as rebels and traitors, we are truly a loyal people. Scotland has had its rebellions, and England its plots against the present royal family; but *America is untainted with those crimes;* there is in it scarce a man, there is not a single native of our country, who is not firmly attached to his king by principle and by affection. But a new kind of loyalty seems to be required of us, a loyalty to parliament; a loyalty, that is to extend, it is said, to a surrender of all our properties, whenever a house of commons, in which there is not a single member of our choosing, shall think fit to grant them away without our consent, and to a patient suffering the loss of our privileges as Englishmen, if we cannot submit to make such surrender. We were separated too far from Britain by the ocean, but we were united to it by respect and love; so that we could at any time freely have spent our lives and little fortunes in its cause: but this unhappy new system of politics tends to dissolve those bands of union, and to sever us for ever.

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* The following pertinent note is from the fourth paragraph of the *American Farmer's* seventh letter, (written by the late John Dickenson.)

"Many remarkable instances might be produced of the extraordinary inattention with which bills of great importance concerning these colonies have passed in parliament; which is owing, as it is supposed, to the bills being brought in by the persons who have points to carry, so artfully framed, that it is not easy for the members in general in the haste of business, to discover their tendency.

"The following instances show the truth of this remark.

"When Mr. Grenville, in the violence of reformation and innovation, formed the 4th George III. chap. 15th, for regulating the American trade, the word '*Ireland*' was dropt in the clause relating to our *iron* and *lumber*, so that we could send these articles to no other part of Europe, but to Great Britain. This bill passed into a law. But when the matter was explained, the restriction was taken off by a subsequent act.

"I cannot say, how long after the taking off this restriction, as I have not the acts, but I think in less than eighteen months, another act of parliament passed, in which the word '*Ireland*' was left out, as it had been before. The matter being a second time explained was a second time regulated.

"Now if it be considered, that the omission mentioned, struck off, with one word, so very great a part of our trade, it must appear remarkable: and equally so is the method by which rice became an enumerated commodity, and therefore could be carried to Great Britain only."

"The enumeration was obtained, (says Mr. Gee on Trade, p. 32) by one Cole, a captain of a ship, employed by a company then trading to Carolina; for several ships going from England thither, and purchasing rice for Portugal, prevented the captain of a loading. Upon his coming home he impressed Mr. Lowndes, a member of parliament, with an opinion, that carrying rice directly to Portugal was a prejudice to the trade of England, and privately got a clause into an act to make it an enumerated commodity, by which means he secured a freight to himself. But the consequence proved a vast loss to the nation."

"I find that this clause, 'privately got into an act, for the benefit of captain Cole, to the vast loss of the nation,' is foisted into the 3d Anne, chapters 5th, intitled, 'an act for granting to her majesty a further subsidy on wines and merchandizes imported,' with which it has no more connection, than with 34th Edward I, 34th and 35th of Henry VIII. or the 25th Charles II. which provide that no person shall be taxed but by himself or his representatives."

"These are the wild ravings of the, at present, half distracted Americans. To be sure, no reasonable man in England can approve of such sentiments, and, as I said before, I do not pretend to support or justify them: but I sincerely wish, for the sake of the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain, and for the sake of the strength, which a firm union with our growing colonies would give us, that these people had never been thus needlessly driven out of their senses.

"I am, yours, &c. F. S."*

Concerning the gratitude of America, the probability and effects of an Union with Great Britain; and concerning the Repeal or Suspension of the Stamp Act.

[To whom addressed not known.]

"*January* 6, 1766.

"Sir,—I have attentively perused the paper you sent me, and am of opinion, that the measure it proposes, of an *union* with the colonies, is a wise one: but I doubt it will hardly be thought so here, till it is too late to attempt it. The time has been, when the colonies would have esteemed it a great advantage, as well as honour to them, to be permitted to send members to parliament; and would have asked for that privilege, if they could have had the least hopes of obtaining it. The time is now come, when they are indifferent about it, and will probably not ask it, though they might accept it if offered them; and the time will come, when they will certainly refuse it. But if such an union were now established, (which methinks it highly imports this country to establish,) it would probably subsist as long as Britain shall continue a nation. This people, however, is too proud, and too much despises the Americans, to bear the thought of admitting them to such an equitable participation in the government of the whole. Then the *next best* thing seems to be, leaving them in the quiet enjoyment of their respective constitutions; and when money is wanted for any public service in which they ought to bear a part, calling upon them by requisitorial letters from the crown (according to the long established custom) to grant such aids as their loyalty shall dictate, and their abilities permit. The very sensible and benevolent author of that paper, seems not to have known, that such a constitutional custom subsists, and has always hitherto been practised in America; or he would not have expressed himself in this manner: 'It is evident beyond a doubt, to the intelligent and impartial, that after the very extraordinary efforts, which were effectually made by Great Britain in the late war to save the colonists from destruction, and attended of necessity with an enormous load of debts in consequence, that the same colonists, now firmly secured from foreign enemies, should be somehow induced to contribute some proportion towards the exigencies of state in future.' This looks as if he conceived the war had been carried on at the sole expense of Great Britain, and the colonies only reaped the benefit, without hitherto sharing the burden, and were therefore now indebted to Britain on that account. And this is the same kind of argument that is used by those who would fix on the colonies the heavy charge of unreasonableness and ingratitude, which I think your friend did not intend. Please to acquaint him then, that the fact is not so: that every year during the war, requisitions were made by the crown on the colonies for raising money and men; that accordingly they made *more extraordinary* efforts, in proportion to their abilities, than Britain did; that they raised, paid, and clothed, for five or six years, near 25,000 men, besides providing for other services, (as building forts, equipping guard-ships, paying transports, &c.) And that this was more than their fair proportion is not merely an opinion of mine, but was the judgment of government here, in full

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[*] F. S. means Franklin's Seal.

In the *collection of tracts on the subjects of taxing the British colonies in America, and regulating their trade* (printed in 1773, in 4 vols. 8vo. by Almon) are *two* papers, said there to have been published originally in 1739, and to have been drawn up by a club of American merchants, at the head of whom were sir William Keith (governor of Pennsylvania,) Joshua Gee, and many other eminent persons. The *first* paper proposes the raising a small body of regular troops under the command of an officer appointed by the crown, and independent of the governors, (who were nevertheless to assist him in council on emergent occasions,) in order to protect the Indian trade, and take care of the boundaries and back settlements. They were to be supported by a revenue to be established by *act of parliament*, in America; which revenue was to arise out of a duty on *stamped paper and parchment.* The *second* paper goes into the particulars of this proposed stamp duty, offers reasons for extending it over all the British plantations, and recites its supposed advantages. If these papers are at all genuine, Mr. George Grenville does not appear to have been original in conceiving *stamps* as a proper subject for his new tax.

knowledge of all the facts; for the then ministry, to make the burden more equal, recommended the case to parliament, and obtained a reimbursement to the Americans of about £200,000 sterling every year; which amounted only to about two fifths of their expense; and great part of the rest lies still a load of debt upon them; heavy taxes on all their estates, real and personal, being laid by acts of their assemblies to discharge it, and yet will not discharge it in many years. While then, these burdens continue; while Britain restrains the colonies in every branch of commerce and manufactures that she thinks interferes with her own; while she drains the colonies, by her trade with them, of all the cash they can procure, by every art and industry in any part of the world, and thus keeps them always in her debt: (for they can make no law to discourage the importation of your to *them* ruinous superfluities, as *you* do the superfluities of France; since such a law would immediately be reported against by your board of trade, and repealed by the crown:) I say while these circumstances continue, and while there subsists the established method of royal requisitions, for raising money on them by their own assemblies on every proper occasion; can it be necessary or prudent to distress and vex them by taxes laid here, in a parliament wherein they have no representative, and in a manner which they look upon to be unconstitutional and subversive of their most valuable rights; and are they to be thought unreasonable and ungrateful if they oppose such taxes? Wherewith, they say, shall we show our loyalty to our gracious king, if our money is to be given by others, without asking our consent? And if the parliament has a right thus to take from us a penny in the pound, where is the line drawn that bounds that right, and what shall hinder their calling whenever they please for the other nineteen shillings and eleven pence? Have we then any thing that we can call our own? It is more than probable, that bringing representatives from the colonies to sit and act here as members of parliament, thus uniting and consolidating your dominions, would, in a little time, *remove* these objections and difficulties, and make the future government of the colonies easy; but, till some such thing is done, I apprehend no taxes, laid there by parliament here, will ever be collected, but such as must be stained with blood: and I am sure the profit of such taxes will never answer the expense of collecting them, and that the respect and affection of the Americans to this country will in the struggle be totally lost, perhaps never to be recovered; and therewith all the commercial and political advantages, that might have attended the continuance of this respect and this affection.

"In my own private judgment, I think an immediate repeal of the stamp act would be the best measure for *this* country; but a suspension of it for three years, the best for *that*. The *repeal* would fill them with joy and gratitude, re-establish their respect and veneration for parliament, restore at once their ancient and natural love for this country, and their regard for every thing that comes from it; hence the trade would be renewed in all its branches; they would again indulge in all the expensive superfluities you supply them with, and their own new assumed home industry would languish. But the *suspension*, though it might continue their fears and anxieties, would, at the same time, keep up their resolutions of industry and frugality; which in two or three years would grow into habits, to their lasting advantage. However, as the repeal will probably not be now agreed to,* from what I think a mistaken opinion, that the honour and dignity of government is better supported by persisting in a wrong measure once entered into, than by rectifying an error as soon as it is discovered; we must allow the next best thing for the advantage of both countries is, the suspension; for as to executing the act by force, it is madness, and will be ruin to the whole.

"The rest of your friend's reasonings and propositions appear to me truly just and judicious; I will therefore only add, that I am as desirous of his acquaintance and intimacy, as he was of my opinion.

"B. FRANKLIN."

J. Pownall to Dr. Franklin, concerning an equal communication of rights, privileges, &c. to America by Great Britain.†

"Dear Sir,—The following *objection* against communicating to the colonies the rights, privileges, and powers of the realm, as to parts of the realm, has been made. I have been endeavouring to obviate it, and I communicate it to you, in hopes of your promised assistance.

"If, *say the objectors*, we communicate to the colonies the power of sending representatives, and in consequence expect them to participate in an *equal share and proportion* of all our taxes, we must grant to them all the powers of trade and manufacturing, which any other parts of the realm within the isle of Great Britain enjoy: if so, perchance, the profits of the Atlantic commerce may converge to some centre in America; to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or to some of the isles: if so, then the natural and artificial produce of the colonies, and in course of consequences the landed interest of the colonies will be promoted: while the natural and artificial produce and landed interest of Great Britain will be depressed, to its utter ruin and destruction; and consequently the balance of the power of government, although still *within the realm*, will be *locally* transferred from Great Britain to the colonies. Which consequence, however it may suit a citizen of the world, must be folly and madness to a Britain. My fit is gone off, and though weak, both from the gout and a concomitant and very ugly fever, I am much better.—Would be glad to see you. Your friend,

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* It was, however, agreed to in the same year, viz. in 1766.

† This letter bears no date. It was written possibly about the time that governor Pownall was engaged in publishing his book on the *administration of the colonies*.

"J. POWNALL."

On the back of the foregoing letter of governor Pownall, are the following minutes by Dr. Franklin.

This *objection* goes upon the supposition, that whatever the colonies gain, Britain must lose; and that if the *colonies* can be kept from gaining an advantage, *Britain will gain it*:—

If the colonies are fitter for a particular trade than Britain, they should have it, and Britain apply to what it is more fit for. The whole empire is a gainer. And if Britain is not so fit or so well situated for a particular advantage, *other* countries will get it, *if the colonies do not*. Thus Ireland was forbid the woollen manufacture, and remains poor; but this has given to the French the trade and wealth Ireland might have gained for the British empire.

The government cannot *long* be retained without the union. Which is best (supposing your case) to have a total separation, or a change of the seat of government?—It by no means follows, that promoting and advancing the landed interest in America will depress that of Britain: the contrary has always been the fact. Advantageous situations and circumstances will always secure and fix manufactures: Sheffield against all Europe for these three hundred years past.—

Impracticability.

Danger of innovation.

. . . .

THE EXAMINATION OF DR. FRANKLIN

Before the English House of Commons, relative to the Repeal of the American Stamp Act.

1766. Feb. 3. Benjamin Franklin, esq. and a number of other persons were "ordered to attend the committee of the whole house of commons to whom it was referred, to consider farther the several papers relative to America which were presented to the house by Mr. secretary Conway, &c."

Q. What is your name, and place of abode?

A. Franklin, of Philadelphia.

Q. Do the Americans pay any considerable taxes among themselves?

A. Certainly many, and very heavy taxes.

Q. What are the present taxes in Pennsylvania, laid by the laws of the colony?

A. There are taxes on all estates real and personal; a poll tax; a tax on all offices, professions, trades, and businesses, according to their profits; an excise on all wine, rum, and other spirits; and a duty of ten pounds per head on all negroes imported, with some other duties.

Q. For what purposes are those taxes laid?

A. For the support of the civil and military establishments of the country, and to discharge the heavy debt contracted in the last war.

Q. How long are those taxes to continue?

A. Those for discharging the debt are to continue till 1772, and longer, if the debt should not be then all discharged. The others must always continue.

Q. Was it not expected that the debt would have been sooner discharged?

A. It was, when the peace was made with France and Spain. But a fresh war breaking out with the Indians, a fresh load of debt was incurred; and the taxes, of course, continued longer by a new law.

Q. Are not all the people very able to pay those taxes?

A. No. The frontier counties, all along the continent, having been frequently ravaged by the enemy, and greatly impoverished, are able to pay very little tax. And therefore, in consideration of their distresses, our late tax laws do expressly favour those counties, excusing the sufferers; and I suppose the same is done in other governments.

Q. Are not you concerned in the management of the *post-office* in America?

A. Yes. I am deputy post-master general of North America.

Q. Don't you think the distribution of stamps *by post* to all the inhabitants very practicable, if there was no opposition?

A. The posts only go along the sea-coasts; they do not, except in a few instances, go back into the country; and if they did, sending for stamps by post would occasion an expense of postage, amounting in many cases, to much more than that of the stamps themselves.

Q. Are you acquainted with Newfoundland?

A. I never was there.

Q. Do you know whether there are any post-roads on that island?

A. I have heard that there are no roads at all, but that the communication between one settlement and another is by sea only.

Q. Can you disperse the stamps by post in Canada?

A. There is only a post between Montreal and Quebec. The inhabitants live so scattered and remote from each other in that vast country, that posts cannot be supported among them, and therefore they cannot get stamps per post. The *English colonies* too along the frontiers are very thinly settled.

Q. From the thinness of the back settlements, would not the stamp act be extremely inconvenient to the inhabitants, if executed?

A. To be sure it would; as many of the inhabitants could not get stamps when they had occasion for them without, taking long journeys, and spending perhaps three or four pounds, that the crown might get sixpence.

Q. Are not the colonies, from their circumstances, very able to pay the stamp duty?

A. In my opinion there is not gold and silver enough in the colonies to pay the stamp duty for one year.*

Q. Don't you know that the money arising from the stamps was all to be laid out in America?

A. I know it is appropriated by the act to the American service; but it will be spent in the conquered colonies, where the soldiers are; not in the colonies that pay it.

Q. Is there not a balance of trade due from the colonies where the troops are posted, that will bring back the money to the old colonies?

A. I think not. I believe very little would come back. I know of no trade likely to bring it back. I think it would come from the colonies where it was spent, directly to England; for I have always observed, that in every colony the more plenty the means of remittance to England, the more goods are sent for, and the more trade with England carried on.

Q. What number of white inhabitants do you think there are in Pennsylvania?

A. I suppose there may be about one hundred and sixty thousand?

Q. What number of them are Quakers?

A. Perhaps a third.

Q. What number of Germans?

A. Perhaps another third; but I cannot speak with certainty.

Q. Have any number of the Germans seen service, as soldiers, in Europe?

A. Yes, many of them, both in Europe and America.

Q. Are they as much dissatisfied with the stamp duty as the English?

A. Yes, and more; and with reason, as their stamps are, in many cases, to be double.*

Q. How many white men do you suppose there are in North America?

A. About three hundred thousand, from sixteen to sixty years of age?†

Q. What may be the amount of one year's imports into Pennsylvania from Britain?

A. I have been informed that our merchants compute the imports from Britain to be above 500,000*l.*

Q. What may be the amount of the produce of your province exported to Britain?

A. It must be small, as we produce little that is wanted in Britain. I suppose it cannot exceed 40,000*l.*

Q. How then do you pay the balance?

A. The balance is paid by our produce carried to the West Indies (and sold in our own islands, or to the French, Spaniards, Danes, and Dutch)—by the same produce carried to other colonies in North America, (as to New England, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Carolina, and Georgia)—by the same, carried to different parts of Europe, (as Spain, Portugal, and Italy.) In all which places we receive either money, bills of exchange, or commodities that suit for remittance to Britain; which, together with all the profits on the industry of our merchants and mariners, arising in those circuitous voyages, and the freights made by their ships, centre finally to Britain to discharge the balance, and pay for British manufactures continually used in the provinces, or sold to foreigners by our traders.

Q. Have you heard of any difficulties lately laid on the Spanish trade?

A. Yes, I have heard that it has been greatly obstructed by some new regulations, and by the English men of war and cutters stationed all along the coast in America.

Q. Do you think it right that America should be protected by this country, and pay no part of the expense?

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* "The stamp act said, that the Americans shall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase nor grant, nor recover debts; they shall neither marry nor make their wills, unless they pay such and such sums" in *specie* for the stamps which must give validity to the proceedings. The operation of such a tax, its annual productiveness, on its introduction, was estimated by its proposer in the house of commons at 100,000*l. sterling*. The colonies being already reduced to the necessity of having *paper*-money, by sending to Britain the specie they collected in foreign trade, in order to make up for the deficiency of their other returns for Britain's manufactures; there were doubts whether there could remain *specie* sufficient to answer the tax.

* The stamp act provided that a double duty should be laid "where the instrument, proceedings, &c. shall be engrossed, written or printed within the said colonies and plantations, in any other than the English language." This measure, it is presumed, appeared to be suggested by motives of convenience, and the policy of assimilating persons of foreign to those of British descent, and preventing their interference in the conduct of law business till this change should be effected. It seems however to have been deemed too precipitate, immediately to extend this clause to newly conquered countries. An exemption therefore was granted, in this particular, with respect to Canada and Grenada, for the space of five years, to be reckoned from the commencement of the duty. (See the British Stamp Act.)

† Strangers excluded, some parts of the northern colonies doubled their numbers in fifteen or sixteen years; to the southward they were longer; but, taking one with another, they had doubled by natural generation only, once in twenty-five years. Pennsylvania, *including strangers*, had doubled in about sixteen years. The calculation for February, 1766, will not suit 1779, nor subsequent periods; though as general principles they will approach very near to each other

A. That is not the case. The colonies raised, clothed, and paid, during the last war, near twenty-five thousand men, and spent many millions.

Q. Were you not reimbursed by parliament?

A. We were only reimbursed what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our proportion, or beyond what might reasonably be expected from us; and it was a very small part of what we spent. Pennsylvania, in particular, disbursed about 500,000*l.* and the reimbursements, in the whole, did not exceed 60,000*l.*

Q. You have said that you pay heavy taxes in Pennsylvania, what do they amount to in the pound?

A. The tax on all estates, real and personal, is eighteen pence in the pound, fully rated; and the tax on the profits of trades and professions, with other taxes, do, I suppose, make full half-a-crown in the pound.

Q. Do you know any thing of the *rate of exchange in* Pennsylvania, and whether it has fallen lately?

A. It is commonly from one hundred and and seventy, to one hundred and seventy-five. I have heard, that it has fallen lately from one hundred and seventy-five, to one hundred and sixty-two and a half; owing, I suppose, to their lessening their orders for goods; and when their debts to this country are paid, I think the exchange will probably be at par.

Q. Do not you think the people of America would submit to pay the stamp duty, if it was moderated?

A. No, never, unless compelled by force of arms.

Q. Are not the taxes in Pennsylvania laid on unequally, in order to burden the English trade; particularly the tax on professions and business?

A. It is not more burdensome in proportion, than the tax on lands. It is intended, and supposed to take an equal proportion of profits.

Q. How is the assembly composed? Of what kinds of people are the members; landholders or traders?

A. It is composed of landholders, merchants, and artificers.

Q. Are not the majority landholders?

A. I believe they are.

Q. Do not they, as much as possible, shift the tax off from the land, to ease that, and lay the burden heavier on trade?

A. I have never understood it so. I never heard such a thing suggested. And indeed an attempt of that kind could answer no purpose. The merchant or trader is always skilled in figures, and ready with his pen and ink. If unequal burdens are laid on his trade, he puts an additional price on his goods; and the consumers, who are chiefly landholders, finally pay the greatest part, if not the whole.

Q. What was the temper of America towards Great Britain *before the year* 1763?*

A. The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown, and paid, in their courts, obedience to acts of parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several old provinces, they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons, or armies, to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expense only of a little pen, ink, and paper: they were lead by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain; for its laws, its customs, and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard; to be an *Old England-man* was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us.

Q. And what is their temper now?

A. O, very much altered.

Q. Did you ever hear the authority of parliament to make laws for America questioned till lately?

A. The authority of parliament was allowed to be valid in all laws, except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in laying duties to regulate commerce.

Q. In what proportion had population increased in America?

A. I think the inhabitants of all the provinces together, taken at a medium, double in about twenty-five years. But their demand for British manufactures increases much faster; as the consumption is not merely in proportion to their numbers, but grows with the growing abilities of the same numbers to pay

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* In the year 1733—"for the welfare and prosperity of the sugar colonies in the West Indies," and "for remedying discouragements of planters;" duties were "*given and granted*" to George the Second, upon all rum, spirits, molasses, syrups, sugar, and paneles of foreign growth, produce, and manufacture, imported into the colonies. This *regulation of trade*, for the benefit of the general empire was acquiesced in, notwithstanding the introduction of the novel terms "give and grant." But the act, which was made only for the term of five years, and had been several times renewed in the reign of George the Second, and once in the reign of George the Third, was renewed again in the year 1763, in the reign of George the Third; and *extended to other articles, apon new and altered grounds.* It was stated in the preamble to this act, "that it was expedient that new provisions and regulations should be established for *improving the revenue of this kingdom;*" that it was just and necessary that a revenue should be rased in America for defending, protecting, and securing the same;" "and that the commons of Great Britain . . . . . . , desirous of making some provision. . . . . . towards *raising the said revenue* in America, have resolved to *give* and *grant* to his majesty, the several rates and duties, &c." Mr. Manduit, agent for Massachusett's Bay, was instructed in the following terms to oppose Mr. Grenville's taxing system.—"You are to remonstrate against these measures, and, if possible, to obtain a repeal of the sugar act, and prevent the imposition of any further duties or taxes on the colonies. Measures will be taken that you may be joined by all the other agents." *Boston, June* 14, 1764."

The question proposed to Dr. Franklin alludes to this sugar act in 1763. His answer merits particular attention.

for them. In 1723, the whole importation from Britain to Pennsylvania was but about 15,000*l.* sterling; it is now near half a million.

Q. In what light did the people of America use to consider the parliament of Great Britain?

A. They considered the parliament as the great bulwark and security of their liberties and privileges, and always spoke of it with the utmost respect and veneration. Arbitrary ministers, they thought, might possibly, at times, attempt to oppress them; but they relied on it, that the parliament, on application, would always give redress. They remembered, with gratitude, a strong instance of this, when a bill was brought into parliament, with a clause, to make royal instructions laws in the colonies, which the house of commons would not pass, and it was thrown out.

Q. And have they not still the same respect for parliament?

A. No, it is greatly lessened.

Q. To what cause is that owing?

A. To a concurrence of causes; the restraints lately laid on their trade, by which the bringing of foreign gold and silver into the colonies was prevented; the prohibition of making paper money among themselves,* and then demanding a new and heavy tax by stamps, taking away, at the same time, trials by juries, and refusing to receive and hear their humble petitions.

Q. Don't you think they would submit to the stamp act, if it was modified, the obnoxious parts taken out, and the duty reduced to some particulars of small moment?

A. No, they will never submit to it.

Q. What do you think is the reason that the people in America increase faster than in England?

A. Because they marry younger, and more generally.

Q. Why so?

A. Because any young couple, that are industrious, may easily obtain land of their own, on which they can raise a family.

Q. Are not the lower rank of people more at their ease in America than in England?

A. They may be so, if they are sober and diligent; as they are better paid for their labour.

Q. What is your opinion of a future tax, imposed on the same principle with that of the stamp act? how would the Americans receive it?

A. Just as they do this. They would not pay it.

Q. Have not you heard of the resolutions of this house, and of the house of lords, asserting the right of parliament relating to America, including a power to tax the people there?

A. Yes, I have heard of such resolutions.

Q. What will be the opinion of the Americans on those resolutions?

A. They will think them unconstitutional and unjust.

Q. Was it an opinion in America before 1763, that the parliament had no right to lay taxes and duties there?

A. I never heard any objection to the right of laying duties to regulate commerce, but a right to lay internal taxes was never supposed to be in parliament, as we are not represented there.

Q. On what do you found your opinion, that the people in America made any such distinction?

A. I know that whenever the subject has occurred in conversation where I have been present, it has appeared to be the opinion of every one, that we could not be taxed by a parliament wherein we were not represented. But the payment of duties laid by an act of parliament as regulations of commerce, was never disputed.

Q. But can you name any act of assembly, or public act of any of your governments, that made such distinction?

A. I do not know that there was any; I think there was never an occasion to make any such act, till now that you have attempted to tax us: *that* has occasioned resolutions of assembly, declaring the distinction, in which I think every assembly on the continent, and every member in every assembly, have been unanimous.

Q. What then could occasion conversations on that subject before that time?

A. There was in 1754 a proposition made, (I think it came from hence,) that in case of a war, which was then apprehended, the governors of the colonies should meet, and order the levying of troops, building of forts, and taking every other necessary measure for the general defence; and should draw on the treasury here for the sums expended; which were afterwards to be raised in the colonies by a general tax, to be laid on them by *act of parliament.* This occasioned a good deal of conversation on the subject; and the general opinion was, that the parliament neither would nor could lay any tax on us, till we were duly represented in parliament; because it was not just, nor agreeable to the nature of an English constitution.

Q. Don't you know there was a time in New York, when it was under consideration to make an application to parliament to lay taxes on that colony, upon a deficiency arising from the assembly's refusing or neglecting to raise the necessary supplies for the support of the civil government?

A. I never heard it.

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* Some of the colonies had been reduced to the necessity of bartering, from the want of a medium of traffic. See Essay on Paper Money.

Q. There was such an application under consideration in New York;—and do you apprehend they could suppose the right of parliament to lay a tax in America was only local, and confined to the case of a deficiency in a particular colony, by a refusal of its assembly to raise the necessary supplies?

A. They could not suppose such a case, as that the assembly would not raise the necessary supplies to support its own government. An assembly that would refuse it must want common sense; which cannot be supposed. I think there was never any such case at New York, and that it must be a misrepresentation, or the fact must be misunderstood. I know there have been some attempts, by ministerial instructions from hence, to oblige the assemblies to settle permanent salaries on governors, which they wisely refused to do; but I believe no assembly of New York, or any other colony, ever refused duly to support government by proper allowances, from time to time, to public officers.

Q. But in case a governor, acting by instruction, should call on an assembly to raise the necessary supplies, and the assembly should refuse to do it, do you not think it would then be for the good of the people of the colony, as well as necessary to government, that the parliament should tax them?

A. I do not think it would be necessary. If an assembly could possibly be so absurd, as to refuse raising the supplies requisite for the maintenance of government among them, they could not long remain in such a situation; the disorders and confusion occasioned by it must soon bring them to reason.

Q. If it should not, ought not the right to be in Great Britain of applying a remedy?

A. A right, only to be used in such a case, I should have no objection to; supposing it to be used merely for the good of the people of the colony.

Q. But who is to judge of that, Britain or the colony?

A. Those that feel can best judge.

Q. You say the colonies have always submitted to external taxes, and object to the right of parliament only in laying internal taxes; now can you show, that there is any kind of *difference between the two taxes* to the colony on which they may be laid?

A. I think the difference is very great. An *external* tax is a duty laid on commodities imported; that duty is added to the first cost and other charges on the commodity, and, when it is offered to sale, makes a part of the price. If the people do not like it at that price, they refuse it; they are not obliged to pay it. But an *internal* tax is forced from the people without their consent, if not laid by their own representatives. The stamp act says, we shall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase nor grant, nor recover debts; we shall neither marry nor make our wills, unless we pay such and such sums; and thus it is intended to extort our money from us, or ruin us by the consequences of refusing to pay it.

Q. But supposing the external tax or duty to be laid on the necessaries of life imported into your colony, will not that be the same thing in its effects as an internal tax?

A. I do not know a single article imported into the *northern* colonies, but what they can either do without, or make themselves.

Q. Don't you think cloth from England absolutely necessary to them?

A. No, by no means absolutely necessary; with industry and good management, they may very well supply themselves with all they want.

Q. Will it not take a long time to establish that manufacture among them; and must they not in the mean while suffer greatly?

A. I think not. They have made a surprising progress already. And I am of opinion, that before their old clothes are worn out, they will have new ones of their own making.

Q. Can they possibly find wool enough in North America?

A. They have taken steps to increase the wool. They entered into general combinations to eat no more lamb; and very few lambs were killed last year. This course, persisted in, will soon make a prodigious difference in the quantity of wool. And the establishing of great manufactories, like those in the clothing towns here, is not necessary, as it is where the business is to be carried on for the purposes of trade. The people will all spin, and work for themselves, in their own houses.

Q. Can there be wool and manufacture enough in one or two years?

A. In three years, I think there may.

Q. Does not the severity of the winter, in the northern colonies, occasion the wool to be of bad quality?

A. No, the wool is very fine and good.

Q. In the more southern colonies, as in Virginia, don't you know, that the wool is course, and only a kind of hair?

A. I don't know it. I never heard it. Yet I have been sometimes in Virginia. I cannot say I ever took particular notice of the wool there, but I believe it is good, though I cannot speak positively of it; but Virginia, and the colonies south of it, have less occasion for wool; their winters are short, and not very severe; and they can very well clothe themselves with linen and cotton of their own raising for the rest of the year.

Q. Are not the people in the more northern colonies obliged to fodder their sheep all the winter?

A. In some of the most northern colonies they may be obliged to do it, some part of the winter.

Q. Considering the resolutions of parliament,* *as to the right;* do you think, if the stamp act is repealed, that the North Americans will be satisfied?

A. I believe they will.

Q. Why do you think so?

A. I think the resolutions of *right* will give them very little concern, if they are never attempted to be carried into practice. The colonies will probably consider themselves in the same situation, in that respect with Ireland: they know you claim the same right with regard to Ireland, but you never exercise it. And they may believe you never will exercise it in the colonies, any more than in Ireland, unless on some very extraordinary occasion.

Q. But who are to be the judges of that extraordinary occasion? Is not the parliament?

A. Though the parliament may judge of the occasion, the people will think it can never exercise such right, till representatives from the colonies are admitted into parliament; and that, whenever the occasion arises, representatives *will* be ordered.

Q. Did you never hear that Maryland, during the last war, had refused to furnish a quota towards the common defence?

A. Maryland has been much misrepresented in that matter. Maryland, to my knowledge, never refused to contribute, or grant aids to the crown. The assemblies, every year during the war, voted considerable sums, and formed bills to raise them. The bills were, according to the constitution of that province, sent up to the council, or upper house, for concurrence, that they might be presented to the governor, in order to be enacted into laws. Unhappy disputes between the two houses—arising from the defects of that constitution principally—rendered all the bills but one or two abortive. The proprietary's council rejected them. It is true, Maryland did not then contribute its proportion; but it was, in my opinion, the fault of the government, not of the people.

Q. Was it not talked of in the other provinces as a proper measure, to apply to parliament to compel them?

A. I have heard such discourse; but as it was well known that the people were not to blame, no such application was ever made, nor any step taken towards it.

Q. Was it not proposed at a public meeting?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. Do you remember the abolishing of the paper-currency in New England, by act of assembly?

A. I do remember its being abolished in the Massachusetts' Bay.

Q. Was not lieutenant-governor Hutchinson principally concerned in that transaction?

A. I have heard so.

Q. Was it not at that time a very unpopular law?

A. I believe it might, though I can say little about it, as I lived at a distance from that province.

Q. Was not the *scarcity of gold and silver* an argument used against abolishing the paper?

A. I suppose it was.

Q. What is the present opinion there of that law? Is it as unpopular as it was at first?

A. I think it is not.

Q. Have not instructions from hence been sometimes sent over to governors, highly oppressive and unpolitical?

A. Yes.

Q. Have not some governors dispensed with them for that reason?

A. Yes, I have heard so.

Q. Did the Americans ever dispute the controlling power of parliament to regulate the commerce?

A. No.

Q. Can any thing less than a military force carry the stamp act into execution?

A. I do not see how a military force can be applied to that purpose.

Q. Why may it not?

A. Suppose a military force sent into America, they will find nobody in arms; what are they then to do? They cannot force a man to take stamps who chooses to do without them. They will not find a rebellion: they may indeed make one.

Q. If the act is not repealed, what do you think will be the consequence?

A. A total loss of the respect and affection the people of America bear to this country, and of all the commerce that depends on that respect and affection.

Q. How can the commerce be affected?

A. You will find, that if the act is not repealed, they will take very little of your manufactures in a short time.

Q. Is it in their power to do without them?

A. I think they may very well do without them.

Q. Is it their interest not to take them?

A. The goods they take from Britain are either necessaries, mere conveniences, or superfluities. The first, as cloth, &c. with a little industry they can make at home; the second they can do without, till they are able to provide them among themselves; and the last, which are much the greatest part, they will strike off immediately. They are mere articles of fashion, purchased and consumed, because the fashion in a respected country; but will now be detested and rejected. The people have already struck off, by general agreement, the use of all goods fashionable in mournings, and many thousand pounds worth are sent back as unsaleable.

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* Afterwards expressed in the Declaratory Act.

Q Is it their interest to make cloth at home?

A. I think they may at present get it cheaper from Britain, I mean of the same fineness and neatness of workmanship; but when one considers other circumstances, the restraints on their trade, and the difficulty of making remittances, it is their interest to make every thing.

Q. Suppose an act of internal regulations connected with a tax, how would they receive it?

A. I think it would be objected to.

Q. Then no regulation with a tax would be submitted to?

A. Their opinion is, that when aids to the crown are wanted, they are to be asked of the several assemblies, according to the old established usage; who will, as they always have done, grant them freely. And that their money ought not to be given away, without their consent, by persons at a distance, unacquainted with their circumstances and abilities. The granting aids to the crown is the only means they have of recommending themselves to their sovereign; and they think it extremely hard and unjust, that a body of men, in which they have no representatives, should make a merit to itself of giving and granting what is not its own, but theirs; and deprive them of a right they esteem of the utmost value and importance, as it is the security of all their other rights.

Q. But is not the post-office, which they have long received, a tax as well as a regulation?

A. No; the money paid for the postage of a letter is not of the nature of a tax; it is merely a *quantum meruit* for a service done: no person is compellable to pay the money, if he does not choose to receive the service. A man may still as before the act, send his letter by a servant, a special messenger, or a friend, if he thinks it cheaper and safer.

Q. But do they not consider the regulations of the post-office, by the act of last year, as a tax?

A. By the regulations of last year the rate of postage was generally abated near thirty per cent. through all America; they certainly cannot consider such abatement *as a tax*.

Q. If an excise was laid by parliament, which they might likewise avoid paying, by not consuming the articles excised, would they then not object to it?

A. They would certainly object to it, as an excise is unconnected with any service done, and is merely an aid, which they think ought to be asked of them, and granted by them, if they are to pay it; and can be granted for them by no others whatsoever, whom they have not empowered for that purpose.

Q. You say, they do not object to the right of parliament, in laying duties on goods to be paid on their importation: now, is there any kind of difference between a duty on the *importation* of goods, and an excise on their *consumption?*

A. Yes; a very material one: an excise, for the reasons I have just mentioned, they think you can have no right to lay within their country. But *the sea* is yours; you maintain, by your fleets, the safety of navigation in it, and keep it clear of pirates: you may have therefore a natural and equitable right to some *toll* or duty on merchandizes carried through that part of your dominions, towards defraying the expense you are at in ships to maintain the safety of that carriage.

Q. Does this reasoning hold in the case of a duty laid on the produce of their lands *exported?* And would they not then object to such a duty?

A. If it tended to make the produce so much dearer abroad, as to lessen the demand for it, to be sure they would object to such a duty: not to your right of laying it, but they would complain of it as a burden, and petition you to lighten it.

Q. Is not the duty paid on the tobacco exported, a duty of that kind?

A. That, I think, is only on tobacco carried coastwise, from one colony to another, and appropriated as a fund for supporting the college at Williamsburg, in Virginia.

Q. Have not the assemblies in the West Indies the same natural rights with those in North America?

A. Undoubtedly.

Q. And is there not a tax laid there on their sugars exported?

A. I am not much acquainted with the West Indies; but the duty of four and a half per cent. on sugars exported was, I believe, granted by their own assemblies.

Q. How much is the poll-tax in your province laid on unmarried men?

A. It is, I think, fifteen shillings, to be paid by every single freeman, upwards of twenty-one years old.

Q. What is the annual amount of *all* the taxes in Pennsylvania?

A. I suppose about 20,000*l.* sterling.

Q. Supposing the stamp act continued and enforced, do you imagine that ill-humour will induce the Americans to give as much for worse manufactures of their own, and use them, preferable to better of ours?

A. Yes, I think so. People will pay as freely to gratify one passion as another, their resentment as their pride.

A. Would the people at Boston discontinue their trade?

A. The merchants are a very small number compared with the body of the people, and must discontinue their trade, if nobody will buy their goods.

Q. What are the body of the people in the colonies?

A. They are farmers, husbandmen, or planters.

Q. Would they suffer the produce of their lands to rot?

A. No; but they would not raise so much. They would manufacture more, and plough less.

Q. Would they live without the administration of justice in civil matters, and suffer all the inconveniencies of such a situation for any considerable time, rather than take the stamps, supposing the stamps were protected by a sufficient force, where every one might have them?

A. I think the supposition impracticable, that the stamps should be so protected as that every one might have them. The act requires sub-distributors to be appointed in every county town, district, and village, and they would be necessary. But the *principal* distributors, who were to have had a considerable profit on the whole, have not thought it worth while to continue in the office; and I think it impossible to find sub-distributors fit to be trusted, who, for the trifling profit that must come to their share, would incur the odium, and run the hazard that would attend it; and if they could be found, I think it impracticable to protect the stamps in so many distant and remote places.

Q. But in places where they could be protected, would not the people use them, rather than remain in such a situation, unable to obtain any right, or recover by law, any debt?

A. It is hard to say what they would do. I can only judge what other people will think, and how they will act, by what I feel within myself. I have a great many debts due to me in America, and I had rather they should remain unrecoverable by any law, than submit to the stamp act. They will be debts of honour. It is my opinion the people will either continue in that situation, or find some way to extricate themselves, perhaps by generally agreeing to proceed in the courts without stamps.

Q. What do you think a sufficient military force to protect the distribution of the stamps in every part of America?

A. A very great force, I can't say what, if the disposition of America is for a general resistance.

Q. What is the number of men in America able to bear arms, or of disciplined militia?

A. There are, I suppose, at least. . . .

[*Question objected to. He withdrew. Called in again.*]

Q. Is the American stamp act an equal tax on the country?

A. I think not.

Q. Why so?

A. The greatest part of the money must arise from law-suits for the recovery of debts, and be paid by the lower sort of people, who were too poor easily to pay their debts. It is therefore a heavy tax on the poor, and a tax upon them for being poor.

Q. But will not this increase of expense be a means of lessening the number of law-suits?

A. I think not; for as the costs all fall upon the debtor, and are to be paid by him, they would be no discouragement to the creditor to bring his action.

Q. Would it not have the effect of excessive usury?

A. Yes; as an oppression of the debtor.

Q. How many ships are there laden annually in North America with *flax-seed* for Ireland?

A. I cannot speak to the number of ships, but I know, that in 1752 ten thousand hogsheads of flax-seed, each containing seven bushels, were exported from Philadelphia to Ireland. I suppose the quantity is greatly increased since that time, and it is understood, that the exportation from New York is equal to that from Philadelphia.

Q. What becomes of the flax that grows with that flax-seed?

A. They manufacture some into coarse, and some into a middling kind of linen.

Q. Are there any *slitting-mills* in America?

A. I think there are three, but I believe only one at present employed. I suppose they will all be set to work, if the interruption of the trade continues.

Q. Are there any *fulling-mills* there?

A. A great many.

Q. Did you never hear, that a great quantity of *stockings* were contracted for, for the army, during the war, and manufactured in Philadelphia?

A. I have heard so.

Q. If the stamp act should be repealed, would not the Americans think they could oblige the parliament to repeal every external tax-law now in force?

A. It is hard to answer questions of what people at such a distance will think.

Q. But what do you imagine they will think were the motives of repealing the act?

A. I suppose they will think, that it was repealed from a conviction of its inexpediency; and they will rely upon it, that while the same inexpediency subsists, you will never attempt to make such another.

Q. What do you mean by its inexpediency?

A. I mean its inexpediency on several accounts, the poverty and inability of those who were to pay the tax, the general discontent it has occasioned, and the impracticability of enforcing it.

Q. If the act should be repealed, and the legislature should show its resentment to the opposers of the stamp act, would the colonies acquiesce in the authority of the legislature? What is your opinion they would do?

A. I don't doubt at all, that if the legislature repeal the stamp act, the colonies will acquiesce in the authority.

Q. But if the legislature should think fit to ascertain its right to lay taxes, by any act laying a small tax, contrary to their opinion, would they submit to pay the tax?

A. The proceedings of the people in America have been considered too much together. The proceedings of the assemblies have been very different from those of the mobs, and should be distinguished, as having no connexion with each other. The *assemblies* have only peaceably resolved what they take to be their rights: they have taken no measures for opposition by force, they have not built a fort, raised a man, or provided a grain of ammunition, in order to such opposition. The ring-leaders of riots, they think ought to be punished: they would punish them themselves, if they could. Every sober, sensible man, would wish to see rioters punished, as otherwise peaceable people have no security of person or estate; but as to an internal tax, how small soever, laid by the legislature here on the people there, while they have no representatives in this legislature, I think it will never be submitted to: they will oppose it to the last: they do not consider it as at all necessary for you to raise money on them by your taxes; because they are, and always have been, ready to raise money by taxes among themselves, and to grant large sums, equal to their abilities, upon requisition from the crown. They have not only granted equal to their abilities, but, during all the last war, they granted far beyond their abilities, and beyond their proportion with this country (you yourselves being judges) to the amount of many hundred thousand pounds; and this they did freely and readily, only on a sort of promise from the secretary of state, that it should be recommended to parliament to make them compensation. It was accordingly recommended to parliament, in the most honourable manner for them. America has been greatly misrepresented and abused here, in papers, and pamphlets, and speeches,—as ungrateful, and unreasonable, and unjust; in having put this nation to immense expense for their defence, and refusing to bear any part of that expense. The colonies raised, paid, and clothed, near twenty-five thousand men during the last war; a number equal to those sent from Britain, and far beyond their proportion: they went deeply into debt in doing this, and all their taxes and estates are mortgaged, for many years to come, for discharging that debt. Government here was at that time very sensible of this. The colonies were recommended to parliament. Every year the king sent down to the house a written message to this purpose, "that his majesty, being highly sensible of the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects in North America had exerted themselves, in defence of his majesty's just rights and possessions; recommended it to the house to take the same into consideration, and enable him to give them a proper compensation." You will find those messages on your own journals every year of the war to the very last; and you did accordingly give 200,000*l.* annually to the crown, to be distributed in such compensation to the colonies. This is the strongest of all proofs that the colonies, far from being unwilling to bear a share of the burden, did exceed their proportion; for if they had done less, or had only equalled their proportion, there would have been no room or reason for compensation. Indeed the sums, reimbursed them, were by no means adequate to the expense they incurred beyond their proportion: but they never murmured at that; they esteemed their sovereign's approbation of their zeal and fidelity, and the approbation of this house, far beyond any other kind of compensation, therefore there was no occasion for this act, to force money from a willing people: they had not refused giving money for the *purposes* of the act, no requisition had been made, they were always willing and ready to do what could reasonably be expected from them, and in this light they wish to be considered.

Q. But suppose Great Britain should be engaged in a *war in Europe*, would North America contribute to the support of it?

A. I do think they would, as far as their circumstances would permit. They consider themselves as a part of the British empire, and as having one common interest with it: they may be looked on here as foreigners, but they do not consider themselves as such. They are zealous for the honour and prosperity of this nation; and, while they are well used, will always be ready to support it, as far as their little power goes. In 1739 they were called upon to assist in the expedition against Carthagena, and they sent three thousand men to join your army.* It is true Carthagena is in America, but as remote from the northern colonies, as if it had been in Europe. They make no distinction of wars, as to their duty of assisting in them. I know the *last war* is commonly spoken of here as entered into for the defence, or for the sake of the people in America. I think it is quite misunderstood. It began about the limits between Canada and Nova Scotia; about territories to which the *crown* indeed laid claim, but which were not claimed by any British *colony;* none of the lands had been granted to any colonist, we had therefore no particular concern or interest in that dispute.—As to the Ohio, the contest there began about your right of trading in the Indian country, a right you had by the treaty of Utrecht, which the French infringed; they seized the traders and their goods, which were your manufactures; they took a fort which a company of your merchants, and their factors, and correspondents, had erected there, to secure that trade. Braddock was sent with an army to retake that fort (which was looked on here as another incroachment on the king's territory) and to protect your trade. It was not till after his defeat that the colonies were attacked.* They were before in perfect peace with both French and Indians; the troops were not therefore sent for their defence. The trade with the Indians, though carried on in America, is not an *American interest.* The people of America are chiefly farmers and planters, scarce any thing that they raise or produce is an article of commerce with the Indians. The Indian trade is a *British interest;* it is carried on with British manufactures, for the profit of British merchants and manufacturers; therefore the war, as it commenced for the defence of territories of the crown (the property of no American) and for the defence of a trade purely British, was really a British war—and yet the people of America made no scruple of contributing their utmost towards carrying it on, and bringing it to a happy conclusion.

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* Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth commanded this expedition.

Q. Do you think then that the taking possession of the king's territorial rights, and *strengthening the frontiers*, is not an American interest?

A. Not particularly, but conjointly a British and an American interest.

Q. You will not deny that the preceding war, the *war with Spain*, was entered into for the sake of America; was it not *occasioned by captures made in the American seas?*

A. Yes; captures of ships carrying on the British trade there with British manufactures.

Q. Was not the *late war with the* Indians, *since the peace with France*, a war for America only?

A. Yes; it was more particularly for America than the former; but it was rather a consequence or remains of the former war, the Indians not having been thoroughly pacified; and the Americans bore by much the greatest share of the expense. It was put an end to by the army under general Bouquet; there were not above three hundred regulars in that army, and above one thousand Pennsylvanians.

Q. Is it not necessary to send troops to America, to defend the Americans against the Indians?

A. No, by no means; it never was necessary. They defended themselves when they were but a handful, and the Indians much more numerous. They continually gained ground, and have driven the Indians over the mountains, without any troops sent to their assistance from this country. And can it be thought necessary now to send troops for their defence from those diminished Indian tribes, when the colonies are become so populous, and so strong? There is not the least occasion for it, they are very able to defend themselves.

Q. Do you say there were not more than three hundred regular troops employed in the late Indian war?

A. Not on the Ohio, or the frontiers of Pennsylvania, which was the chief part of the war that affected the colonies. There were garrisons at Niagara, Fort Detroit, and those remote posts kept for the sake of your trade; I did not reckon them; but I believe that on the whole the number of Americans or provincial troops, employed in the war, was greater than that of the regulars. I am not certain, but I think so.

Q. Do you think the assemblies have a right to levy money on the subject there, to grant *to the crown?*

A. I certainly think so, they have always done it.

Q. Are they acquainted with the declaration of rights? And do they know that, by that statute, money is not to be raised on the subject but by consent of parliament?

A. They are very well acquainted with it.

Q. How then can they think they have a right to levy money for the crown, or for any other than local purposes?

A. They understand that clause to relate to subjects only within the realm; that no money can be levied on them for the crown, but by consent of parliament. *The colonies* are not supposed to be within the realm; they have assemblies of their own, which are their parliaments, and they are, in that respect, in the same situation with Ireland. When money is to be raised for the crown upon the subject in Ireland, or in the colonies, the consent is given in the parliament of Ireland, or in the assemblies of the colonies. They think the parliament of Great Britain cannot properly give that consent, till it has representatives from America; for the petition of right expressly says, it is to be by *common consent in parliament;* and the people of America have no representatives in parliament, to make a part of that common consent.

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* When this army was in the utmost distress from the want of wagons, &c our author and his son voluntarily traversed the country, in order to collect a sufficient quantity; and effected their purpose, by pledging himself to the amount of many thousand pounds, for payment. It was but just before Dr. Franklin's last return from England to America, that the accounts in this transaction were passed at the British treasury.

Q. If the stamp act should be repealed, and an act should pass, ordering the assemblies of the colonies to indemnify the sufferers by the riots, would they do it?

A. That is a question I cannot answer.

Q. Suppose the king should require the colonies to grant a revenue, and the parliament should be against their doing it, do they think they can grant a revenue to the king, *without* the consent of the parliament of Great Britain?

A. That is a deep question. As to my own opinion, I should think myself at liberty to do it, and should do it, if I liked the occasion.

Q. When money has been raised in the colonies, upon requisitions, has it not been granted to the king?

A. Yes, always; but the requisitions have generally been for some service expressed, as to raise, clothe, and pay troops, and not for money only.

Q. If the act should pass, requiring the American assemblies to make compensation to the sufferers, and they should disobey it, and then the parliament should, by another act, lay an internal tax, would they then obey it?

A. The people will pay no internal tax; and I think an act to oblige the assemblies to make compensation is unnecessary; for I am of opinion, that as soon as the present heats are abated, they will take the matter into consideration, and if it is right to be done, they will do it of themselves.

Q. Do not letters often come into the post-offices in America directed to some inland town where no post goes?

A. Yes.

Q. Can any private person take up those letters and carry them as directed?

A. Yes; any friend of the person may do it, paying the postage that has accrued.

Q. But must not he pay an additional postage for the distance to such inland town?

A. No.

Q. Can the postmaster answer delivering the letter, without being paid such additional postage?

A. Certainly he can demand nothing, where he does no service.

Q. Suppose a person, being far from home, finds a letter in a post-office directed to him, and he lives in a place to which the post generally goes, and the letter is directed to that place, will the post-master deliver him the letter, without his paying the postage receivable at the place to which the letter is directed?

A. Yes; the office cannot demand postage for a letter that it does not carry, or farther than it does carry it.

Q. Are not ferry-men in America obliged, by act of parliament, to carry over the posts without pay?

A. Yes.

Q. Is not this a tax on the ferry-men?

A. They do not consider it as such, as they have an advantage from persons travelling with the post.

Q. If the stamp act should be repealed, and the crown should make a requisition to the colonies for a sum of money, would they grant it?

A. I believe they would.

Q. Why do you think so?

A. I can speak for the colony I live in; I had it in *instruction* from the assembly to assure the ministry, that as they always had done, so they should always think it their duty, to grant such aids to the crown as were suitable to their circumstances and abilities, whenever called upon for that purpose, in the usual constitutional manner; and I had the honour of communicating this instruction to that honourable gentleman then minister.*

Q. Would they do this for a British concern, as suppose a war in some part of Europe, that did not affect them?

A. Yes, for any thing that concerned the general interest. They consider themselves as part of the whole.

Q. What is the usual constitutional manner of calling on the colonies for aids?

A. A letter from the secretary of state.

Q. Is this all you mean; a letter from the secretary of state?

A. I mean the usual way of requisition, in a circular letter from the secretary of state, by his majesty's command, reciting the occasion, and recommending it to the colonies to grant such aids as became their loyalty, and were suitable to their abilities.

Q. Did the secretary of state ever write for *money* for the crown?

A. The requisitions have been to raise, clothe, and pay men, which cannot be done without money.

Q. Would they grant money alone, if called on?

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* The following appears to be the history of this subject:

Until 1763, whenever Great Britain wanted supplies directly from the colonies, the secretary of state, in the king's name, sent them a letter of requisition, in which the occasion for the supplies was expressed; and the colonies returned a *free gift*, the mode of levying which *they* wholly prescribed. At this period, the chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. George Grenville) says to the house of commons: *We must call for money from the colonies, in the way of a tax;*—and to the colony-agents *write to your several colonies, and tell them, if they dislike a duty upon* stamps, *and prefer any other method of raising the money themselves, I shall be content, provided the* amount *be but raised.* "That is," observed the colonies, when commenting upon his terms, "if we will not tax ourselves, *as we may be directed*, the parliament will tax us." Dr. Franklin's instructions, spoken of above, related to this gracious option. As the colonies could not choose "*another* tax," while they disclaimed *every* tax; the parliament passed the stamp act.

See Mr. Mauduit's account of Mr. Grenville's conference with the agents, confirmed by the agents for Georgia and Virginia, and Mr. Burke's speech, in 1774, p. 55.

A. In my opinion they would, money as well as men, when they have money, or can make it.

Q. If the parliament should repeal the stamp act, will the assembly of Pennsylvania rescind their resolutions?

A. I think not.

Q. Before there was any thought of the stamp act, did they wish for a representation in parliament?

A. No.

Q. Don't you know that there is, in the Pennsylvanian charter, an express reservation of the right of parliament to lay taxes there?

A. I know there is a clause in the charter, by which the king grants that he will levy no taxes on the inhabitants, unless it be with the consent of the assembly, or by act of parliament.

Q. How then could the assembly of Pennsylvania assert, that laying a tax on them by the stamp act was an infringement of their rights?

A. They understand it thus: by the same charter, and otherwise, they are entitled to all the privileges and liberties of Englishmen; they find in the great charters, and the petition and declaration of rights, that one of the privileges of English subjects is, that they are not to be taxed but by their *common consent;* they have therefore relied upon it, from the first settlement of the province, that the parliament never would, nor could, by colour of that clause in the charter, assume a right of taxing them, *till* it had qualified itself to exercise such right, by admitting representatives from the people to be taxed, who ought to make a part of that common consent.

Q. Are there any words in the charter that justify that construction?

A. The common rights of Englishmen, as declared by Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right, all justify it.

Q. Does the distinction between internal and external taxes exist in the words of the charter?

A. No, I believe not.

Q. Then may they not, by the same interpretation object to the parliament's right of external taxation?

A. They never *have* hitherto. Many arguments have been lately used here to show them that there is no difference, and that if you have no right to tax them internally, you have none to tax them externally, or make any other law to bind them. At present they do not reason so; but in time they may possibly be convinced by these arguments.

Q. Do not the resolutions of the Pennsylvania assembly say—all taxes?

A. If they do, they mean only internal taxes; the same words have not always the same meaning here and in the colonies. By taxes they mean internal taxes by duties; they mean customs; these are their ideas of the language.

Q. Have you not seen the resolutions of the Massachusett's Bay assembly?

A. I have.

Q. Do they not say, that neither external nor internal taxes can be laid on them by parliament?

A. I don't know that they do; I believe not.

Q. If the same colony should say, neither tax nor imposition could be laid, does not that province hold the power of parliament can lay neither?

A. I suppose that by the word imposition, they do not intend to express duties to be laid on goods imported, as *regulations of commerce.*

Q. What can the colonies mean then by imposition as distinct from taxes?

A. They may mean many things, as impressing of men, or of carriages, quartering troops on private houses, and the like; there may be great impositions that are not properly taxes.

Q. Is not the post-office rate an internal tax laid by act of parliament?

A. I have answered that.

Q. Are all parts of the colonies equally able to pay taxes?

A. No, certainly; the frontier parts, which have been ravaged by the enemy, are greatly disabled by that means; and therefore, in such cases, are usually favoured in our tax-laws.

Q. Can we, at this distance, be competent judges of what favours are necessary

A. The parliament have supposed it, by claiming a right to make tax-laws for America; I think it impossible.

Q. Would the repeal of the stamp act be any discouragement of your manufactures? Will the people that have begun to manufacture decline it?

A. Yes, I think they will; especially if, at the same time, the trade is opened again; so that remittances can be easily made. I have known several instances that make it probable. In the war before last, tobacco being low, and making little remittance, the people of Virginia went generally into family-manufactures. Afterwards, when tobacco bore a better price, they returned to the use of British manufactures. So fulling-mills were very much disused in the last war in Pennsylvania, because bills were then plenty, and remittances could easily be made to Britain for English cloth and other goods.

Q. If the stamp act should be repealed, would it induce the assemblies of America to acknowledge the rights of parliament to tax them, and would they erase their resolutions?

A. No, never.

Q. Are there no means of obliging them to erase those resolutions?

A. None that I know of; they will never do it, unless compelled by force of arms.

Q. Is there a power on earth that can force them to erase them?

A. No power, how great soever, can force men to change their opinions.

Q. Do they consider the post-office as a tax, or as a regulation?

A. Not as a tax, but as a regulation and conveniency; *every assembly* encouraged it, and supported it in its infancy, by grants of money, which they would not otherwise have done; and the people have always paid the postage.

Q. When did you receive the instructions you mentioned?

A. I brought them with me, when I came to England, about fifteen months since.

Q. When did you communicate that ininstruction to the minister?

A. Soon after my arrival,—while the stamping of America was under consideration, and *before* the bill was brought in.

Q. Would it be most for the interest of Great Britain, to employ the hands of Virginia in tobacco, or in manufactures?

A. In tobacco, to be sure.

Q. What used to be the pride of the Americans?

A. To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain?

Q. What is now their pride?

A. To wear their old clothes over again, till they can make new ones.

Feb. 13. Benjamin Franklin, esq. having passed through his examination, was exempted from farther attendance.

He withdrew.

Feb. 24. The resolution of the committee were reported by the chairman, Mr. Fuller, their *seventh* and last resolution setting forth "that it was their opinion that the house be moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal the stamp act." A proposal for recommitting this resolution was negatived by 240 votes to 133. (Journals of the House of Commons.)

Governor Hutchinson's Letters, and the Examination of Dr. Franklin before a Committee of the British Privy-council.

These transactions are narrated, in the order in which they arose.

Governor Hutchinson, lieutenant-governor Andrew Oliver, Charles Paxton, esq. Nathaniel Rogers, esq. and Mr. G. Roome, having sent from Boston certain representations and informations to Thomas Whatley, esq. member of parliament, private secretary to that Mr. George Grenville, who, when in office, was the father of the stamp act, and afterwards one of the lords of trade; these letters were placed by an American gentleman, in the hands of Dr. Franklin, who, in discharge of his duty, had them conveyed back to Boston.* The assembly of Massachusetts were so much exasperated, that they returned attested copies of the letters to England, accompanied by a petition and remonstrance, for the removal of governor Hutchinson, and lieutenant-governor Andrew Oliver, from their posts. The council of Massachusetts, likewise, on their own part, entered into thirteen resolves, in tendency and import similar to the petition of the assembly; five of which resolves were unanimous, and only one of them had so many as three dissentients. In consequence of the assembly's petition, the following proceedings and examination took place.

Dr. Franklin had, from his station of agent for Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, a large share in these transactions, and was exposed to much indecent persecution, by the ministry and their dependents. It required the natural constancy and vigour of such a mind, to sustain him and the trusts confided to him. He entered resolutely on his duty. His examination in 1766 had made an indelible impression on the government, from its force, its truth; the capacity and equanimity of the man, and the jealousy excited by the overwhelming evidence he gave, which proved so clearly the ignorance of ministers and the impolicy of their measures towards America; he was thenceforth looked upon with an eye of suspicion, if not of hatred. In this temper of the ministers it was that he addressed the following letter, with the memorial, to the secretary of state.

" *To the Right Hon. the Earl of Dartmouth.*

"London, Aug. 21, 1773.

"My Lord,—I have just received from the house of representatives of the Massachusett's Bay, their address to the king, which I now inclose, and send to your lordship, with my humble request in their behalf, that you would be pleased to present it to his majesty the first convenient opportunity.

"I have the pleasure of hearing from that province by my late letters, that a sincere disposition prevails in the people there to be on good terms with the mother country; that the assembly have declared their desire only to be put into the situation they were in before the stamp act: *They aim at no novelties.* And it is said, that having lately discovered, as they think, the authors of their grievances to be some of their own people, their resentment against Britain is thence much abated.

"This good disposition of theirs (will your lordship permit me to say) may be cultivated

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* See page of this edition

by a favourable answer to this address, which I therefore hope your goodness will endeavour to obtain: B. FRANKLIN,
"*Agent for the House of Representatives.*"

"*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.*

"Most gracious Sovereign,—We your majesty's loyal subjects, the representatives of your ancient colony of Massachusett's Bay, in general court legally assembled, by virtue of your majesty's writ under the hand and seal of the governor, beg leave to lay this our humble petition before your majesty.

"Nothing but the sense of duty we owe to our sovereign, and the obligation we are under to consult the peace and safety of the province, could induce us to remonstrate to your majesty concerning the mal-conduct of persons, who have heretofore had the confidence and esteem of this people; and whom your majesty has been pleased, from the purest motives of rendering your subjects happy, to advance to the highest places of trust and authority in the province.

"Your majesty's humble petitioners, with the deepest concern and anxiety, have seen the discords and animosities which have too long subsisted between your subjects of the parent state and those of the American colonies. And we have trembled with apprehensions that the consequences, naturally arising therefrom, would at length prove fatal to both countries.

Permit us humbly to suggest to your majesty, that your subjects here have been inclined to believe, that the grievances which they have suffered, and still continue to suffer, have been occasioned by your majesty's minister's and principal servants being, unfortunately for us, *misinformed* in certain facts of very interesting importance to us. It is for this reason that former assemblies have, from time to time, prepared a true state of facts to be laid before your majesty; but their humble remonstrances and petitions, it is presumed, have by some means been prevented from reaching your royal hand.

"Your majesty's petitioners have very lately had before them *certain papers*, from which they humbly conceive, it is most reasonable to suppose, that there has been long a conspiracy of evil men in this province, who have contemplated measures, and formed a plan to advance themselves to power, and raise their own fortunes, by means destructive of the charter of the province, at the expense of the quiet of the nation, and to the annihilating of the rights and liberties of the American colonies.

"And we do, with all due submission to your majesty, beg leave particularly to complain of the conduct of his excellency Thomas Hutchinson, esq. governor, and the honourable Andrew Oliver, esq. lieutenant-governor of this your majesty's province, as having a natural and efficacious tendency to interrupt and alienate the affections of your majesty, our rightful sovereign, from this your loyal province; to destroy that harmony and good-will between Great Britain and this colony, which every honest subject should strive to establish; to excite the resentment of the British administration against this province; to defeat the endeavours of our agents and friends to serve us by a fair representation of our state of facts; to prevent our humble and repeated petitions from reaching the ear of your majesty, or having their desired effect. And finally, that the said Thomas Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver, have been among the chief instruments in introducing a fleet and army into this province, to establish and perpetuate their plans, whereby they have been not only greatly instrumental in disturbing the peace and harmony of the government, and causing unnatural and hateful discords and animosities between the several parts of your majesty's extensive dominions; but are justly chargeable with all that corruption of morals, and all that confusion, misery, and bloodshed, which have been the natural effects of posting an army in a populous town.

"Wherefore we most humbly pray, that your majesty would be pleased to remove from their post in this government the said Thomas Hutchinson, esq. and Andrew Oliver, esq.; who have, by their above-mentioned conduct, and otherwise, rendered themselves justly obnoxious to your loving subjects, and entirely lost their confidence; and place such good and faithful men in their stead, as your majesty in your wisdom shall think fit.

"*In the name and by order of the House of Representatives.*
"THOMAS CUSHING, *Speaker.*"

"This petition lay for some time in the hands of the ministers; but in the beginning of the following year was taken up. Mr. Mauduit, who acted as agent for the governor, had several private conferences with the ministers, and addressed to the committee of the privy council on the 10th of January 1774, the following letter:

TO THE LORDS COMMITTEE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL FOR PLANTATION AFFAIRS.

"*The petition of Israel Mauduit, humbly showeth unto your lordships,*

'That having been informed, that an address, in the name of the House of Representatives of his majesty's colony of Massachusett's Bay, has been presented to his majesty by Benjamin Franklin, esq., praying the removal of his majesty's governor and lieutenant-governor, which is appointed to be taken into consideration on Thursday next; your petitioner, on the behalf of the said governor, and lieutenant-governor, humbly prays, that he may be heard by counsel in relation to the same, before your lordships shall make any report on the said address.

"ISRAEL MAUDUIT.

"*Clement's Lane, Jan.* 10, 1774."

A controversy had taken place in the public prints between Mr. Thomas Whately's brother and Mr. John Temple, arising out of the manner in which the letters of governor Hutchinson, &c. had passed to Boston, from among the papers of Mr. Thomas Whately, his brother then deceased. Mr. W. wished to avoid the charge of his brother having given them, and Mr. Temple of having taken them. The dispute became so personal, that Mr. Temple thought fit to call the surviving brother into the field. The letter of provocation appeared in the morning, and the parties met in the afternoon. Dr. Franklin was not then in town; and some time had expired when he received the intelligence. He could not foresee what had passed, but he endeavoured to prevent what still might otherwise follow, by publishing the following article:—

"*To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.*

"Sir,—Finding that two gentlemen have been unfortunately engaged in a duel, about a transaction and its circumstances, of which both of them are totally ignorant and innocent; I think it incumbent upon me to declare (for the prevention of farther mischief, as far as such a declaration may contribute to prevent it) that I alone am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question. Mr. W. could not communicate them, because they were never in his possession; and for the same reason, they could not be taken from him by Mr. T. They were not of the nature of *private* letters between friends. They were written by public officers to persons in public stations, on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures; they were therefore handed to other public persons who might be influenced by them to produce those measures. Their tendency was to incense the mother country against her colonies, and by the steps recommended, to widen the breach: which they affected. The chief caution expressed with regard to privacy, was, to keep their contents from the colony agents; who the writers apprehended might return them, or copies of them to America. That apprehension was, it seems, well founded: for the first agent who laid his hands on them, thought it his duty to transmit them to his constituents. B. FRANKLIN.

"*Agent for the House of Representatives of Massachusett's Bay.*

"*Craven-street, Dec.* 25, 1773."

It will be seen by the dates, that this publication by Dr. Franklin, and the transactions which led to it, followed the presentation of the Massachusett's petition, and preceded the letter of Mr. Mauduit to the council; and in the narration that follows of the proceedings before the privy council, that those letters and publications were brought into view.

The committee of privy council met on the 11th of January, 1774.

Present. *The lord president of the council.*

The secretaries of state, and many other lords.

Dr. Franklin and Mr. Bollan, agents for Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts.

Mr. Mauduit, agent for the governor of Massachusetts, with Mr. Wedderburn as his council.

Dr. Franklin's Letter and the Address, Mr. Pownall's Letter, and Mr. Maudit's Petition, were read.

Mr. Wedderburn. The address mentions certain papers: I could wish to be informed what are those papers?

Dr. Franklin. They are the letters of Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver.

Court. Have you brought them?

Dr. Franklin. No, but here are attested copies.

Court. Do you mean to found a charge upon them?—if you do, you must produce the letters.

Dr. Franklin. These copies are attested by several gentlemen at Boston, and a notary public.

Mr. Wedderburn. My lords, we shall not take advantage of any imperfection in the proof. We admit that the letters are Mr. Hutchinson's and Mr. Oliver's hand writing: reserving to ourselves the right of inquiring *how* they *were* obtained.

Dr. Franklin. I did not expect that council would have been employed on this occasion.

Court. Had you not notice sent you of Mr. Mauduit's having petitioned to be heard by counsel on behalf of the governor and lieutenant governor.

Dr. Franklin. I did receive such notice; but I thought this had been a matter of *politics*, not of law, and have not brought my counsel.

Court. Where a charge is brought, the parties have a right to be heard by counsel or not, as they choose.

Mr. Mauduit. My lords, I am not a native of that country, as these gentlemen are. I know well Dr. Franklin's abilities, and wish to put the defence of my friends more upon a parity with the attack; he will not therefore wonder that I choose to appear before your lordships with the assistance of counsel. My friends, in their letters to me, have desired (if any proceedings, as they say, should be had upon this address) that they may have a hearing in their own justification, that their innocence may be fully cleared, and their honour vindicated, and have made provision accordingly. I do not think myself at liberty therefore to give up the assistance of my counsel in defending them against this unjust accusation.

Court. Dr. Franklin may have the assistance of counsel, or go on without it, as he shall choose.

Dr. Franklin. I desire to have counsel.

Court. What time do you want?

Dr. Franklin. Three weeks.

Ordered that the further proceedings be on Saturday the 29th instant.

The committee of privy council met according to their adjournment, on the 29th January following, when Mr. *John Dunning* (afterwards lord Ashburton) and Mr. *John Lee*, both eminent lawyers, appeared as counsel, on behalf of the Massachusett's assembly. Mr. Wedderburn (afterwards lord Loughborough) appeared as counsel for the governor and lieutenant-governor.

The matter being a complaint from the Massachusett's assembly, their counsel were first heard of course. Mr. Wedderburn was very elaborate and acrimonious in his remarks. Instead of justifying his clients, or vindicating their conduct in the administration, which was the matter complained of, Mr. Wedderburn bent the whole force of an inflammatory invective, against Dr. Franklin, who sat with calm equanimity an auditor of this unwise course of proceeding.

The principal butt of his acrimony was the matter of dispute between Mr. Temple and Mr. Whately; and the letter published by Dr. Franklin in the Public Advertiser of 25th December, 1773.

Mr. Dunning had substantiated the complaints of the assembly, by exhibiting the letters, which were at this time published in a pamphlet; and also in the Remembrancer of 1773; and he stood upon their letters, as proof of their being unworthy of the confidence of the government as well as of the assembly of Massachusetts. Among other matters, he stated, that Andrew Oliver had suggested to the ministry—"to stipulate with the merchants of England, and purchase from them large quantities of goods proper for the American market; agreeing before hand to allow them a premium equal to the advance of their stock in the trade, if the price of their goods was not enhanced by a tenfold demand in future, even though the goods might lay on hand till this temporary stagnation of business ceased. By such a step," said he, "*the game will be up with my countrymen.*" That Oliver had, on other occasions (in a letter to the ministry, dated Feb. 15, 1769,) "indirectly recommended assassination;" his words being, "that some method should be devised to *take off* the original incendiaries, whose writings supplied the fuel of sedition through the Boston Gazette."* And he referred to the case of Mr. Otis, who notwithstanding he held the office of king's advocate, under the predecessor of governor Hutchinson, had been at night attacked by one Robinson, a commissioner of the king's customs, at the head of a gang of ruffians armed with swords and bludgeons; who on entering the house, extinguished the lights, and after leaving the respectable gentleman covered with wounds, fled and found a refuge on board a king's ship. Mr. Hutchinson by one declaration alone, he said, justified all the complaints of Massachusetts, and called for an immediate dismission of an officer so hostile to the rights and liberties of his countrymen. He who had declared "*there must be an abridgment of English liberties* in the colonies," was justly charged with "making wicked and injurious representations, designed to influence the ministry, and the nation, and to excite jealousies in the breast of the king against his faithful subjects."

The speeches of Messrs. Dunning and Lee were never reported at length; but the extracts which they read were marked for them by Dr. Franklin, of which the following is one.

Extracts from Hutchinson's Correspondence.

"Boston, June 22, 1772.

"The union of the colonies is pretty well broke; I hope I shall never see it renewed. Indeed our sons of liberty are hated and despised by their former brethren in New York and Pennsylvania; and it must be something very extraordinary ever to reconcile them."

"Boston, December 8, 1772.

"You see no difference between the case of the colonies and that of Ireland. I care not in how favourable a light you look upon the colonies, if it does not separate us from you. You will certainly find it more difficult to retain the colonies, than you do Ireland. *Ireland is near you*, and under your constant inspection; all officers are *dependent* and *removable* at pleasure. The colonies are remote, and the officers generally *more disposed to please the people than the king* or his representative. In Ireland you have always the *ultima ratio*, [a standing army] in the colonies you are either destitute of it, or you have no civil magistrate to direct the use of it."

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* The writers alluded to were Messrs. Otis, Dexter, Warren, Adams, Quincy, Mayhen, and Cooper. Mr Otis was so much injured by the wounds he received, in the attack made upon him, as never after to recover, and afterwards died in a state of mental derangement, produced by his wounds.

Mr. Wedderburn, after a review of the arguments of counsel, and eulogies on the loyalty and services of his clients, avoiding the examination of the matter in complaint, directed himself to an inculpation of the assembly and people of Massachusetts, and violently against the character of Dr. Franklin generally, but particularly in the case of the letters.

"The letters could not have come to Dr. Franklin," said Mr. Wedderburn, "by fair means. The writers did not give them to him, nor yet did the deceased correspondent, who, from our intimacy, would otherwise have told me of it: nothing then will acquit Dr. Franklin of the charge of obtaining them by fraudulent or corrupt means, for the most malignant of purposes; unless he stole them, from the person who stole them. This argument is irrefragable.

"I hope, my lords, you will mark and brand the man, for the honour of this country, of Europe, and of mankind. Private correspondence has hitherto been held sacred in times of the greatest party rage, not only in politics but religion. He has forfeited all the respect of societies and of men. Into what companies will he hereafter go with an unembarrassed face, or the honest intrepidity of virtue? Men will watch him with a jealous eye, they will hide their papers from him, and lock up their escrutoires. He will henceforth esteem it a libel to be called *a man of letters, homo* TRIUM[*] *literarum !*

"But he not only took away the letters from one brother, but kept himself concealed till he nearly occasioned the murder of the other. It is impossible to read his account, expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malice, without horror." [*Here he read the letter of Dr. Franklin printed in the Public Advertiser.*]—"Amidst these tragical events, of one person nearly murdered, of another answerable for the issue; of a worthy governor hurt in his dearest interests; the fate of America in suspense; here is a man, who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all:—I can compare it only to Zanga in Dr. Young's *Revenge*.

> 'Know then 'twas.....I;
> I forged the letter,.......I disposed the picture; ....
> I hated,..... I despised,.....and I destroy.'

"I ask, my lords, whether the revengeful temper, attributed by poetic fiction only to the bloody African, is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American?"

These pleadings excited much passion; the lords acceded, the town was convinced, Dr. Franklin was dismissed from the post-office which he first established, and Mr. Wedderburn placed himself in the road for that high advancement which he sought, and with which he was rewarded. Unfortunately for Mr. Wedderburn, the events of the war did not correspond with his system. Unfortunately too for his "irrefragable argument," Dr. Franklin afterwards took an oath in chancery, that at the time that he transmitted the letters, he was ignorant of the party to whom they had been addressed, having himself received them from a third person, and for the express purpose of their being conveyed to America. Unfortunately also for Mr. Wedderburn's "worthy governor," that governor himself, *before* the arrival of Dr. Franklin's packet in Boston, sent over one of Dr. Franklin's own "private" letters to England, expressing some little coyness indeed upon the occasion, but desiring secrecy, lest he should be prevented procuring *more* useful intelligence from the same source.

It was not singular perhaps, that a man of honour should surrender his name to public scrutiny in order to prevent mischief to others, and yet not betray his coadjutor (even to his death) to relieve his own fame from the severest obloquy; but it belonged to few besides Dr. Franklin, to possess mildness and magnanimity enough to refrain from intemperate expressions after what had passed. There is in a note, in the hand writing of Dr. Franklin, in the possession of the Philadelphia editor, where he observes on the word *duty*, in the close of his letter in the Public Advertiser, as follows:

"Governor Hutchinson, as appears by his letters since found and published in New England, had the same idea of *duty*, when he procured copies of Dr. Franklin's letters to the assembly, and sent them to the ministry of England."

The result of the deliberations of the committee of the privy council was such as might be expected from the complacency with which they had heard Mr. Wedderburn, and the general fatuity that appears to have governed the councils of the British nation at the time.

The privy council made a report in which was expressed the following opinion.

"The lords of the committee do agree humbly to report, as their opinion to your majesty, that the petition is founded upon resolutions formed on *false and erroneous allegations;* and is *groundless*, *vexatious*, and *scandalous*, and calculated only for the seditious purpose of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent in the said province. And the lords of the committee do further humbly report to your majesty, that nothing has been laid before them which does or can, in their opinion, in any manner, or in any degree, impeach the honour, integrity, or conduct of the said governor or lieutenant-governor; and their lordships are humbly of opinion, that the said petition ought to be dismissed.

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[*] i. e. The word fur (or *thief.*)

Feb. 7th, 1774. "His majesty, taking the said report into consideration, was pleased, with the advice of his privy-council, to approve thereof; and to order, that the said petition of the House of Representatives of the province of Massachusett's Bay be dismissed the board—as groundless, vexatious, and scandalous; and calculated only for the seditious purpose of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent in the said province."

A former petition against governor Bernard met with a dismission couched in similar terms.

The Constitution of the Colonies[*]*, by Governor Pownall; with Remarks, by Dr. Franklin.*

[PRINCIPLES.]

1. WHEREVER any Englishmen go forth without the realm, and make settlements *in partibus exteris*, "These settlements as English settlements, and these inhabitants as English subjects (carrying with them the laws of the land wherever they form colonies, and receiving his majesty's protection by virtue of his royal charter[†]" or commissions of government) "have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever, as if they and every of them were born within the realm;[‡]" and are bound by the like allegiance as every other subject of the realm.

Remarks. *The settlers of colonies in America did not carry with them the* laws of the land, *as being bound by them wherever they should settle. They left the realm to avoid the inconveniences and hardships they were under, where some of those laws were in force, particularly ecclesiastical laws, those for payment of tythes, and others. Had it been understood, that they were to carry these laws with them, they had better had staid at home among their friends, unexposed to the risks and toils of a new settlement. They carried with them, a right to* such parts *of the* laws of the land, *as they should judge advantageous or useful to them: a right to be free from those they thought hurtful; and a right to make such others, as they should think necessary; not infringing the general rights of Englishmen: and such* new *laws they were to form, as agreeable as might be to the laws of England.* B. F.

2. Therefore the *common law of England*, and all *such statutes* as were enacted and in force at *the time* in which such settlers went forth, and such colonies and plantations were established, (except as hereafter excepted) together with all such alterations and amendments as the said common law may have received, is from time to time, and at all times, the law of those colonies and plantations.

Rem. *So far as they adopt it, by express laws or by practice.* B. F.

3. Therefore all statutes, touching the *right of the succession*, and settlement of the crown, with the statutes of treason relating thereto;[*] all statutes, *regulating* or limiting the general powers and *authority of the crown*, and the exercise of the jurisdiction thereof; all statutes *declaratory of the rights and liberty of the subject*, do extend to all British subjects in the colonies and plantations as of common right, and as if they and every of them were born within the realm.

Rem. *It is doubted, whether any settlement of the crown by parliament, takes place in the colonies, otherwise than by consent of the assemblies there. Had the rebellion in* 1745, *succeeded so far as to settle the Stuart family again on the throne, by act of parliament, I think the colonies would not have thought themselves bound by such act. They would still have adhered to the present family as long as they could.* B. F.

Observation in reply. *They are bound to the king and his successors, and we know no succession but by act of parliament.* T. P.

4. All statutes enacted *since* the establishment of colonies and plantations do extend to and operate within the said colonies and plantations, in which statutes the same *are specially named.*

Rem. *It is doubted, whether any act of parliament should* of right *operate in the colonies: in* fact, *several of them have and do operate.* B. F.

5. Statutes and customs, which respect only the *special and local circumstances* of the realm do not extend to and operate within said colonies and plantations, where no such special and local circumstances are found.—(Thus the *ecclesiastical and canon* law, and

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[*] This constitution of the colonies was printed at the close of 1769, with a view to prevent mischief, from the misunderstandings then existing between the government of Great Britain and the people of America. It was the production of governor Pownall. Dr. Franklin's remarks from their early date are particularly curious; they were communicated in MS. to governor Pownall; and from an observation in reply, signed T. P., appear to have been returned.

[†] Pratt and York.

[‡] General words in all charters.

[*] All statutes respecting the general relations between the crown and the subject, not such as respect any particular or peculiar establishment of the realm of England. As for instance: by the 13th and 14th of Car. II. c. 2 the supreme military power is declared to be in general, without limitation, in his majesty, and to have always been of right annexed to the office of king of England, throughout all his majesty's realms and dominions; yet the enacting clause, which respects only the peculiar establishment of the militia of England, extends to the realm of England only: so that the supreme military power of the crown in all other his majesty's realms and dominions stands, *as to this statute*, on the basis of its general power, unlimited. However the several legislatures of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, of his dominions of Virginia, and of the several colonies and plantations in America, have, by laws to which the king has given his consent, operating within the precincts of their several jurisdictions, limited the powers of it, and regultaed the exercise thereof.

all *statutes respecting tythes*, the laws respecting *courts baron and copyholds*, the *game acts*, the statutes *respecting the poor* and settlements, and all other laws and statutes, having special reference to special and local circumstances and establishments within the realm, do not extend to and operate within these settlements, *in partibus exteris*, where no such circumstances or establishments exist.)

Rem. *These laws have no force in America: not merely because local circumstances differ, but because they have never been adopted, or brought over by acts of assembly or by practice in the courts.* B. F.

6. No statutes made *since* the establishment of said colonies and plantations (*except* as above described in articles 3 and 4) do extend to and operate within said colonies and plantations.

Query. Would any statute made since the establishment of said colonies and plantations, which statute imported, to *annul* and abolish the powers and jurisdictions of their respective constitutions of government, where the same was not contrary to the laws, or any otherwise forfeited or abated; or which statute imported, to take away, or did take away, the rights and privileges of the settlers, as British subjects: would such statute, as of right, extend to and operate within said colonies and plantations.

Answer. *No. The parliament has no such power. The charters cannot be altered but by consent of both parties—the king and the colonies.* B. F.

Corollaries from the foregoing principles.

Upon the matters of fact, right, and law, as above stated, it is, that the British subjects thus settled *in partibus exteris* without the realm, so long as they are excluded from an entire union with the realm, as parts of and within the same, have a right to have (as they have) and to be governed by (as they are) a *distinct entire civil government*, of the like powers, pre-eminences, and jurisdictions (conformable to the like rights, privileges, immunities, franchises, and civil liberties) as are to be found and are established in the British government, respecting the British subject within the realm.

Rem. *Right.* B. F.

Hence also it is, that the *rights of the subject*, as declared in the petition of right, that the *limitation of prerogative* by the act for abolishing the star-chamber, and for regulating the privy-council, &c. that the *habeas corpus* act, the statute of frauds, the bill of rights, do of common right extend to and are in force within said colonies and plantations.

Rem. *Several of these rights are established by special colony laws. If any are not yet so established, the colonies have right to such laws: and the covenant having been made in the charters by the king, for himself and his successors, such laws ought to receive the royal assent*, as of right. B. F.

Hence it is, that the *freeholders* within the precincts of these jurisdictions have (as of right they ought to have) a *share in the power of making those laws* which they are to be governed by, by the right which they have of sending their representatives to act for them, and to consent for them in all matters of legislation, which representatives, when met in general assembly, have, together with the crown, a right to perform and do all the like acts respecting the matters, things, and rights, within the precincts of their jurisdiction, as the parliament hath respecting the realm and British dominions.

Hence also it is, that all the *executive offices* (from the supreme civil magistrate, as *locum tenens* to the king, down to that of constable and head-borough) must of right be established with all and the like powers, neither more nor less than as defined by the constitution and law, as in fact they are established.

Hence it is, that the *judicial offices and courts of justice*, established within the precincts of said jurisdictions, have, as they ought of right to have, all those jurisdictions and powers "as fully and amply to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as the courts of king's bench, common pleas, and exchequer, within his majesty's kingdom of England, have, and ought to have, and are empowered to give judgment and award execution thereupon."*

Hence it is, that by the possession, enjoyment, and exercise of his majesty's *great seal*, delivered to his majesty's governor, there is established within the precincts of the respective jurisdictions, all the same and like *powers of chancery* (except where by charters specially excluded) as his majesty's chancellor within his majesty's kingdom of England hath, and of right ought to have, by delivery of the great seal of England.—And hence it is, that all the like rights, privileges, and powers, follow the use, exercise, and application of the great seal of each colony and plantation within the precincts of said jurisdiction, as doth, and ought of right to follow the use, exercise, and application of the great seal.

Hence also it is, that *appeals in real actions*, "whereby the lands, tenements, and hereditaments of British subjects may be drawn into question and disposed of,"† do not lie, as of right and by law they ought not to lie, to the king in council.

Hence also it is, that there is *not* any law now in being, whereby *the subject* within said colonies and plantations can *be removed** *from the jurisdiction to which he is amenable* in all his right, and through which his service and allegiance must be derived to the crown, and from which no appeal lies in criminal causes, so as that such subject may become amenable to a jurisdiction foreign to his natural and legal resiancy; to which he may be thereby transported, and under which he may be brought to trial and receive judgment, contrary to the rights and privileges of the subject, as declared by the spirit and intent and especially by sec. 16 of the *habeas corpus* act. And if the person of any subject within the said colonies and plantations *should* be seized or detained by any power issuing from any court, without the jurisdiction of the colony where he then had his legal resiancy, it would become the duty of the courts of justice *within* such colony (it is undoubtedly of their jurisdiction so to do) to issue the writ of *habeas corpus.*†

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* Law in New England, confirmed by the crown, October 22, 1700.

† 16th Car. I. c. 10.

Hence also it is, that in like manner as "the *command and disposition of the militia, and of all forces by sea and land*, and of all forts and places of strength, is, and by the laws of England ever was, the undoubted right of his majesty and his royal predecessors, kings and queens of England, within all his majesty's realms and dominions,"* in like manner as the supreme military power and command (so far as the constitution knows of and will justify its establishment) is inseparably annexed to, and forms an essential part of the office of supreme civil magistrate, the office of king: in like manner, in all *governments under the king*, where the constituents are British subjects, and of full and perfect right entitled to the British laws and constitution, the supreme military command within the precincts of such jurisdictions must be inseparably annexed to the office of supreme civil magistrate, (his majesty's regent vicegerent, lieutenant, or *locum tenens*, in what forms soever established) so that the king cannot, by any† commission of regency, by any commission or charter of government, separate or withdraw the supreme command of the military from the office of supreme civil magistrate—either by reserving this command in his own hands, to be exercised and executed independent of the civil power; or by granting a distinct commission to any military commander in chief, so to be exercised and executed; but more especially not within such jurisdictions where such supreme military power (so far as the constitution knows and will justify the same) is *already* annexed and granted to the office of supreme civil magistrate.—And hence it is, that the king cannot erect or establish any law martial or military command, by any commission which may supersede and not be subject to the supreme civil magistrate, within the respective precincts of the civil jurisdictions of said colonies and plantations, otherwise than in such manner as the said law martial and military commissions are annexed or subject to the supreme civil jurisdiction within his majesty's realms and dominions of Great Britain and Ireland; and hence it is, that the establishment and exercise of such commands and commissions would be illegal.*

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* The case of the court erected by act of parliament 11th and 12th of William III. c. 7, (since the enacting of the *habeas corpus* act) for the trial of piracies, felonies, and robberies committed in or upon the sea, or in any haven, river, creek, or place *where the admiral has jurisdiction*, does no way affect this position: nor doth sec. 14 of the said statute, directing that the commissioners, of whom such court consists, may issue their warrant for apprehending such pirates, &c. in order to their being tried in the colonies, or *sent into England*, any way militate with the doctrine here laid down: nor can it be applied as *the case of a jurisdiction actually existing*, which supercedes the jurisdictions of the courts in the colonies and plantations, and as what authorises the taking the accused of such piracies, &c. *from those jurisdictions*, and the sending such *so taken* to England for trial.—It cannot be applied as a case similar and in point to the application of an act of parliament (passed in the 35th of Henry VIII concerning the *trial of treasons*) lately recommended in order to the sending persons accused of committing crimes in the plantations to England for trial: because this act of the 11th and 12th of William, c. 7, respects *crimes* committed in places, "*where the admiral has jurisdiction*," and *cases* to which the jurisdiction of those provincial courts *do not extend.* In the *case of treasons committed within the jurisdiction of the colonies and plantations*, there are courts competent to try such crimes and to give judgment thereupon, where the trials of such are regulated by laws to which the king hath given his consent: from which there lies no appeal, and wherein the king hath given power and instruction to his governor as to execution or respite of judgment. The said act of Henry VIII. which provides remedy for a case which supposes *the want* of due legal jurisdiction, cannot be any way, or by any rule, applied to a case where there is due legal and competent jurisdiction. B. F.

† The—referring to an old act made for the trial of treasons committed out of the realm, by such persons as had no legal resiancy but within the realm, and who were of the realm, applying the purview of that statute, which was made to bring subjects of the realm who had committed treason out of the realm (where there was *no criminal jurisdiction to which they could be amenable*) to trial within the realm, under that criminal jurisdiction to which alone by their legal resiancy and allegiance they were amenable; and applying this to the case of subjects whose *legal* "resiancy" is *without* the realm, and who are by that "resiancy" and their allegiance amenable to a jurisdiction authorized and empowered to try and give judgment upon all capital offences whatsoever without appeal; thus applying this statute so as to take up a proceeding, for where there is no legal process either by common or statute law as now established, but in defiance of which there is a legal process established by the *habeas corpus* act;—would be, to disfranchise the subject in America of those rights and liberties which by statute and common law he is now entitled to. B. F.

* 13th and 14th Car. II. c. 2.

† If the king was to absent himself for a time from the realm, and did as usual leave a regency in his place, his *locum tenens*, as supreme civil magistrate, could he authorize and commission any military commander in chief to command the militia, forts, and forces, *independent of such regency?* Could he do this in Ireland? Could he do this in the colonies and plantations, where the governor is already, by commission, or charter, or both, under the great seal, military commander in chief, as part of (and inseparably annexed to) the office of supreme civil magistrate, his majesty's *locum tenens* within said jurisdiction? If he could, then, while openly, by patent according to law, he appeared to establish a free British constitution, he might by a fallacy establish a military power and government. B. F.

Rem. *The king has the command of all military force in his dominions: but in every distinct state of his dominions there should be the consent of the parliament or assembly (the representative body) to the* raising and keeping up *such military force. He cannot even raise troops and quarter them in another, without the consent of that other. He cannot* of right *bring troops raised in Ireland and quarter them in Britain, but with the consent of the parliament of Britain: nor carry to Ireland, and quarter there, soldiers raised in Britain, without the consent of the Irish parliament, unless in time of war and cases of extreme exigency.—In 1756, when the speaker went up to present the money-bills, he said among other things, that "England was capable of fighting her own battles and defending herself; and although ever attached to your majesty's person, ever at ease under your just government, they cannot forbear taking notice of some circumstances in the present situation of affairs, which nothing but the confidence in your justice could hinder from alarming their most serious apprehensions. Subsidies to foreign princes when already burdened with a debt scarce to be borne, cannot but be severely felt.* An army of foreign troops, a thing unprecedented, unheard of, unknown, brought into England, *cannot but alarm, &c.* (*See the Speech.*)

N. B. These foreign troops *were part of the king's subjects, Hanoverians, and all in* his *service, which was the same thing as if he were to transport troops from England into the American colonies without the consent of their legislature.* B. F.

"*To Mr. Dubourg, concerning the Dissensions between England and America.*†

"London, October 2, 1770.

"I see with pleasure that we think pretty much alike on the subjects of English America. We of the colonies have never insisted, that we ought to be exempt from contributing to the common expenses necessary to support the prosperity of the empire. We only assert, that having parliaments of our own, and not having representatives in that of Great Britain, our parliaments are the only judges of what we can and what we ought to contribute in this case; and that the English parliament has no right to take our money without our consent. In fact, the British empire is not a single state; it comprehends many; and though the parliament of Great Britain has arrogated to itself the power of taxing the colonies, it has no more right to do so, than it has to tax Hanover. We have the same king, but not the same legislatures.

"The dispute between the two countries has already cost England many millions sterling, which it has lost in its commerce, and America has in this respect been a proportionable gainer. This commerce consisted principally of superfluities; objects of luxury and fashion, which we can well do without; and the resolution we have formed, of importing no more till our grievances are redressed, has enabled many of our infant manufactures to take root; and it will not be easy to make our people abandon them in future, even should a connexion more cordial than ever succeed the present troubles. I have indeed no doubt, that the parliament of England will finally abandon its present pretensions, and leave us to the peaceable enjoyment of our rights and privileges. B. FRANKLIN."

THE TEA TAX.

*Dr. Franklin's Preface to the English Edition of the Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in Town-Meeting assembled according to law (published by Order of the Town,) &c.**

All accounts of the discontent, so general in our colonies, have of late years been industriously smothered and concealed here, it seeming to suit the views of the American minister† to have it understood, that by his great abilities, all faction was subdued, all opposition suppressed, and the whole country quieted. That the true state of affairs there may be known, and the true causes of that discontent well understood, the following piece (not the production of a private writer, but the unanimous act of a large American city) lately printed in New England, is republished here. This nation, and the other nations of Europe, may thereby learn, with more certainty, the grounds of a dissention, that possibly may, sooner or later, have consequences interesting to them all.

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* Governor Pownall, accompanied this paper to Dr. Franklin with a sort of prophetic remark. After stating, that these theorems, and their application to existing cases, were intended to remedy the prejudice, indigestion, indecision, and errors, then prevailing either in opinions or conduct; he adds, "the very attention to the investigation may lead to the discovery of *some truths respecting the whole British empire*, then little thought of and scarce even suspected, and which perhaps it would not be *prudent* at this time to mark and point out."—The minister however judged the *discussion* of *dubious* rights over growing states, a better policy than possession, discretion, and silence: he turned civilian, for which he was not qualified, and lost an empire, which he was not worthy to govern.

† Re-translated from a French edition of Dr. Franklin's works.

* "Boston printed: London re-printed, and sold by J. Wilkie, in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1773."—*The preface* only is given, as that alone properly belongs to this work.

This little piece very much irritated the English ministry. It was their determination, that the Americans should receive teas only from Great Britain. And accordingly the East India company sent out large cargoes under their protection. The colonists every where refused, either entrance, or else permission of sale, except at Boston, where, the force of government preventing more moderate measures, certain persons in disguise threw it into the sea.

The preamble of the stamp act produced the tea act; the tea act produced violence; violence, acts of parliament; acts of parliament, a revolt.——"A little neglect" says *poor Richard*, "may breed great mischief: for want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost; for want of a horse the rider was lost; being overtaken and slain by the *enemy;* all for want of a little care about a horse-shoe nail."

† Lord Hillsborough.—This nobleman, before this time first lord of trade, was introduced in 1768 into the *new-erected office* of secretary of state for the colonies.

The colonies had, from their first settlement, been governed with more ease than perhaps can be equalled by any instance in history of dominions so distant. Their affection and respect for this country, while they were treated with kindness, produced an implicit obedience to the instructions of the prince, and even to acts of the British parliament, though the right of binding them by a legislature, in which they were unrepresented, was never clearly understood. That respect and affection produced a partiality in favour of every thing that was English; whence their preference of English modes and manufactures; their submission to restraints on the importation of foreign goods, which they had but little desire to use; and the monopoly we so long enjoyed of their commerce, to the great enriching of our merchants and artificers. The mistaken policy of the stamp act first disturbed this happy situation; but the flame thereby raised was soon extinguished by its repeal, and the old harmony restored, with all its concomitant advantage to our commerce. The subsequent act of another administration, which, not content with an established exclusion of foreign manufactures, began to make our own merchandize dearer to the consumers there by heavy duties, revived it again; and combinations were entered into throughout the continent, to stop trading with Britain till those duties should be repealed. All were accordingly repealed but one—*the duty on tea.* This was reserved (professedly so) as a standing claim and exercise of the right, assumed by parliament, of laying such duties.* The colonies, on the repeal, retracted their agreement, so far as related to all other goods, except that on which the duty was retained. This was trumpeted here by the minister for the colonies as a triumph; there it was considered only as a decent and equitable measure, showing a willingness to meet the mother-country, in every advance towards a reconciliation; and this disposition to a good understanding was so prevalent, that possibly they might soon have relaxed in the article of tea also. But the system of commissioners of customs, officers without end, fleets and armies for collecting and enforcing those duties, being continued; and these acting with much indiscretion and rashness (giving great and unnecessary trouble and obstruction to business, commencing unjust and vexatious suits, and harrassing commerce in all its branches, while that minister kept the people in a constant state of irritation by instructions which appeared to have no other end than the gratifying his private resentment*) occasioned a persevering adherence to their resolutions in that particular; and the event should be a lesson to ministers, not to risk, through pique, the obstructing any one branch of trade; since the course and connexion of general business may be thereby disturbed to a degree, impossible to be foreseen or imagined. For it appears, that the colonies, finding their humble petitions to have their duty repealed were rejected and treated with contempt, and that the produce of the duty was applied to the rewarding, with undeserved salaries and pensions, every one of their enemies; the duty itself became more odious, and their resolutions to starve it more vigorous and obstinate. The Dutch, the Danes, and French, took this opportunity, thus offered them by our imprudence, and began to smuggle their teas into the plantations. At first this was something difficult; but at length, as all business is improved by practice, it became easy. A coast fifteen hundred miles in length could not in all parts be guarded, even by the whole navy of England; especially where their restraining authority was by all the inhabitants deemed unconstitutional, and the smuggling of course was considered as patriotism. The needy wretches too, who, with small salaries, were trusted to watch the ports day and night, in all weathers, found it easier and more profitable, not only to wink, but to sleep in their beds; the merchants' pay being more generous than the king's. Other India goods also, which, by themselves, would not have made a smuggling voyage sufficiently profitable, accompanied tea to advantage; and it is feared the cheap French silks, formerly rejected as not to the taste of the colonies, may have found their way with the wares of India, and now established themselves in the popular use and opinion.

It is supposed, that at least a million of Americans drink tea twice a day, which, at the first cost here, can scarce be reckoned at less than half a guinea a head per annum. This market, that, in the five years which have run on since the act passed, would have paid 2,500,000 guineas for tea alone into the coffers of the company, we have wantonly lost to foreigners. Meanwhile it is said the duties have so diminished, that the whole remittance of the last year amounted to no more than the pitiful sum of 85*l*.[*] for the expense of some hundred thousands, in armed ships and soldiers to support the officers. Hence the tea, and other India goods, which might have been sold in America, remain rotting in the company's warehouses;[†] while those of foreign ports are known to be cleared by the American demand. Hence, in some degree, the company's inability to pay their bills; the sinking of their stock, by which millions of property have been annihilated; the lowering of their dividend, whereby so many must be distressed; the loss to government of the stipulated 400,000*l*. a year,[‡] which must make a proportionable reduction in our savings towards the discharge of our enormous debt: and hence in part the severe blow suffered by credit in general,[§] to the ruin of many families; the stagnation of business in Spitalfields and at Manchester, through want of vent for their goods; with other future evils, which, as they cannot, from the numerous and secret connexions in general commerce, easily be foreseen, can hardly be avoided.

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* Mr. Burke in his speech in 1774, says "this preambulary tax had lost us at once the benefit of the west and of the east; had thrown open the doors to contraband; and would be the means of giving the profits of the colony trade to every nation but ourselves." He adds, "It is indeed a tax of sophistry, a tax of pedantry, a tax of disputation, a tax of war and rebellion, a tax for any thing but benefit to the imposers, or satisfaction to the subject."

* Some of the secretary's circular letters had been criticised, and exposed by one or two of the American assemblies.

A Prussian Edict, assuming Claims over Britain.

DANTZICK, Sept. 5, 1773.[‖]

WE have long wondered here at the supineness of the English nation, under the Prussian impositions upon its trade entering our port. We did not, till lately, know the claims, ancient and modern, that hang over that nation, and therefore could not suspect, that it might submit to those impositions from a sense of duty, or from principles of equity. The following edict, just made public, may, if serious, throw some light upon the matter:

"FREDERICK, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, &c. to all present and to come; [*a tous presens et a venir.* ORIGINAL.]—Health!—The peace now enjoyed throughout our dominions, having afforded us leisure to apply ourselves to the regulation of commerce, the improvement of our finances, and at the same time the easing of our *domestic* subjects in their taxes: for these causes, and other good considerations us thereunto moving, we hereby make known, that, after having deliberated these affairs in our council, present our dear brothers, and other great officers of the state, members of the same; WE, of our certain knowledge, full power, and authority royal, have made and issued this present edict, viz.

"Whereas it is well known to all the world, that the first German settlements made in the island of Britain, were by colonies of people, subjects to our renowned ducal ancestors, and drawn from their dominions, under the conduct of Hengist, Horsa, Hella, Uffa, Cerdicus, Ida, and others; and that the said colonies have flourished under the protection of our august house, for ages past, have never been emancipated therefrom, and nevertheless have hitherto yielded little profit to the same: and whereas we ourself have in the last war fought for and defended the said colonies, against the power of France, and thereby enabled them to make conquests from the said power in America, for which we have not yet received adequate compensation: and whereas it is just and expedient that a revenue should be raised from the said colonies in Britain towards our indemnification; and that those who are descendants of our ancient subjects, and thence still owe us due obedience, should contribute to the replenishing of our royal coffers: (as they must have done, had their ancestors remained in the territories now to us appertaining.) WE do therefore, hereby ordain and command, that, from and after the date of these presents, there shall be levied and paid to our officers of the *customs*, on all goods, wares, and merchandizes, and on all grain and other produce of the earth, exported from the said island of Britain, and on all goods of whatever kind imported into the same, a duty of four and a half per cent. *ad valorem*, for the use of us and our successors:—And that the said duty may more effectually be collected, we do hereby ordain, that all ships or vessels bound from Great Britain to any other part of the world, or from any other part of the world to Great Britain, shall in their respective voyages touch at our port of Koningsberg, there to be unladen, searched, and charged with the said duties.

"And whereas there hath been from time to time discovered in the said island of Great Britain, by our colonists there, many mines or beds of *iron*-stone: and sundry subjects of our ancient dominion, skilful in converting the said stone into metal, have in time past transported themselves thither, carrying with them and communicating that art; and the inhabitants of the said island, presuming that they had a natural right to make the best use they could of the natural productions of their country, for their own benefit, have not only built furnaces for smelting the said stone into iron, but have erected plating-forges, slitting-mills, and steel-furnaces, for the more convenient manufacturing of the same, thereby endangering a diminution of the said manufacture in our ancient dominion; we do therefore hereby farther ordain, that, from and after the date hereof, no mill nor other engine for slitting or rolling of iron, nor any plating-forge to work with a tilt-hammer, nor any furnace for making steel, shall be erected or continued in the said island of Great Britain: and the lord lieutenant of every county in the said island is hereby commanded, on information of any such erection within his county, to order, and by force to cause the same to be abated and destroyed, as he shall answer the neglect thereof to us at his peril. But we are nevertheless graciously pleased to permit the inhabitants of the said island to transport their iron into Prussia, there to be manufactured, and to them returned, they paying our Prussian subjects for the workmanship, with all the costs of commission, freight, and risk, coming and returning; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

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[*] "Eighty-five pounds I am assured, my lords, is the whole equivalent we have received for all the hatred and mischief, and all the infinite losses this kingdom has suffered during that year, in her disputes with North America." See the bishop of St. Asaph's intended speech, published at this period.

[†] At this time they contained many millions of pounds of tea, including the usual stock on hand. Mr. Burke, in his speech in 1774, supposes, that America might have given a vent for ten millions of pounds. This seems to have been the greater part of the whole quantity.

[‡] On account of a temporary compromise of certain duties with government.

[§] Seen in certain memorable mercantile failures in the year 1772.

[‖] This *intelligence extraordinary* first appeared in Woodfall's Public Advertiser.

"We do not, however, think fit to extend this our indulgence to the article of *wool;* but meaning to encourage not only the manufacturing of woollen cloth, but also the raising of wool in our ancient dominions, and to prevent both, as much as may be, in our said island, we do hereby absolutely forbid the transportation of wool from thence even to the mother-country, Prussia: and that those islanders may be farther and more effectually restrained in making any advantage of their own wool, in the way of manufacture, we command, that none shall be carried out of one county into another; nor shall any worsted, bay, or woollen yarn, cloth, says, bays, kerseys, serges, frizes, druggets, cloth-serges, shalloons, or any other drapery stuffs, or woollen manufactures whatsoever, made up or mixed with wool in any of the said counties, be carried into any other county, or be water-borne even across the smallest river or creek, on penalty of forfeiture of the same, together with the boats, carriages, horses, &c. that shall be employed in removing them:—Nevertheless, our loving subjects there are hereby permitted (if they think proper) to use all their wool as manure, for the improvement of their lands.

"And whereas the art and mystery of making *hats* hath arrived at great perfection in Prussia, and the making of hats by our remoter subjects ought to be as much as possible restrained: and forasmuch as the islanders before mentioned, being in possession of wool, beaver, and other furs, have presumptuously conceived they had a right to make some advantage thereof, by manufacturing the same into hats, to the prejudice of our domestic manufacture: we do therefore hereby strictly command and ordain, that no hats or felts whatsoever, dyed or undyed, finished or unfinished, shall be loaden or put into or upon any vessel, cart, carriage, or horse, to be transported or conveyed out of one county in the said island into another county, or to any other place whatsoever, by any person or persons whatsoever, on pain of forfeiting the same, with a penalty of five hundred pounds sterling for every offence: Nor shall any hat-maker in any of the said counties employ more than two apprentices, on penalty of five pounds sterling per month: we intending hereby, that such hat-makers, being so restrained, both in the production and sale of their commodity, may find no advantage in continuing their business: But, lest the said islanders should suffer inconveniency by the want of hats, we are farther graciously pleased to permit them to send their beaver furs to Prussia, and we also permit hats made thereof to be exported from Prussia to Britain; the people thus favoured to pay all costs and charges of manufacturing, interest, commission to our merchants, insurance and freight going and returning, as in the case of iron.

"And lastly, being willing farther to favour our said colonies in Britain, we do hereby also ordain and command, that all the *thieves*, highway and street robbers, house-breakers, forgerers, murderers, s—d—tes, and villains of every denomination, who have forfeited their lives to the law in Prussia, but whom we, in our great clemency, do not think fit here to hang, shall be emptied out of our gaols into the said island of Great Britain, for the better peopling of that country.

"We flatter ourselves, that these our royal regulations and commands will be thought *just and reasonable* by our much favoured colonists in England; the said regulations being copied from their statutes of 10 & 11 Will. III. c. 10; 5 Geo. II. c. 22; 23 Geo. II. c. 29; 4 Geo. I. c. 11. and from other equitable laws made by their parliaments, or from instructions given by their princes, or from resolutions of both houses, entered into for the good government of their *own colonies in Ireland and America.*

"And all persons in the said island are hereby cautioned, not to oppose in any wise the execution of this our edict, or any part thereof, such opposition being high treason; of which all who are suspected shall be transported in fetters from Britain to Prussia, there to be tried and executed according to the Prussian law.

"Such is our pleasure.

"Given at Potsdam, this twenty-fifth day of the month of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, and in the thirty-third year of our reign.

"By the king, in his council.

"RECHTMÆSSIG, Sec."

Some take this edict to be merely one of the king's *jeux d' esprit:* others suppose it serious, and that he means a quarrel with England: but all here think the assertion it concludes with, "that these regulations are copied from acts of the English parliament respecting their colonies," a very injurious one; it being impossible to believe, that a people distinguished for their love of liberty; a nation so wise, so liberal in its sentiments, so just and equitable towards its neighbours, should, from mean and injudicious views of petty immediate profit, treat its own children in a manner so arbitrary and tyrannical!

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*Rules for reducing a Great Empire to a small one, presented to a late Minister, when he entered upon his Administration.**

An ancient sage valued himself upon this, that though he could not fiddle, he knew how to make a great city of a little one. The science, that I, a modern simpleton, am about to communicate, is the very reverse.

I address myself to all ministers, who have the management of extensive dominions, which, from their very greatness, are become troublesome to govern—because the multiplicity of their affairs leaves no time for fiddling.

I. In the first place, gentlemen, you are to consider, that a great empire, like a great cake, is most easily diminished at the edges. Turn your attention therefore first to your *remotest* provinces; that, as you get rid of them, the next may follow in order.

II. That the possibility of this separation may always exist, take special care the provinces are *never incorporated with the mother-country;* that they do not enjoy the same common rights, the same privileges in commerce, and that they are governed by severer laws, all of your enacting, without allowing them any share in the choice of the legislators. By carefully making and preserving such distinctions, you will (to keep to my simile of the cake) act like a wise gingerbread-baker; who, to facilitate a division, cuts his dough half through in those places, where, when baked, he would have it broken to pieces.

III. Those remote provinces have perhaps been acquired, purchased, or conquered, at the sole expense of the settlers or their ancestors, without the aid of the mother-country. If this should happen to increase her strength, by their growing numbers, ready to join in her wars; her commerce, by their growing demand for her manufactures; or her naval power, by greater employment for her ships and seamen, they may probably suppose some merit in this, and that it entitles them to some favour: you are therefore to *forget it all, or resent it*, as if they had done you injury. If they happen to be zealous whigs, friends of liberty, nurtured in revolution principles; remember all that to their prejudice, and contrive to punish it; for such principles, after a revolution is thoroughly established, are of no more use; they are even odious and abominable.

IV. However peaceably your colonies have submitted to your government, shown their affection to your interests, and patiently borne their grievances, you are to suppose them *always inclined to revolt*, and treat them accordingly. Quarter troops among them, who, by their insolence may provoke the rising of mobs, and by their bullets and bayonets suppress them. By this means, like the husband who uses his wife ill from suspicion, you may in time convert your suspicions into realities.

V. Remote provinces must have governors and judges, to represent the royal person, and execute every where the delegated parts of his office and authority. You, ministers, know, that much of the strength of government depends on the opinion of the people, and much of that opinion on the *choice of rulers* placed immediately over them. If you send them wise and good men for governors, who study the interest of the colonists, and advance their prosperity, they will think their king wise and good, and that he wishes the welfare of his subjects. If you send them learned and upright men for judges, they will think him a lover of justice. This may attach your provinces more to his government. You are therefore to be careful who you recommend for those offices.—If you can find prodigals, who have ruined their fortunes, broken gamesters, or stock-jobbers, these may do well as governors, for they will probably be rapacious, and provoke the people by their extortions. Wrangling proctors and petty-fogging lawyers too are not amiss, for they will be for ever disputing and quarrelling with their little parliaments. If withal they should be ignorant, wrong-headed and insolent, so much the better. Attorneys clerks and Newgate solicitors will do for chief justices, especially if they hold their places during your pleasure:—and all will contribute to impress those ideas of your government, that are proper for a people you would wish to renounce it.

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* These rules first appeared in a London newspaper, about the beginning of the year 1774, and have several times since been introduced into the public prints.—The minister alluded to was the earl of Hillsborough.

"The causes and motions of seditions (says lord Bacon) are, innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate, and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause."

VI. To confirm these impressions, and strike them deeper, whenever the injured come to the capital with complaints of mal-administration, oppression, or injustice, *punish such suitors* with long delay, enormous expense, and a final judgment in favour of the oppressor. This will have an admirable effect every way. The trouble of future complaints will be prevented, and governors and judges will be encouraged to farther acts of oppression and injustice, and thence the people may become more disaffected, and at length desperate.

VII. When such governors have crammed their coffers, and made themselves so odious to the people, that they can no longer remain among them with safety to their persons, *recal and reward* them with pensions. You may make them baronets too, if that respectable order should not think fit to resent it. All will contribute to encourage new governors in the same practice, and make the supreme government detestable.

VIII. If, when you are engaged in war, your colonies should vie in liberal aids of men and money against the common enemy, upon your simple requisition, and give far beyond their abilities,—reflect, that a penny, taken from them by your power, is more honourable to you, than a pound presented by their benevolence; *despise therefore their voluntary grants*, and resolve to harrass them with *novel taxes*.—They will probably complain to your parliament, that they are taxed by a body in which they have no representative, and that this is contrary to common right. They will petition for redress. Let the parliament flout their claims, reject their petitions, refuse even to suffer the reading of them, and treat the petitioners with the utmost contempt. Nothing can have a better effect in producing the alienation proposed; for though many can forgive injuries, none ever forgave contempt.

IX. In laying these taxes, *never regard the heavy burdens* those remote people already undergo, in defending their own frontiers, supporting their own provincial government, making new roads, building bridges, churches, and other public edifices, which in old countries have been done to your hands, by your ancestors, but which occasion constant calls and demands on the purses of a new people.—Forget the restraint you lay on their trade for your own benefit, and the advantage a monopoly of this trade gives your exacting merchants. Think nothing of the wealth those merchants and your manufacturers acquire by the colony commerce, their increased ability thereby to pay taxes at home, their accumulating, in the price of their commodities, most of those taxes, and so levying them from their consuming customers: all this, and the employment and support of thousands of your poor by the colonists, you are entirely to forget. But remember to make your arbitrary tax more grievous to your provinces, by public declarations, importing, that your power of taxing them has *no limits*, so that when you take from them without their consent a shilling in the pound, you have a clear right to the other nineteen. This will probably weaken every idea of security in their property, and convince them, that under such a government they have nothing they can call their own; which can scarce fail of producing the happiest consequences!

X. Possibly indeed some of them might still comfort themselves, and say, "though we have no property, we have yet something left that is valuable, we have constitutional *liberty, both of person and of conscience*. This king, these lords, and these commons, who it seems are too remote from us to know us and feel for us, cannot take from us our *habeas corpus* right, or our right of trial by a jury of our neighbours: they cannot deprive us of the exercise of our religion, alter our ecclesiastical constitution, and compel us to be papists, if they please, nor Mahometans." To annihilate this comfort, begin by laws to perplex their commerce with infinite regulations, impossible to be remembered and observed: ordain seizures of their property for every failure, take away the trial of such property by jury, and give it to arbitrary judges of your own appointing, and of the lowest characters in the country, whose salaries and emoluments are to arise out of the duties or condemnations, and whose appointments are during pleasure. Then let there be a formal declaration of both houses, that opposition to your edicts is treason, and that persons suspected of treason in the provinces may, according to some obsolete law, be seized and sent to the metropolis of the empire for trial; and pass an act, that those there charged with certain other offences shall be sent away in chains from their friends and country, to be tried in the same manner for felony. Then erect a new court of inquisition among them, accompanied by an armed force, with instructions to transport all such suspected persons, to be ruined by the expense, if they bring over evidences to prove their innocence, or be found guilty and hanged, if they cannot afford it. And lest the people should think you cannot possibly go any farther, pass another solemn declaratory act, "that kings, lords, and commons had, have, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the unrepresented provinces *in all cases whatsoever*." This will include spiritual with temporal, and taken together must operate wonderfully to your purpose, by convincing them, that they are at present under a power, something like that spoken of in the scriptures, which can not only kill their bodies, but damn their souls to all eternity, by compelling them, if it pleases, to worship the devil.

XI. To make your taxes more odious, and more likely to procure resistance, send from the capital a *board of officers* to superintend the collection, *composed of the most indiscreet*, ill-bred, and insolent you can find. Let these have large salaries out of the extorted revenue, and live in open grating luxury upon the sweat and blood of the industrious, whom they are to worry continually with groundless and expensive prosecutions, before the abovementioned arbitrary revenue-judges; all at the cost of the party prosecuted, though acquitted, because the king is to pay no costs. Let these men, by your order, be exempted from all the common taxes and burdens of the province, though they and their property are protected by its laws. If any revenue officers are suspected of the least tenderness for the people, discard them. If others are justly complained of, protect and reward them. If any of the under officers behave so as to provoke the people to drub them, promote those to better offices: this will encourage others to procure for themselves such profitable drubbings, by multiplying and enlarging such provocations, and all will work towards the end you aim at.

XII. Another way to make your tax odious is, to *misapply the produce of it*. If it was originally appropriated for the defence of the provinces, and the better support of government, and the administration of justice, where it may be necessary, then apply none of it to that defence, but bestow it, where it is not necessary, in augumenting salaries or pensions to every governor, who has distinguished himself by his enmity to the people, and by calumniating them to their sovereign. This will make them pay it more unwillingly, and be more apt to quarrel with those that collect it, and those that imposed it, who will quarrel again with them, and all shall contribute to your own purpose, of making them weary of your government.

XIII. If the people of any province have been accustomed to *support their own governors and judges* to satisfaction, you are to apprehend, that such governors and judges may be thereby influenced to treat the people kindly, and to do them justice. This is another reason for applying part of that revenue in larger salaries to such governors and judges, given, as their commissions are, during *your* pleasure only, forbidding them to take any salaries from their provinces; that thus the people may no longer hope any kindness from their governors, or (in crown cases) any justice from their judges. And as the money, thus misapplied in one province, is extorted from all, probably all will resent the misapplication.

XIV. If the parliaments of your provinces should dare to claim rights, or complain of your administration, order them to be harrassed with *repeated dissolutions*. If the same men are continually returned by new elections, adjourn their meetings to some country village, where they cannot be accommodated, and there keep them during pleasure; for this, you know, is your prerogative, and an excellent one it is, as you may manage it, to promote discontents among the people, diminish their respect, and increase their disaffection.

XV. Convert the brave honest officers of your *navy* into pimping tide-waiters and colony officers of the *customs*. Let those, who in time of war fought gallantly in defence of the commerce of their countrymen, in peace be taught to prey upon it. Let them learn to be corrupted by great and real smugglers; but (to show their diligence) scour with armed boats every bay, harbour, river, creek, cove, or nook, throughout the coast of your colonies; stop and detain every coaster, every wood-boat, every fisherman, tumble their cargoes and even their ballast inside out, and upside down; and if a pennyworth of pins is found un-entered, let the whole be seized and confiscated. Thus shall the trade of your colonists suffer more from their friends in time of peace, than it did from their enemies in war. Then let these boats' crews land upon every farm in their way, rob their orchards, steal their pigs and poultry, and insult the inhabitants. If the injured and exasperated farmers, unable to procure other justice, should attack the aggressors, drub them, and burn their boats, you are to call this *high treason and rebellion*, order fleets and armies into their country, and threaten to carry all the offenders three thousand miles to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.—O! this will work admirably!

XVI. If you are told of *discontents* in your colonies, never believe that they are general, or that you have given occasion for them; therefore do not think of applying any remedy, or of changing any offensive measure. Redress no grievance, lest they should be encouraged to demand the redress of some other grievance. Grant no request, that is just and reasonable, lest they should make another, that is unreasonable. Take all your informations of the state of the colonies from your governors and officers in enmity with them. Encourage and reward these leasing-makers, secrete their lying accusations, lest they should be confuted, but act upon them as the clearest evidence; and believe nothing you hear from the friends of the people. Suppose all *their* complaints to be invented and promoted by a few factious demagogues, whom if you could catch and hang, all would be quiet. Catch and hang a few of them accordingly, and the blood of the martyrs shall work miracles in favour of your purpose.[*]

XVII. If you see *rival nations* rejoicing at the prospect of your disunion with your provinces, and endeavouring to promote it, if they translate, publish and applaud all the complaints of your discontented colonies, at the same time privately stimulating you to severer measures, let not that alarm or offend you. Why should it? since you all mean the same thing?

XVIII. If any colony should *at their own charge erect a fortress*, to secure their *port* against the fleets of a foreign enemy, get your governor to betray that fortress into your hands. Never think of paying what it cost the country, for that would look, at least, like some regard for justice; but turn it into a citadel, to awe the inhabitants and curb their commerce. If they should have lodged in such fortress the very arms they bought and used to aid you in your conquests, seize them all; it will provoke like ingratitude added to robbery. One admirable effect of these operations will be, to discourage every other colony from erecting such defences, and so their and your enemies may more easily invade them, to the great disgrace of your government, and of course the furtherance of your project.

XIX. Send armies into their country, under pretence of protecting the inhabitants; but, instead of garrisoning the forts on their frontiers with those troops, to prevent incursions, demolish those forts, and order the troops into the heart of the country, that the savages may be encouraged to attack the frontiers,[†] and that the troops may be protected by the inhabitants: this will seem to proceed from your *ill-will or your ignorance*, and contribute farther to produce and strengthen an opinion among them, that you are no longer fit to govern them.[‡]

XX. Lastly, invest the *general of your army in the provinces* with great and unconstitutional powers, and free him from the controul of even your own civil governors. Let him have troops enow under his command, with all the fortresses in his possession, and who knows but (like some provincial generals in the Roman empire, and encouraged by the universal discontent you have produced) he may take it into his head to set up for himself? If he should, and you have carefully practised these few excellent rules of mine, take my word for it, all the provinces will immediately join him—and you will that day (if you have not done it sooner) get rid of the trouble of governing them, and all the plagues attending their commerce and connexion from thenceforth and for ever.

Proposed Vindication and Offer from Congress to Parliament, in 1775.[*]

Forasmuch as the enemies of America, in the parliament of Great Britain, to render us odious to the nation, and give an ill impression of us in the minds of other European powers, have represented us as unjust and ungrateful in the highest degree; asserting on every occasion, that the colonies were settled at the expense of Britain; that they were, at the expense of the same, protected in their infancy; that they now ungratefully and unjustly refuse to contribute to their own protection and the common defence of the nation; that they aim at independence; that they intend an abolition of the navigation acts: and that they are fraudulent in their commercial dealings, and purpose to cheat their creditors in Britain, by avoiding the payment of their just debts:—

And as, by frequent repetition, these groundless assertions and malicious calumnies may, if not contradicted and refuted, obtain farther credit, and be injurious throughout Europe to the reputation and interest of the confederate colonies, it seems proper and necessary to examine them in our own just vindication.

With regard to the first, *that the colonies were* settled *at the expense of Britain*, it is a known fact, that none of the twelve united colonies were settled, or even discovered, at the expense of England. Henry the VIIth indeed granted a commission to Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, and his sons, to sail into the western seas for the discovery of new countries; but it was to be "*suis* eorum propriis sumptibus et expensis," at their *own* costs and charges.[*] —They discovered, but soon slighted and neglected, these northern territories; which were, after more than a hundred years dereliction, purchased of the natives, and settled at the charge and by the labour of private men and bodies of men, our ancestors, who came over hither for that purpose. But our adversaries have never been able to produce any record, that ever the *parliament* or government of England was at the smallest expense on these accounts: on the contrary, there exists on the journals of parliament a solemn declaration in 1642, (only twenty-two years after the first settlement of the Massachusetts, when, if such expense had ever been incurred, some of the members must have known and remembered it) "That these colonies had been planted and established *without any expense to the state.*[†] *New York* is the only colony in the founding of which England can pretend to have been at any expense, and that was only the charge of a small armament to take it from the Dutch, who planted it. But to retain this colony at peace, another at that time, full as valuable, planted by private countrymen of *ours*, was given up by the crown to the Dutch in exchange, viz. Surinam, now a wealthy sugar-colony in Guiana, and which, but for that cession, might still have remained in our possession. Of late, indeed, Britain has been at some expense in planting two colonies, *Georgia*[‡] and *Nova Scotia;* but those are not in our confederacy; and the expense she has been at in their name, has chiefly been in grants of sums unnecessarily large, by way of salaries to officers sent from England, and in jobs to friends, whereby dependents might be provided for; those excessive grants not being requisite to the welfare and good government of the colonies; which good government (as experience in many instances of other colonies has taught us) may be much more frugally, and full as effectually provided for, and supported.

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[*] An American writer affirmed, "That there has not been a single instance in which *they* have complained, without being rebuked, or in which they have been complained *against*, without being punished."—A fundamental mistake in the minister occasioned this. Every individual in New England (the peccant country) was held a coward or a knave, and the disorders, which spread abroad there, were treated as the the result of the *too great lenity* of Britain! By the aid of this short and benevolent rule, judgment was ever wisely pre-determined, to the shutting out redress on the one hand, and enforcing every rigour of punishment on the other.

[†] In April, 1778, the assembled chiefs of the western nations told one of our Indian agents, "that they remembered their father, the king of Great Britain's message, delivered to them last fall, of demolishing Fort Pittsburg and removing the soldiers with their sharp-edged weapons out of the country:—this gave them great pleasure, as it was a strong proof of his paternal kindness towards them." (See Considerations on the Agreement with Mr. T. Walpole for Lands upon the Ohio, p 9.) This is general history: the persons concerned are dead, and the application of facts would be personally invidious.

[‡] As some readers may be inclined to divide their belief between the wisdom of the British ministry and the candour and veracity of Dr. Franklin, it may be observed that two contrary objections might be made to the truth of this representation. The first is, that the conduct of Great Bitain is made *too* absurd for possibility, and the second, that it is not made absurd *enough* for fact. If we consider that this piece does not include the measures subsequent to 1773, the latter difficulty is easly set aside. The former can only be solved by the many instances in history, where the infatuation of individuals has brought the heaviest calamities upon nations.

[*] This paper was drawn up in a committee of congress, June 25, 1775, but does not appear on their minutes, a severe act of parliament, which arrived about that time, having determined them not to give the sum proposed in it.—[It was first printed in Woodfall's Public Advertiser for July 18, 1777.]

With regard to the second assertion, *that these colonies were* protected *in their infant state by England:* it is a notorious fact, that in none of the many wars with the Indian natives, sustained by our infant settlements, for a century after our first arrival, were ever any troops or forces of any kind sent from England to assist us; nor were any forts built at her expense to secure our sea-ports from foreign invaders; nor any ships of war sent to protect our trade, till many years after our first settlement, when our commerce became an object of revenue, or of advantage to British merchants; and then it was thought necessary to have a frigate in some of our ports, during peace, to give weight to the authority of custom-house officers, who were to restrain that commerce for the benefit of England. Our own arms, with our poverty, and the care of a kind Providence, were all this time our only protection, while we were neglected by the English government; which either thought us not worth its care, or, having no good will to some of us on account of our different sentiments in religion and politics, was indifferent what became of us. On the other hand, the colonies have not been wanting to do what they could in every war for annoying the enemies of Britain. They formerly assisted her in the conquest of Nova Scotia. In the war before last they took Louisbourg, and put it into her hands. She made her peace with that strong fortress, by restoring it to France, greatly to their detriment. In the last war, it is true, Britain sent a fleet and army, who acted with an equal army of ours, in the reduction of Canada; and perhaps thereby did more for us, than we in the preceding wars had done for her. Let it be remembered however, that she rejected the plan we formed in the congress at Albany, in 1754, for our own defence, by an union of the colonies; an union she was jealous of, and therefore chose to send her own forces; otherwise her aid to protect us was not wanted: and from our first settlement to that time, her military operations in our favour were small, compared with the advantages she drew from her exclusive commerce with us. We are however willing to give full weight to this obligation; and as we are daily growing stronger, and our assistance to her becomes of more importance, we should with pleasure embrace the first opportunity of showing our gratitude, by returning the favour in kind; but when Britain values herself as affording us protection, we desire it may be considered, that we have followed *her* in all *her* wars, and joined with her *at our own expense* against all she thought fit to quarrel with. This she has required of us, and would never permit us to keep peace with any power she declared her enemy, though by separate treaties we might well have done it. Under such circumstances, when, at her instance, we made nations our enemies, whom we might otherwise have retained our friends; we submit it to the common sense of mankind, whether her protection of us in these wars was not our *just due*, and to be claimed of *right*, instead of being received as a *favour?* And whether, when all the parts of an empire exert themselves to the utmost in their common defence, and in annoying the common enemy, is it not as well the *parts* that protect the *whole*, as the *whole* that protects the *parts?* The protection then has been proportionably mutual. And whenever the time shall come, that our abilities may as far exceed hers, as hers have exceeded ours, we hope we shall be reasonable enough to rest satisfied with her proportionable exertions, and not think we do too much for a part of the empire, when that part does as much as it can for the whole.

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[*] See the Commission in the Appendix to Pownall's Administration of the Colonies. Edit. 1775.

[†] "Veneris, 10th March. 1642. Whereas the plantations in New England have, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, *without any public charge to this state*, and are now likely to prove very happy for the propagation of the gospel in those parts, and very beneficial and commodious to this kingdom and nation: the commons, now assembled in parliament, &c." See Governor Hutchinson's History.

[‡] Georgia acceded to the confederacy afterwards, that is in July, 1775.

The charge against us, *that we refuse* to contribute *to our own protection*, appears from the above to be groundless; but we farther declare it to be absolutely false; for it is well known, that we ever held it as our duty to grant aids to the crown, upon requisition, towards carrying on its wars; which duty we have cheerfully complied with, to the utmost of our abilities; insomuch that frequent and grateful acknowledgments thereof by king and parliament appear on their records.* But as Britain has enjoyed a most gainful monopoly of our commerce, the same, with our maintaining the dignity of the king's representative in each colony, and all our own separate establishments of government, civil and military, has ever hitherto been deemed an equivalent for such aids, as might otherwise be expected from us in time of peace. And we hereby declare, that on a reconciliation with Britain, we shall *not only* continue *to grant aids in time of war*, as aforesaid; but, whenever she shall think fit to abolish her monopoly, and give us the same privileges of trade as Scotland received at the union, and allow us a free commerce with all the rest of the world, we shall willingly agree (and we doubt not it will be ratified by our constituents) to *give and pay* into the sinking fund 100,000*l.* sterling per annum for the term of one hundred years, which, duly, faithfully, and inviolably applied to that purpose, is demonstrably more than sufficient to extinguish *all her present national* debt, since it will in that time amount, at legal British interest, to more than 230,000,000*l.**

But if Britain does not think fit to accept this proposition, we, in order to remove her groundless jealousies, *that we aim at independence, and an abolition of the navigation act*, (which hath in truth never been our intention,) and to avoid all future disputes about the right of making that and other acts for regulating our commerce, do hereby declare ourselves ready and willing to enter into a *covenant with Britain*, that she shall fully possess, enjoy, and exercise that right, for a hundred years to come, the same being *bona fide* used for the common benefit; and in case of such agreement, that every assembly be advised by us, to confirm it solemnly, by laws of their own, which, once made, cannot be repealed without the assent of the crown.

The last charge, *that we are dishonest traders, and aim at defrauding our creditors in Britain*, is sufficiently and authentically refuted by the solemn declarations of the British merchants to parliament, (both at the time of the stamp act and in the last session) who bore ample testimony to the general good faith and fair dealing of the Americans, and declared their confidence in our integrity, for which we refer to their petitions on the journals of the house of commons. And we presume we may safely call on the body of the British tradesmen, who have had experience of both, to say, whether they have not received much more punctual payment from us than they generally have from the members of their own two houses of parliament.

On the whole of the above it appears, that the charge of *ingratitude* towards the mother country, brought with so much confidence against the colonies, is totally without foundation; and that there is much more reason for retorting that charge on Britain, who not only never contributes any aid, nor affords, by an exclusive commerce, any advantages to Saxony, *her* mother country; but no longer since than in the last war, without the least provocation, subsidized the king of Prussia while he ravaged that *mother country*, and carried fire and sword into its capital, the fine city of Dresden: an example we hope no provocation will induce us to imitate.

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* Alluding to passages in the Journals of the English house of commons of date the 4th of April, 1748; 28th January, 1756; 3d February, 1756; 16th and 19th of May, 1757; 1st of June, 1758; 26th and 30th of April, 1759; 26th and 31st of March; and 28th of April, 1760: 9th and 20th January, 1761; 22d and 26th of January, 1762; and 14th and 17th March, 1763.

* See Dr. Price's Appeal on the National Debt

SOCIAL

AND

FAMILIAR CORRESPONDENCE.

"*Josias Franklin, Boston.*

"PHILADELPHIA, April 13, 1738.

"HONOURED FATHER,—I have your favours of the 21st of March, in which you both seem concerned lest I have imbibed some erroneous opinions. Doubtless I have my share, and when the natural weakness and imperfection of human understanding is considered, the unavoidable influence of education, custom, books, and company upon our ways of thinking, I imagine a man must have a good deal of vanity, who believes, and a good deal of boldness who affirms, that all the doctrines he holds are true; and all he rejects are false. And perhaps the same may be justly said of every sect, church, and society of men, when they assume to themselves that infallibility which they deny to the pope and councils.

"I think opinions should be judged of by their influences and effects, and if man holds none that tend to make him less virtuous or more vicious, it may be concluded he holds none that are dangerous; which I hope is the case with me.

"I am sorry you should have any uneasiness on my account, and if it were a thing possible for one to alter his opinions in order to please anothers, I know none whom I ought more willingly to oblige in that respect than yourselves. But since it is no more in a man's power to *think* than to *look* like another, methinks all that should be expected from me, is to keep my mind open to conviction, to hear patiently, and examine attentively, whatever is offered me for that end; and if after all I continue in the same errors, I believe your usual charity will induce you to rather pity and excuse than blame me: in the mean time your care and concern for me is what I am very thankful for.

"My mother grieves that one of her sons is an Arian, another an Arminian; what an Arminian or an Arian is, I cannot say that I very well know. The truth is, I make such distinctions very little my study. I think vital religion has always suffered when orthodoxy is more regarded than virtue; and the scriptures assures me, that at the last day we shall not be examined what we *thought*, but what we *did;* and our recommendation will not be, that we said, *Lord! Lord!* but that we did good to our fellow-creatures. See Matt. xx.

"As to the freemasons, I know no way of giving my mother a better account of them than she seems to have at present (since it is not allowed that women should be admitted into that secret society.) She has, I must confess, on that account, some reason to be displeased with it; but for any thing else, I must entreat her to suspend her judgment till she is better informed, unless she will believe me, when I assure her, that they are in general a very harmless sort of people, and have no principles or practices that are inconsistent with religion and good manners.

"We have had great rains here lately, which with the thawing of snow in the mountains back of our country, has made vast floods in our rivers, and by carrying away bridges, boats, &c. made travelling almost impracticable for a week past; so that our post has entirely missed making one trip.

"I hear nothing of Dr. Crook, nor can I learn any such person has ever been here.

"I hope my sister Jenney's child is by this time recovered. I am your dutiful son.

"BENJAMIN FRANKLIN."

"*Mrs. Abiah Franklin.*

"PHILADELPHIA, April, (date uncertain.)

"HONOURED MOTHER,—We received your kind letter of the 2d instant, by which we are glad to hear you still enjoy such a measure of health, notwithstanding your great age. We read your writings very easily. I never met with a word in your letter but what I could easily understand, for though the hand is not always the best, the sense makes every thing plain. My leg, which you inquire after, is now quite well. I shall keep these servants: but the man not in my own house. I have hired him out to the man that takes care of my Dutch printing-office, who agrees to keep him in victuals and clothes, and to pay me a dollar a week for his work. The wife, since that affair, behaves exceeding well: but we conclude to sell them both the first good opportunity, for we do not like negro servants. We got again about half what we lost.

"As to your grandchildren, Will is now 19 years of age, a tall proper youth, and much of a beau. He acquired a habit of idleness on the expedition, but begins of late to apply himself to business, and I hope will become an industrious man. He imagined his father had got enough for him, but I have assured him that I intend to spend what little I have myself, if it please God that I live long enough, and as he by no means wants acuteness, he can see by my going on, that I mean to be as good as my word.

"Sally grows a fine girl, and is extremely industrious with her needle, and delights in her work. She is of a most affectionate temper, and perfectly dutiful and obliging to her parents, and to all. Perhaps I flatter myself too much, but I have hopes that she will prove an ingenious, sensible, notable, and worthy woman, like her aunt Jenny—she goes now to the dancing school.

"For my own part, at present, I pass my time agreeably enough; I enjoy (through mercy) a tolerable share of health. I read a great deal, ride a little, do a little business for myself, (now and then for others,) retire when I can, and go into company when I please, so the years roll round, and the last will come, when I would rather have it said, *he lived usefully*, than *he died rich.*

"Cousins Josiah and Sally are well, and I believe will do well, for they are an industrious loving young couple; but they want a little more stock to go on smoothly with their business.

"My love to brother and sister Mecom and their children, and to all my relations in general. I am, your dutiful son,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Miss Jane Franklin.*[*]

"Philadelphia, January 6, 1726-7.

"Dear Sister,—I am highly pleased with the account captain Freeman gives me of you. I always judged by your behaviour when a child, that you would make a good, agreeable woman, and you know you were ever my peculiar favourite. I have been thinking what would be a suitable present for me to make, and for you to receive, as I hear you are grown a celebrated beauty. I had almost determined on a tea table, but when I considered that the character of a good house-wife was far preferable to that of being only a pretty gentlewoman, I concluded to send you a *spinning wheel*, which I hope you will accept as a small token of my sincere love and affection.

"Sister, farewell, and remember that modesty, as it makes the most homely virgin amiable and charming, so the want of it infallibly renders the most perfect beauty disagreeable and odious. But when that brightest of female virtues shines among other perfections of body and mind in the same person, it makes the woman more lovely than an angel. Excuse this freedom, and use the same with me. I am, dear Jenny, your loving brother. B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"Philadelphia, June 19, 1730.

"Dear Sister,—Yours of May 26th, I received with the melancholy news of the death of sister Deavenport, a loss, without doubt, regretted by all that knew her, for she was a good woman. Her friends ought, however, to be comforted that they have enjoyed her so long, and that she had passed through the world happily, having never had any extraordinary misfortune or notable affliction, and that she is now secure in rest, in the place provided for the virtuous. I had before heard of the death of your first child, and am pleased that the loss is in some measure made up to you by the birth of a second.

"We have had the small pox here lately, which raged violently while it lasted; there have been about fifty persons innoculated, who all recovered, except a child of the doctor's, upon whom the small pox appeared within a day or two after the operation, and who is therefore thought to have been certainly infected before. In one family in my neighbourhood there appeared a great mortality, Mr. George Claypole, (a descendant of Oliver Cromwell) had, by industry, acquired a great estate, and being in excellent business, (a merchant) would probably have doubled it, had he lived according to the common course of years.

"He died first, suddenly; within a short time died his best negro; then one of his children; then a negro woman; then two children more, buried at the same time; then two more; so that I saw two double buryings come out of the house in one week. None were left in the family, but the mother and one child, and both their lives till lately despaired of; so that all the father's wealth, which every body thought, a little while ago, had heirs enough, and no one would have given six pence for the reversion, was in a few weeks brought to the greatest probability of being divided among strangers: so uncertain are all human affairs: the dissolution of this family is generally ascribed to an imprudent use of quicksilver in the cure of the itch; Mr. Claypole applying it as he thought proper, without consulting a physician for fear of charges, and the small pox coming upon them at the same time made their case desperate. But what gives me the greatest concern, is the account you give me of my sister Homes's, misfortune: I know a cancer in the breast is often thought incurable: yet we have here in town a kind of shell made of some wood, cut at a proper time, by some man of great skill (as they say,) which has done wonders in that disease among us, being worn for some time on the breast. I am not apt to be superstitiously fond of believing such things, but the instances are so well attested as sufficiently to convince the most incredulous.

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[*] His sister married Mr. Edward Mecom, July 27, 1727.

"This if I have interest enough to procure, as I think I have, I will borrow for a time and send it to you, and hope the doctors you have will at least allow the experiment to be tried, and shall rejoice to hear it has the accustomed effect.

"You have mentioned nothing in your letter of our dear parents, but I conclude they are well because you say nothing to the contrary. I want to hear from sister Douse, and to know of her welfare, as also of my sister Lydia, who I hear is lately married. I intended to have visited you this summer, but printing the paper money here has hindered me near two months, and our assembly will sit the 2d of August next, at which time I must not be absent, but I hope to see you this Fall. B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"Philadelphia, July 28, 1743.

"Dearest Sister Jenny,—I took your admonition very kindly, and was far from being offended at you for it. If I say any thing about it to you, 'tis only to rectify some wrong opinions you seem to have entertained of me; and this I do only because they give you some uneasiness, which I am unwilling to be the occasion of. You express yourself as if you thought I was against worshipping of God, and doubt that good works would merit heaven; which are both fancies of your own, I think, without foundation. I am so far from thinking that God is not to be worshipped, that I have composed and wrote a whole book of devotions for my own use, and I imagine there are few if any in the world so weak as to imagine, that the little good we can do here can merit so vast a reward hereafter.

"There are some things in your New England doctrine and worship, which I do not agree with: but I do not therefore condemn them, or desire to shake your belief or practice of them. We may dislike things that are nevertheless right in themselves: I would only have you make me the same allowance, and have a better opinion both of morality and your brother. Read the pages of Mr. Edwards's late book, entitled, 'Some Thoughts concerning the present Revival of Religion in New England,' from 367 to 375, and when you judge of others, if you can perceive the fruit to be good, don't terrify yourself that the tree may be evil; but be assured it is not so, for you know who has said, 'Men do not gather grapes off thorns, and figs off thistles.' I have not time to add, but that I shall always be, your affectionate brother,

"B. FRANKLIN.

"P. S. It was not kind in you, when your sister commended good works, to suppose she intended it a reproach to you. 'Twas very far from her thoughts."

"*Mr. Josias and Mrs. Abiah Franklin.*

"Philadelphia, September 6, 1744.

"Honoured Father and Mother,—I apprehend I am too busy in prescribing and meddling in the doctor's sphere, when any of you complain of ails in your letters. But as I always employ a physician myself, when any disorder arises in my family, and submit implicitly to his orders in every thing, so I hope you consider my advice when I give any, only as a mark of my good will, and put no more of it in practice than happens to agree with what your doctor directs. Your notion of the use of strong lye I suppose may have a good deal in it. The salt of tartar, or salt of wormwood, frequently prescribed for cutting, opening and cleansing, is nothing more than the salt of lye procured by evaporation. Mrs. Steevens's medicine for the stone and gravel, the secret of which was lately purchased at a great price by the parliament, had for its principal ingredient salt, which Boerhaave calls the most universal remedy. The same salt intimately mixed with oil of turpentine, which you also mentioned, make the *sapor philosophorum* wonderfully extolled by some chymists for like purposes. It is highly probable (as your doctor says) that medicines are much altered in passing between the stomach and bladder; but such salts seem well fitted in their nature to pass with the least alteration of almost any thing we know; and if they will not dissolve gravel and stone, yet I am half persuaded that a moderate use of them may go a great way towards preventing these disorders, as they assist a weaker digestion in the stomach, and powerfully dissolve crudities such as those which I have frequently experienced. As to honey and molasses, I did not maintain them merely as openers and looseners but also from conjecture, that as they are heavier in themselves than our common drink, they might when dissolved in our bodies increase the gravity of our fluids, the urine in particular, and by that means keep separate and suspended therein, those particles which, when unused form gravel, &c. I will inquire after the herb you mention; we have a botanist here, an intimate friend of mine, who knows all the plants in the country: he would be glad of the correspondence of some gentlemen of the same taste with you, and has twice, through my hands, sent specimens of the famous Chinese *Ginseng*, found here, to persons who desired it in Boston, neither of whom, have had the civility to write him a word in answer, or even to acknowledge the receipt of it, of which, please to give a hint to brother John.

"We have had a very healthy summer and a fine harvest, the country is filled with bread; but as trade declines, since the war began, I know not what our farmers will do for a market. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mrs. Abiah Franklin.*

"PHILADELPHIA, October 16, 1747.

"HONOURED MOTHER,—This has been a busy day with your daughter, and she is gone to bed much fatigued and cannot write.

"I send you inclosed, one of our new almanacks; we print them early, because we send them to many places far distant. I send you also, a moidore inclosed, which please to accept towards chaise hire, that you may ride warm to meetings this winter. Pray tell us, what kind of a sickness you have had in Boston this summer: besides the measles and flux, which have carried off many children, we have lost some grown persons, by what we call the *Yellow Fever;* though that is almost if not quite over, thanks to God who has preserved all our family, in perfect health. Here are cousins Coleman, and two Folgers, all well. Your granddaughter, is the greatest lover of her book and school, of any child I ever knew, and is very dutiful to her mistress as well as to us. I doubt not but brother Mecom will send the collar as soon as he can conveniently. My love to him, sister, and all the children. B. FRANKLIN."

"*George Whitefield.*

"PHILADELPHIA, June 6, 1753.

"SIR,—I received your kind letter of the 2d instant, and am glad to hear that you increase in strength; I hope you will continue mending, till you recover your former health and firmness. Let me know whether you still use the cold bath, and what effect it has.

"As to the kindness you mention, I wish it could have been of more service to you. But if it had, the only thanks I should desire is, that you would always be equally ready to serve any other person that may need your assistance, and so let good offices go round; for mankind are all of a family.

"For my own part, when I am employed in serving others, I do not look upon myself as conferring favours, but as paying debts. In my travels, and since my settlement, I have received much kindness from men, to whom I shall never have any opportunity of making the least direct return; and numberless mercies from God, who is infinitely above being benefited by our services. Those kindnesses from men, I can therefore only return on their fellow men, and I can only show my gratitude for these mercies from God, by a readiness to help his other children, and my brethren. For I do not think that thanks and compliments, though repeated weekly, can discharge our real obligations to each other, and much less those to our Creator. You will see in this my notion of good works, that I am far from expecting to merit heaven by them. By heaven we understand a state of happiness, infinite in degree, and eternal in duration: I can do nothing to deserve such rewards. He that for giving a draught of water to a thirsty person, should expect to be paid with a good plantation, would be modest in his demands, compared with those who think they deserve heaven for the little good they do on earth. Even the mixt imperfect pleasures we enjoy in this world, are rather from God's goodness than our merit: how much more such happiness of heaven! For my part I have not the vanity to think I deserve it, the folly to expect it, nor the ambition to desire it; but content myself in submitting to the will and disposal of that God who made me, who has hitherto preserved and blessed me, and in whose fatherly goodness I may well confide, that he will never make me miserable; and that even the afflictions I may at any time suffer shall tend to my benefit.

"The faith you mention has certainly its use in the world: I do not desire to see it diminished, nor would I endeavour to lessen it in any man. But I wish it were more productive of good works than I have generally seen it: I mean real good works; works of kindness, charity, mercy, and public spirit; not holiday-keeping, sermon-reading, or hearing; performing church ceremonies, or making long prayers, filled with flatteries and compliments, despised even by wise men, and much less capable of pleasing the Deity. The worship of God is a duty; the hearing and reading of sermons may be useful; but if men rest in hearing and praying, as too many do, it is as if a tree should value itself on being watered and putting forth leaves, though it never produced any fruit.

"Your great master thought much less of these outward appearances and professions, than many of his modern disciples. He preferred the *doers* of the word, to the mere *hearers;* the son that seemingly refused to obey his father, and yet performed his commands, to him that professed his readiness, but neglected the work; the heretical but charitable Samaritan, to the uncharitable though orthodox priest, and sanctified Levite; and those who gave food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, raiment to the naked, entertainment to the stranger, and relief to the sick, though they never heard of his name, he declares shall in the last day be accepted; when those who cry, Lord! Lord! who value themselves upon their faith, though great enough to perform miracles, but have neglected good works, shall be rejected. He professed that he came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance; which implied his modest opinion, that there were some in his time who thought themselves so good that they need not hear even him for improvement; but now-a-days we have scarce a little parson that does not think it the duty of every man within his reach to sit under his petty ministrations; and that whoever omits them, offends God. I wish to such more humility, and to you health and happiness; being

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Mrs. D. Franklin.*

"GUADENHATHEN, January 25, 1756.

"MY DEAR CHILD,—This day week we arrived here, I wrote to you the same day, and once since. We all continue well, thanks be to God. We have been hindered with bad weather, yet our fort is in a good defenceable condition, and we have every day, more convenient living. Two more are to be built, one on each side of this, at about fifteen miles distance. I hope both will be done in a week or ten days, and then I purpose to bend my course homewards.

"We have enjoyed your roast beef, and this day began on the roast veal; all agree that they are both the best that ever were of the kind. Your citizens, that have their dinners hot and hot, know nothing of good eating; we find it in much greater perfection when the kitchen is four score miles from the dining room.

"The apples are extremely welcome, and do bravely to eat after our salt pork; the minced pies are not yet come to hand, but suppose we shall find them among the things expected up from Bethlehem, on Tuesday; the capillaire is excellent, but none of us having taken cold as yet, we have only tasted it.

"As to our lodging, 'tis on deal feather beds, in warm blankets, and much more comfortable than when we lodged at our inn, the first night after we left home, for the woman being about to put very damp sheets on the bed we desired her to air them first; half an hour afterwards, she told us the bed was ready, and the sheets *well aired.* I got into bed, but jumped out immediately, finding them as cold as death, and partly frozen. She had *aired* them indeed, but it was out upon the *hedge.* I was forced to wrap myself up in my great coat and woollen trowsers, every thing else about the bed was shockingly dirty.

"As I hope in a little time to be with you and my family, and chat things over, I now only add, that I am, dear Debby, your affectionate husband, B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"FORT ALLEN, at Gnadenheutten, Jan. 30, 1756.

"MY DEAR CHILD,—Every other day, since we have been here, it has rained more or less, to our no small hindrance. It rained yesterday, and now again to day, which prevented our marching: so I will sit down half an hour to confer a little with you.

"All the things you sent me, from time to time, are safely come to hand, and our living grows every day more comfortable: yet there are many things we still want, but do not send for them, as we hope our stay here will not be long.

"I thought to have wrote you a long letter, but here comes in a number of people, from different parts, that have business with me, and interrupt me; we have but one room, and that quite public: so can only add, that I have just received your's, Sally's, and Grace's letters, of the 25th, with one from Mr. Hughes, and one from Mr. Thomson: present my respects to those gentlemen, (and excuse my not writing, as I have nothing material, and much hurried,) and love to all our friends and neighbours. Billy presents his duty to you, and love to his sister: all the gentlemen their compliments, they drink your health at every meal, having always something on the table to put them in mind of you. I found among the newspapers, Mr. Shoen's bills of exchange, which should not have been sent up here; I suppose it was by mistake, and mention it, that you need not be troubled to look more for them. I am, dear girl, B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"FORT ALLEN, Jan. 31, 1756.

"MY DEAR,—I wrote a line to you yesterday, and having this opportunity, write another, just to let you know that we all continue well, and much the better from the refreshments you have sent us: in short we do very well; for though there are a great number of things, besides what we have, that used to seem necessary to comfortable living, yet we have learnt to do without them.

"Mr. Beaty is a very useful man here, and the doctor another; besides their services to the public, they are very agreeable companions to me; they, with captain Clapham, Mr. Edmond, and the rest of our company, present their hearty respects to you for the goodies. Billy presents his duty to you and his grandmother, and love to his sister. Distribute my compliments among our acquaintance, and hearty love to all friends. The bearer waits, that I cannot write to my dear Sally. I am, dear girl, your loving husband,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mrs. Jane Mecom, Boston.*

"New York, June 28, 1756.

"Dear Sister,—I received here your letter of extravagant thanks, which put me in mind of the story of the member of parliament, who began one of his speeches with saying, he thanked God, he was born and bred a presbyterian; on which another took leave to observe, that the gentleman must needs be of a most grateful disposition, since he was thankful for such very small matters.

"You desire me to tell you what I know about Benny's removal, and the reasons of it. Sometime last year, when I returned from a long journey, I found a letter from him, which had been sometime unanswered, and it was some considerable time afterwards, before I knew of an opportunity to send an answer. I should first have told you, that when I set him up at Antigua, he was to have the use of the printing house on the same terms with his predecessor, Mr. Smith: that is, allowing me one third part of the profits. After this, finding him diligent and careful, for his encouragement, I relinquished that agreement, and let him know, that as you were removed into a dearer house, if he paid you yearly a certain sum, I forgot what it was, towards discharging your rent, and another small sum to me, in sugar and rum, for my family use, he need keep no farther accounts of the profits, but should enjoy all the rest to himself; I cannot remember what the whole of both payments amounted to, but I think they did not exceed 20*l.* a-year. The truth is, I intended, from the first, to give him that printing house: but as he was young and inexperienced in the world, I thought it best not to do it immediately, but to keep him a little dependent for a time, to check the flighty unsteadiness of temper, which on several occasions, he had discovered; and what I received from him, I concluded to lay out in new letters (or types,) that when I give it him entirely, it might be worth his acceptance; and if I should die first, I put it in my will, that the letters should be all new cast for him. This proposal of paying you and me a certain annual sum, did not please him, and he wrote to desire I would explicitly tell him how long that annual payment was to continue? whether, on payment of that, all prior demands, I had against him, for the arrears of our first agreement, were likewise cancelled, and finally insisted that I would name a certain sum that I would take for the printing house, and allow him to pay it off in parts, as he could, and then the yearly payments to cease; for though he had a high esteem for me, yet he loved freedom, and his spirit could not bear dependence on any man, though he were the best man living. This was the letter which occasionally remained, as I said, so long unanswered: at which, he took farther offence, and before I could answer it, I received another from him, acquainting me that he had come to a resolution to move from this island; that his resolution was fixed, and nothing that could be said to him should move or shake it, and proposed another person to me, to carry on the business in his room. This was immediately followed by another and a third letter, to the same purpose, all declaring the inflexibility of his determination to leave the island, but without saying where he proposed to go, or what were his motives. So I wrote him that I would not attempt to change his resolutions; that I made no objections to his quitting, but wished he had let me know where he was going. That, as to the person he recommended to succeed, I had kept the office there after Mr. Smith's decease, in hopes it might be of use to him (Benny.) I did not incline to be concerned with any other there. However if the person would buy it, I named the price; if not, I directed it to be packed up and sent home; all I desired of him, was to discharge what he owed to Mr. Strahan, bookseller in London, one of my friends, who had credited him, on my recommendation.

"By this post I received the inclosed letter, and understand the things are all arrived. I shall be very glad to hear he does better in another place, but I fear he will not for some years be cured of his fickleness and get fixed to any purpose; however, we must hope for the best, as with this fault he has many good qualities and virtues.

"My love to brother and children, and to all that love you. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mrs. D. Franklin.*

"Easton, Saturday Morning, Nov. 13, 1756.

"My Dear Child,—I wrote to you a few days since, by a special messenger, and inclosed letters, for all our wives and sweethearts; expecting to hear from you by his return, and to have the northern newspapers and English letters, per the packet; but he is just now returned without a scrap for poor us. So I had a good mind not to write to you by this opportunity; but I never can be ill-natured enough, even when there is the most occasion. The messenger says he left the letters at your house, and saw you afterwards at Mr. Dentie's and told you when he would go, and that he lodged at Honey's, next door to you, and yet you did not write; so let Goody Smith give one more just judgment, and say what should be done to you; I think I wont tell you that we are well, nor that we expect to return about the middle of the week, nor will I send you a word of news; that's poz. My duty to mother, love to the children, and to Miss Betsey and Gracey, &c. &c. B. FRANKLIN.

"P. S. I have *scratched out the loving words*, being writ in haste by mistake, when I *forgot I was angry.*"

"*Mrs. Jane Mecom, Boston.*

"New York, April 19, 1757.

"Dear Sister,—I wrote a few lines to you yesterday, but omitted to answer yours, relating to sister Dowse. *As having their own way*, is one of the greatest comforts of life, to old people, I think their friends should endeavour to accommodate them in that as well as any thing else. When they have long lived in a house, it becomes natural to them; they are almost as closely connected with it, as the tortoise with his shell; they die, if you tear them out of it; old folks and old trees, if you remove them, 'tis ten to one that you kill them, so let our good old sister be no more importuned on that head: we are growing old fast ourselves, and shall expect the same kind of indulgencies; if we give them, we shall have a right to receive them in our turn.

"And as to her few fine things, I think she is in the right not to sell them, and for the reason she gives, that they will fetch but little, when that little is spent, they would be of no farther use to her; but perhaps the expectation of possessing them at her death, may make that person tender and careful of her, and helpful to her to the amount of ten times their value. If so they are put to the best use they possibly can be.

"I hope you visit sister as often as your affairs will permit, and afford her what assistance and comfort you can in her present situation. *Old age*, *infirmities*, and *poverty*, joined, are afflictions enough. The *neglect* and *slights* of friends and near relations should never be added—people in her circumstances are apt to suspect this sometimes without cause; *appearances* should therefore be attended to in our conduct towards them as well as *relatives*. I write by this post to cousin William, to continue his care, which I doubt not he will do.

"We expect to sail in about a week, so that I can hardly hear from you again on this side the water; but let me have a line from you now and then, while I am in London—I expect to stay there at least a twelvemonth. Direct your letters to be left for me at the Pennsylvania Coffee-house, in Birchin-lane, London. B. FRANKLIN.

"P. S. April 25.—We are still here, and perhaps may be here a week longer. Once more adieu, my dear sister."

"*To the same.*

"Woodbridge, East New-Jersey, May 21, 1757.

"Dear Sister,—I received your kind letter of the 9th instant, in which you acquainted me with some of your late troubles. Those are troublesome times to us all; but perhaps you have heard more than you should. I am glad to hear that Peter is at a place where he has full employ. A trade is a valuable thing; but unless a habit of industry be acquired with it, it turns out of little use: if he gets THAT in his new place, it will be a happy exchange, and the occasion not an unfortunate one.

"It is very agreeable to me to hear so good an account of your other children—in such a number to have no bad ones is a great happiness.

"The horse sold very low indeed: if I wanted one to-morrow, knowing his goodness, old as he is, I should freely give more than twice the money for him; but you did the best you could, and I will take of Benny no more than he produced.

"I don't doubt but Benny will do very well when he gets to work; but I fear his things from England may be so long a-coming as to occasion the loss of the rent. Would it not be better for you to move into the house? Perhaps not, if he is near being married. I know nothing of that affair but what you write me, except that I think Miss Betsey a very agreeable sweet-tempered good girl, who has had a housewifery education, and will make, to a good husband, a very good wife. Your sister and I have a great esteem for her, and if she will be kind enough to accept of our nephew, we think it will be his own fault if he is not as happy as the married state can make him; the family is a respectable one, but whether there be any fortune I know not, and as you do not inquire about this particular, I suppose you think with me, that where every thing else desirable is to be met with, that is not very material. If she does not bring a fortune she will have to make one. Industry, frugality, and prudent economy, in a wife, are to a tradesman, in their effects, a fortune; and a fortune sufficient for Benjamin, if his expectations are reasonable. We can only add, that if the young lady and her friends are willing, we give our consent heartily, and our blessing. My love to brother and the children, concludes with me.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mrs. Jane Mecom, Boston.*

"NEW YORK, May 26, 1757.

"DEAR AND HONOURED AUNT,—To find ourselves affectionately remembered by those for whom we have the highest esteem, is of all things most agreeable: this pleasure was afforded me in the greatest degree, when I received your favour of the 9th instant. The many kind wishes it contains for my welfare, lays me under the greatest obligations. I hope my conduct will ever be such as to merit a continuance of your regard.

"Being just on the point of embarkation, prevents my adding more than my best respects to Mr. Mecom, cousin Benny, &c. and to desire you will believe me to be, your affectionate and dutiful nephew,

"W. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"NEW YORK, May 30, 1757.

"DEAR SISTER,—I have before me yours of the 9th and 16th instant: I am glad you have resolved to visit sister Dowse oftener; it will be a great comfort to her, to find she is not neglected by you, and your example may, perhaps, be followed by some other of her relations.

"As Neddy is yet a young man, I hope he may get over the disorder he complains of, and in time wear it out. My love to him and his wife and the rest of your children. It gives me pleasure to hear that Eben is likely to get into business at his trade. If he will be industrious and frugal, 'tis ten to one but he gets rich, for he seems to have spirit and activity.

"I am glad that Peter is acquainted with the crown soap business, so as to make what is good of the kind. I hope he will always take care to make it faithfully, never slight manufacture, or attempt to deceive by appearances. Then he may boldly put his name and mark, and in a little time it will acquire as good a character as that made by his late uncle, or any other person whatever. I believe his aunt at Philadelphia, can help him to sell a good deal of it; and I doubt not of her doing every thing in her power to promote his interest in that way. Let a box be sent to her (but not unless it be right good) and she will immediately return the ready money for it. It was beginning once to be in vogue in Philadelphia, but brother John sent me one box, an ordinary sort, which checked its progress. I would not have him put the Franklin arms on it; but the soap boilers arms he has a right to use, if he thinks fit. The other would look too much like an attempt to counterfeit. In his advertisements, he may value himself on serving his time with the original maker, but put his own mark or device on the papers, or any thing he may be advised to as proper; only on the soap, as it is called by the name of crown soap, it seems necessary to use a stamp of that sort, and perhaps no soap boiler in the king's dominions has a better right to the crown than himself.

"Nobody has wrote a syllable to me concerning his making use of the hammer, or made the least complaint of him or you. I am sorry however that he took it without leave. It was irregular, and if you had not approved of his doing it, I should have thought it indiscreet. *Leave* they say is *light*, and it seems to me a piece of respect that was due to his aunt to ask it, and I can scarce think she would have refused him the favour.

"I am glad to hear Jamey is so good and diligent a workman; if he ever sets up at the goldsmith's business, he must remember that there is one accomplishment without which he cannot possibly thrive in that trade, (i. e. *to be perfectly honest.*) It is a business that though ever so uprightly managed, is always liable to suspicion; and if a man is once detected in the smallest fraud it soon becomes public, and every one is put upon their guard against him; no one will venture to try his hands, or trust him to make up their plate; so at once he is ruined. I hope my nephew will therefore establish a character as an *honest* and faithful, as well as *skilful* workman, and then he need not fear employment.

"And now as to what you propose for Benny I believe he may be, as you say, well enough qualified for it, and when he appears to be settled, if a vacancy should happen, it is very probable he may be thought of to supply it; but it is a rule with me, not to remove any officer that behaves well, keeps regular accounts, and pays duly; and I think the rule is founded on reason and justice. I have not shown any backwardness to assist Benny, where it could be done without injuring another. But if my friends require of me to gratify not only their inclinations, but their resentments, they expect too much of me. Above all things I dislike family quarrels, and when they happen among my relations, nothing gives me more pain. If I were to set myself up as a judge of those subsisting between you and brother's widow and children, how unqualified must I be, at this distance, to determine rightly, especially having heard but one side. They always treated me with friendly and affectionate regard; you have done the same. What can I say between you, but that I wish you were reconciled, and that I will love that side best that is most ready to forgive and oblige the other. You will be angry with me here, for putting you and them too much upon a footing, but I shall nevertheless be, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mrs. D. Franklin.*

"London, Nov. 22, 1757.

"My Dear Child,—During my illness, which continued near eight weeks, I wrote you several little letters, as I was able; the last was by the packet which sailed from Falmouth above a week since: in that I informed you that my intermitting fever which had continued to harass me, by frequent relapses, was gone off, and I have ever since been gathering strength and flesh. My doctor, Fothergill, who had forbid me the use of pen and ink, now permits me to write as much as I can without over fatiguing myself, and therefore I sit down to write more fully than I have hitherto been able to do.

"The 2d of September I wrote to you that I had had a violent cold and something of a fever, but that it was almost gone. However, it was not long before I had another severe cold, which continued longer than the first, attended by great pain in my head, the top of which was very hot, and when the pain went off, very sore and tender. These fits of pain continued sometimes longer than at others; seldom less than 12 hours, and once 36 hours. I was now and then a little delirious: they cupped me on the back of the head, whch seemed to ease me for the present; I took a great deal of bark, both in substance and infusion, and too soon thinking myself well, I ventured out twice, to do a little business and forward the service I am engaged in, and both times got fresh cold and fell down again; my good doctor grew very angry with me, for acting contrary to his cautions and directions, and obliged me to promise more observance for the future. He attended me very carefully and affectionately; and the good lady of the house nursed me kindly; Billy was also of great service to me, in going from place to place, where I could not go myself, and Peter was very diligent and attentive. I took so much bark in various ways that I began to abhor it; I durst not take a vomit, for fear of my head; but at last I was seized one morning with a vomiting and purging, the latter of which continued the greater part of the day, and I believe was a kind of crisis to the distemper, carrying it clear off; for ever since I feel quite lightsome, and am every day gathering strength; so I hope my seasoning is over, and that I shall enjoy better health during the rest of my stay in England.

"I have now before me, your letters of July 17, July 31, August 11, August 21, September 4, September 19, October 1, and October 9. I thank you for writing to me so frequently and fully; I believe I have missed none of your letters yet, but those by Lyon, who was taken.

"You mention Mr. Scott's being robbed, but do not say to what value; was it considerable? I have seen Mr. Ralph, and delivered him Mrs. Garrigues's letter. He is removed from Turnham Green; when I return I'll tell you every thing relating to him, in the mean time I must advise Mrs. Garrigues not to write to him again, till I send her word how to direct her letters, he being unwilling, for some good reasons, that his present wife should know any thing of his having any connexions in America. He expresses great affection for his daughter and grandchildren. He has but one child here.

"I have found David Edwards, and send you some of his letters, with one for his father. I am glad to hear that our friends at Newark got well through the small pox.

"The above particulars are in answer to things mentioned in your letters, and so are what follow.

"Governor Shirley's affairs are still in an uncertain state; he is endeavouring to obtain an inquiry into his conduct, but the confusion of public affairs occasions it to be postponed. He and I visit frequently.

"I make no doubt but reports will be spread by my enemies to my disadvantage, but let none of them trouble you. If I find I can do my country no good, I will take care at least not to do it any harm; I will neither seek nor expect any thing for myself; and though I may perhaps not be able to obtain for the people what they wish and expect, no interest shall induce me to betray the trust they have reposed in me; so make yourself quite easy with regard to such reports.

"Mr. Hunter is better than he has been for a long time, he and his sister desire to be remembered to you.

"I believe I left the seal with Mr. Parker.

"I am glad to hear that Mr. Boudinot has so seasonable a supply; and hope he will not go to mining again.

"I am obliged to all my friends that visit you in my absence. My love to them.

"Mr. Ralph delivered me your letters very obligingly; he is well respected by people of value here.

"I thank you for sending me brother Johnny's journal; I hope he is well, and sister Read and the children.

"I am sorry to hear of Mr. Burt's death. He came to me at New York, with a proposal that I did not approve of, but it showed his good will and respect for me; when I return I'll tell you what it was.

"I shall entertain Mr. Collinson and Dr. Fothergill with your account of Tidyuskin's visit.

"I should have read Sally's French letter with more pleasure, but that I thought the French rather too good to be all her own composing; I suppose her master must have corrected it. But I am glad she is improving in that and her music; I send her a French Pamela.

"You were very lucky in not insuring the rum. We are obliged to Mr. Booth for his care in that remittance. I suppose you have wrote to acknowledge the receipt of it. I have not yet seen Mr. Burkett.

"I am not much surprised at Green's behaviour; he has not an honest principle, I fear. I have not yet seen Mr. Walsteinholme, but he is arrived.

"I am glad you sent to Elizabeth-town, and that Ben has got that good girl. I hope they will do well, when you write remember my love to her.

"December 3. I write by little and little as I can find time; I have now gone through all your agreeable letters, which give me fresh pleasure every time I read them. Last night I received another, dated October 16, which brings me the good news that you and Sally were got safe home; your last of the 9th, being from Elizabeth-town. Budden's ship is not yet come up to London, but is daily expected, having been some time at Cowes. Mr. Hall has sent me a bill, as you mention. Mr. Walsteinholme is come to town and I expect to see him to-day. When I have inquired how things are with Green, I shall write some directions to you what to do in the affair.

"I am glad to hear that Miss Ray is well, and that you correspond. It is not convenient to be forward in giving advice in such cases. She has prudence enough to judge for herself, and I hope she will judge and act for the best.

"I hear there is a miniature painter gone over to Philadelphia, a relation to John Reynolds. If Sally's picture is not done to your mind, by the young man, and the other gentleman is a good hand and follows the business, suppose you get Sally's done by him, and send it me with your small picture, that I may here get all our little family drawn in one conversation piece.

"I am sorry to hear of the general sickness; I hope it is over before this time, and that little Franky is recovered.

"I was as much disappointed in my intention of writing by that packet as you were in not receiving letters by her, and it has since given me a great deal of vexation. I wrote to you by way of New York, the day after my arrival in London, which I do not find you have received.

"I do not use to be a backward correspondent though my sickness has brought me behind hand with my friends in that respect.

"Had I been well, I intended to have gone round among the shops, and bought some pretty things for you and my dear good Sally, (whose little hands you say eased your headache) to send by this ship, but I must now defer it to the next, having only got a crimson satin cloak for you, the newest fashion, and the black silk for Sally; but Billy sends her a scarlet feather, muff, and tippet, and a box of fashionable linen for her dress; in the box is a thermometer for Mr. Taylor and one for Mr. Schlatter, which you will carefully deliver; as also, a watch for Mr. Schlatter. I shall write to them; the black silk was sent to Mr. Neates, who undertook to forward it in some package of his.

"It is now twelve days since I began to write this letter, and I still continue well, but have not yet quite recovered my strength, flesh, or spirits. I every day drink a glass of infusion of bark in wine, by way of prevention, and hope my fever will no more return; on fair days, which are but few, I venture out about noon.

"The agreeable conversation I meet with among men of learning, and the notice taken of me by persons of distinction, are the principal things that soothe me for the present, under this painful absence from my family and friends. Yet those would not keep me here another week, if I had not other inducements; duty to my country, and hopes of being able to do it service.

"Pray remember me kindly to all that love us, and to all that we love. 'Tis endless to name names. B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"LONDON, December 13, 1757.

"DEAR MADAM,—I will not write to you, for the future, as a stranger whom I never had the happiness of seeing, but as to one with whom I have been for some time acquainted, for having had the pleasure for several months past, to be personally known to what you will readily allow, to be your better half, you'll permit me to fancy, I am by no means ignorant of the essential qualities of the other.

"I had for many years conceived a very high, and now find, a very just opinion of Mr. Franklin; this I was naturally led to by the concurring testimony of every body who knew him, (for the voice of his enemies, if he had any, never reached me) and by the opportunities I have had of judging for myself, during my correspondence with him for a dozen years. But though the notion I had formed of him, in my own mind, before I had the pleasure of seeing him, was really as far as it went, just enough; I must confess it was very unequal to what I now know his singular merit deserves.

"I own it is somewhat odd, to entertain a lady with the character of her husband, who must herself, of all others, be the least ignorant in that particular. But as all who know me, know that I cannot help speaking my sentiments freely, on any subject that strikes me in a great degree, so I choose to write my mind in regard to Mr. Franklin, before all others to you, because you are the most unexceptionable judge of the truth and propriety of what I say, and because I am persuaded you will listen to me, not only with patience but with pleasure; and indeed, whatever your own personal qualities may be, however amiable and engaging in my mind, your being the choice of such a man, must add greatly to your honour, to be the wife of one who has so much ability, inclination, and success, if you view him in a public capacity, in being eminently useful to his country, must necessarily confer on you great reputation, and to be the bosom friend of one who is equally fitted to promote any kind of domestic happiness, must as necessarily be the constant spring of the most substantial comfort to you.

"For my own part, I never saw a man who was, in every respect, so perfectly agreeable to me. Some are amiable in one view, some in another, he in all. Now madam, as I know the ladies here consider him in exactly the same light I do, upon my word I think you should come over, with all convenient speed to look after your interest; not but that I think him as faithful to his Joan, as any man breathing; but who knows what repeated and strong temptation, may in time, and while he is at so great a distance from you, accomplish. Besides, what a delightful expedition would this be to Miss Franklin, and how much must it amuse and improve her, to see and live a while in this great city. I know you will object to the length of the voyage and the danger of the seas, but truly this is more terrible in apprehension than in reality; of all the ways of travelling it is the easiest and most expeditious; and as for the danger, there has not a soul been lost between Philadelphia and this, in my memory; and I believe, not one ship taken by the enemy. Is the trouble and risk then of such a voyage, to be compared in any degree, with the pleasure it will afford you and your best friends. By no means. Instead of being afraid of the sea, we ought to have a particular regard for it, as it is so far from being a bar to the communication and intercourse of different and far distant countries, that it facilitates their correspondence in a very high degree. Nay more, it conveys in the floating castles of your mother country, that protection and assistance which I trust will soon give peace to your borders. I might urge as an additional inducement for you to come over in the spring, that the important business with which Mr. Franklin is charged, in the service of his country, (which I dare say you would wish above all things may be brought to a happy conclusion) may very probably detain him more than one season, which will exhaust your patience to such a degree, that you may repent, when too late, you did not listen to my advice.

"Your son I really think one of the prettiest young gentlemen I ever knew from America. He seems to me to have a solidity of judgment, not very often to be met with in one of his years. This with the daily opportunities he has of improving himself in the company of his father, who is at the same time his friend, his brother, his intimate, and easy companion, affords an agreeable prospect, that your husband's virtues and usefulness to his country, may be prolonged beyond the date of his own life.

"Your daughter (I wish I could call her mine,) I find by the reports of all who know her, is a very amiable girl in all respects; but of her I shall say nothing, till I have the pleasure of seeing her. Only I must observe to you, that being the mistress of such a family, is a degree of happiness perhaps the greatest that falls to the lot of humanity. I sincerely wish you, very long, the unabated enjoyment of them. I leave it to your friend, to write you every thing from this place, you would desire to know. But I cannot take my leave of you without informing you that Mr. F. has the good fortune to lodge with a very discreet good gentlewoman, who is particularly careful of him, who attended him during a very severe cold he was some time ago seized with, with an assiduity, concern, and tenderness, which perhaps, only yourself could equal: so that I don't think you could have a better substitute till you come over, to take him under your own protection. He is now perfectly recovered.

"My own family are, I thank God, just now in perfect health. My wife joins me in kindest compliments to you and dear Miss, not forgetting her honest son David and his fire-side. I wish you a speedy and happy meeting with your friends on this side of the water, which will give great pleasure to,

"WILLIAM STRAHAN."

To the same.

"London, January 14, 1758.

"Dear Debby,—I wrote a very long letter to you lately, two whole sheets full, containing answers to all yours received during my sickness. I have since received your kind favours of November 13th and November 16th. It has given me great concern that you should be so disappointed in having no letters by captain Luthwycke; you know by this time how it happened; but I wonder you should expect letters from me, by the way of Ireland; it being quite out of my knowledge, when vessels are to sail from thence.

"I am thankful to God for sparing my little family in that time of general sickness, and hope to find them all well, at my return. The New York paper you sent me was the latest that came, and of use to our friend, Strahan. He has offered to lay me a considerable wager, that a letter he has wrote to you will bring you immediately over hither; but I tell him I will not pick his pocket; for I am sure there is no inducement strong enough to prevail with you to cross the seas. I would be glad if I could tell you when I expected to be at home, but that is still in the dark; it is possible I may not be able to get away this summer; but I hope, if I stay another winter, it will be more agreeable than the greatest part of the time I have hitherto spent in England. But however I must bring my business to some conclusion.

"I received Sally's letter of November 12th, but cannot now write to her. I wrote to my friends generally by last packet, and shall write to them again by a ship of Mr. Ralph's, to sail from here in about a fortnight. I am not yet quite so hearty as before my illness; but I think I am daily stronger and better, so I hope I have had my seasoning; but much writing still disorders me.

"My duty to mother, and love to Sally, Debby, Mr. Dunlap, and all friends that inquire after me. B. FRANKLIN.

"Billy presents his duty to you and mother, and love to his sister."

To the same.

"London, January 21, 1758.

"My Dear Child,—Mr. Lorimer, a friend who is going over to general Abercromby, to assist him as a secretary, called on me just now, to acquaint me that he is on the point of setting out. I seize a minute or two just to let you know we are well, that is, I am well, compared to what I have been during a great part of the time since my arrival, and I hope with the spring to recover my full strength. Billy is quite hearty, and presents his duty, love, &c.

"I have wrote to you by several opportunities, lately, and particularly one long letter of two sheets, which I hope will come to hand, as it contained a full answer to a number of yours received during my illness, and I have no copy of it.

"I begin to think I shall hardly be able to return before this time twelve months. I am for doing effectually what I came about; and I find it requires both time and patience. You may think perhaps, that I can find many amusements here to pass the time agreeably. 'Tis true, the regard and friendship I meet with from persons of worth, and the conversation of ingenious men, give me no small pleasure; but at this time of life, domestic comforts afford the most solid satisfaction, and my uneasiness at being absent from my family, and longing desire to be with them, make me often sigh in the midst of cheerful company.

"My love to my dear Sally. I confide in you the care of her and her education; I promise myself the pleasure of finding her much improved at my return.

"While I am writing, three letters came in, one from Mr. Hall, one from Rhoads, another from Dr. Bond, but none from you: they are by way of Bristol. I must send this away immediately, lest Mr. Lorimer should be gone. My respects to those gentlemen, to whom I shall write, and to my other friends, by Mr. Ralph's vessel, which sails next week.

"B. FRANKLIN.

"P. S. When you write to Boston, give my love to sister Jenney—as I have not often time to write to her. If you please you may send her the inclosed little picture.

"B. F."

To the same.

"Philadelphia, May 1, 1758.

"Madam,—By favour of Miss D. Williams, I had the pleasure of viewing on Wednesday the effigies in miniature, of your truly worthy spouse; and as the sight of that valuable little piece revived some thoughts of a desire which I have been meditating for some years past, I took the liberty to request Miss Williams to beg in my name, the favour of you, madam, not to suffer it to go entirely out of your hands so suddenly as seemed at first to be proposed, that so, I might have an opportunity of explaining what that design was, and of submitting it to your consideration, which I choose to do in writing; as in this way, I can more fully make it known, together with my real motive, which I trust will be understood, as I am myself persuaded, that they are with the utmost sincerity of a much nobler kind than more sordid interested expectations.

"Ever since I have been resident in Philadelphia, I have entertained thoughts of performing a piece of mezzotinto, which I have several times practised in Boston, and which, so far as I know, has never yet been done in this city, nor have I ever heard of any person residing here beside myself, that was acquainted with that business. As therefore such an attempt of mine would be the first of the kind in this place, I supposed that that consideration alone would add some value to the performance; and even make amends for any small defects of workmanship (I hoped there would be no very great ones) observable in it; and on that account I was desirous of consecrating it, as an *offering of first fruits*, to the memory of real and eminent worth.

"And when I considered which way I should direct my choice for such a subject, my grateful sense of the many instances of Mr. Franklin's goodness to myself, his benevolent endeavours in private life, to promote the interest of any person, though no way connected with his own, and to advance by his candid remarks and wise advice every useful art in America; the great obligations which the whole learned world confess themselves to be under to him for his important philosophical discoveries; his honest, steady, and undaunted zeal in the cause of liberty; his knowledge of the true interests, and his wise counsels and unwearied labours for the real service of this province—of America in general—of his nation and his king—manifesting the invaluable friend, the eminent philosopher, the true patriot, the loyal subject, the honest, the truly great and good man—the boast of Boston, his native place—the blessing of Pennsylvania—the admiration of the world! all these considerations bursting upon my mind at once with irresistible conviction, left me no room to hesitate before I fixed my choice; not that I imagine that any poor endeavours of mine can add to or help to perpetuate the fame of my proposed subject; that is already sufficiently extended, and will never be forgotten so long as the lightning's *flash* and thunder's *roar* continue to remind mankind who it was that explained to them the nature, and taught them how to guard against the effects of that terrifying meteor. My prospect was rather in the first place, to give some other proof than bare words (which how poor soever in itself should yet be the best in my power) of my gratitude, and the humble respect I bear to such conspicuous merit; and in the next place I hoped to preserve my own name from oblivion; partly by being the first who should make such an attempt in this place; but chiefly by the judiciousness of my choice, and by fastening my name to one that is already fixed in the annals of fame.

"I hope I shall not be suspected, as guilty of the hated sin of fulsome adulation, since the most I can say, can be no more than feint echo of the united voices of men and collective bodies of men, the most respectable for learning in every civilized nation, and whose situations and circumstances in life, compared with Mr. Franklin's, sets them above even the bare possibility of such a suspicion. The truth is, that when I began to write, I intended only a few lines, but being once engaged, the gratitude and veneration that dilates my heart, whenever I think or speak of Mr. Franklin, and the pride also, I will confess, springing from the reflection that I could call such a man my countryman, would force to themselves utterance, almost whether I would or not, and I could not without a great deal of pain, have withheld my real sentiments.

"I should long since have asked of Mr. Franklin himself his permission, to carry such a design into execution, had it not been for a difficulty which I foresaw would occur, of obtaining a good likeness: for though I profess myself capable of imitating a good draught, ready made to my hands, yet I have no pretensions to drawing after the life; and despairing of having this point settled to my satisfaction, I suffered the thought to sleep; and though I have in that course of time had frequent opportunities of procuring the portraits of other persons who had made themselves remarkable, and perhaps dear enough to a party to answer all my expectations of gain; yet as I intended that my *first* essay should be construed as testifying my sense of the merit of the person represented; I could not think of wronging my consequence by making an offering to idols, and this has been the true and only reason why my design has been so long dormant.

"Miss Williams has assured me that you, madam, had the goodness to grant my first request, very readily, which has given me the opportunity of explaining myself thus far, and encouraged me to make the other and principal one, which is no less, than that I may have your permission to attempt Mr. Franklin's portrait in mezzotinto, on a copperplate of the usual size, viz. about fourteen inches long and ten inches broad; and that I may be allowed so much use of the little piece, above mentioned, as may be requisite for my direction in the performance.

"If I am so happy as to obtain this suit, no endeavours in my power shall be wanting, to do as much justice as possible to my own gratitude, and to my idea of the superlative merit of the original; that so, if possible, posterity may not be mistaken in the resemblance of a single lineament in the countenance of a man, for whose memory it will assuredly for ever have the highest regard; and after I have done my utmost to this end, I shall cheerfully submit it to the examination and censure, or approbation of yourself, madam, and the circle of your friends; and if the performance should be judged as imperfect as that you would not choose to have it made public, I will govern myself entirely by your directions, and either lay aside all farther thoughts of the matter, or else with your permission make another fresh attempt, and even a third, rather than fail of success in an affair which I am so heartily ambitious of accomplishing.

"If you please, madam, to favour me with a few moments' attention to this matter, I shall take the liberty after a few days of waiting upon you for your determination, to which shall be paid the greatest regard, by

"JAMES TURNER."

"*Mrs. Franklin.*

"London, September 6, 1758.

"My Dear Child,—In mine of June 10th, by the Mercury, captain Robinson, I mentioned our having been at Cambridge. We staid there a week, being entertained with great kindness by the principal people, and shown all the curiosities of the place; and, returning by another road to see more of the country, we came again to London. I found the journey advantageous to my health, increasing both my health and spirits, and therefore, as all the great folks were out of town, and public business at a stand, I the more easily prevailed with myself to take another journey and accept of the invitation. We had to be again at Cambridge at the commencement, the beginning of July. We went accordingly, were present at all the ceremonies, dined every day in their halls, and my vanity was not a little gratified by the particular regard shown me by the chancellor and vice-chancellor of the university, and the heads of colleges. After the commencement, we went from Cambridge, through Huntingdonshire into Northumberlandshire, and at Wellingborough, on inquiry, we found still living Mary Fisher, whose maiden name was Franklin, daughter and only child of Thomas Franklin, my father's eldest brother: she is five years older than sister Douse, and remembers her going away with my father and his then wife, and two other children to New England, about the year 1685. We have had no correspondence with her since my uncle Benjamin's death, now near 30 years. I knew she had lived at Wellingborough, and had married there to one Mr. Richard Fisher, a grazier and tanner, about fifty years ago, but did not expect to see either of them alive, so inquired for their posterity; I was directed to their house, and we found them both alive, but weak with age, very glad however to see us; she seems to have been a very smart, sensible woman. They are wealthy, have left off business, and live comfortably. They have had only one child, a daughter, who died, when about thirty years of age, unmarried; she gave me several of my uncle Benjamin's letters to her, and acquainted me where the other remains of the family lived, of which I have, since my return to London, found out a daughter of my father's only sister, very old, and was never married. She is a good clever woman, but poor, though vastly contented with her situation, and very cheerful. The others are in different parts of the country: I intend to visit them, but they were too much out of our tour in that journey. From Wellingborough we went to Eaton, about three or four miles, being the village where my father was born, and where his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had lived, and how many of the family before them we know not. We went first to see the old house and grounds; they came to Mr. Fisher with his wife, and after letting them for some years, finding his rent something ill-paid, he sold them. The land is now added to another farm, and a school kept in the house: it is a decayed old stone building, but still known by the name of Franklin House. Thence we went to visit the rector of the parish, who lives close by the church, a very ancient building. He entertained us very kindly, and showed us the old church register, in which were the births, marriages, and burials of our ancestors for 200 years, as early as his book began. His wife, a good-natured chatty old lady, (granddaughter of the famous archdeacon Palmer, who formerly had that parish, and lived there,) remembered a great deal about the family; carried us out into the church-yard, and showed us several of their grave-stones, which were so covered with moss that we could not read the letters till she ordered a hardbrush and basin of water, with which Peter scoured them clean, and then Billy copied them. She entertained and diverted us highly with stories of Thomas Franklin, Mrs. Fisher's father, who was a conveyancer, something of a lawyer, clerk of the county courts, and clerk to the archdeacon, in his visitations; a very leading man in all county affairs, and much employed in public business. He set on foot a subscription for erecting chimes in their steeple, and completed it, and we heard them play. He found out an easy method of saving their village meadows from being drowned, as they used to be sometimes by the river, which method is still in being; but when first proposed, nobody could conceive how it could be; but however they said if Franklin says he knows how to do it, it will be done. His advice and opinion was sought for on all occasions, by all sorts of people, and he was looked upon, she said, by some, as something of a conjurer. He died just four years before I was born, on the same day of the same month.

"Since our return to London I have had a kind letter from cousin Fisher, and another from the rector, which I send you.

"From Eaton we went to Northampton, where we staid part of the day; then went to Coventry, and from thence to Birmingham—here, upon inquiry, we soon found out yours, and cousin Wilkinson's, and cousin Cash's relations: first we found one of the Cash's, and he went with us to Rebecca Flint's, where we saw her and her husband: she is a turner and he a buttonmaker; they have no children; were very glad to see any person that knew their sister Williamson; told us what letters they had received, and showed us some of them; and even showed us that they had, out of respect, preserved a keg, in which they had received a present of some sturgeon. They sent for their brother Joshua North, who came with his wife immediately to see us, he is a turner also, and has six children, a lively, active man. Mrs. Flint desired me to tell her sister that they live still in the old house she left them in, which I think she says was their father's.

From thence Mr. North went with us to your cousin Benjamin's."

[The leaf of the manuscript book containing the remainder of this letter torn out.]

"*Mrs. Jane Mecom, Boston.*

"London, September 16, 1758.

"Dear Sister,—I received your favour of June 17th. I wonder you have had no letter from me since my being in England; I have wrote you at least two, and I think, a third before this, and what was next to waiting on you in person, sent you my picture. In June last I sent Benny a trunk of books, and wrote to him; I hope they are come to hand, and that he meets with encouragement in his business. I congratulate you on the conquest of Cape Breton, and hope as your people took it by praying, the first time, you will now pray that it may never be given up again, which you then forgot. Billy is well, but in the country. I left him at Tunbridge Wells, where we spent a fortnight, and he is now gone with some company to see Portsmouth. We have been together over a great part of England this summer, and among other places, visited the town our father was born in, and found some relations in that part of the country still living.

"Our cousin Jane Franklin, daughter of our uncle John, died about a year ago; we saw her husband, Robert Page, who gave us some old letters to his wife, from uncle Benjamin. In one of them, dated Boston, July 4, 1723, he writes, your uncle Josiah has a daughter Jane, about 12 years old, a good humoured child. So keep up to your character, and don't be angry when you have no letters. In a little book he sent her, called "None but Christ," he wrote an acrostick on her name, which for namesakes sake, as well as the good advice it contains, I transcribe and send you, viz.

'Illuminated from on high,
And shining brightly in your sphere,
Ne'er feint, but keep a steady eye,
Expecting endless pleasure there.

Flee vice as you'd a serpent flee:
Raise *faith* and *hope* three stories higher,
And let Christ's endless love to thee
Ne'er cease to make thy love aspire.
Kindness of heart by words express,
Let your obedience be sincere,
In prayer and praise your God address,
Nor cease, till he can cease to hear.'

"After professing truly that I had a great esteem and veneration for the pious author, permit me a little to play the commentator and critic on these lines. The meaning of *three stories higher*, seems somewhat obscure. You are to understand then that *faith*, *hope*, and *charity* have been called the three steps of Jacob's ladder, reaching from earth to heaven; our author calls them *stories*, likening religion to a building, and these are the three stories of the christian edifice. Thus improvement in religion is called *building up* and *edification*. *Faith* is then the ground floor, *hope* is up one pair of stairs. My dear beloved Jenny, don't delight so much to dwell in those lower rooms, but get as fast as you can into the garret, for in truth the best room in the house is *charity*. For my part, I wish the house was turned upside down; 'tis so difficult (when one is fat) to go up stairs; and not only so, but I imagine *hope* and *faith* may be more firmly built upon *charity*, than *charity* upon *faith* and *hope*. However that may be, I think it the better reading to say—

Raise faith and hope one story higher.

Correct it boldly, and I'll support the alteration; for when you are up two stories already, if you raise your building three stories higher you will make five in all, which is two more than there should be, you expose your upper rooms more to the winds and storms; and, besides, I am afraid the foundation will hardly bear them, unless indeed you build with such light stuff as straw and stubble, and that you know won't stand fire.

"Again, where the author says, "Kindness of heart by words express." Strike out *words* and put in *deeds*. The world is too full of compliments already. They are the rank growth of every soil, and choak the good plants of benevolence, and beneficence; nor do I pretend to be the first in this comparison of words and actions to plants; you may remember an ancient poet, whose works we have all studied and copied at school long ago.

A man of words and not of deeds
Is like a garden full of weeds.

"'Tis pity that good works, among some sorts of people, are so little valued, and good words admired in their stead: I mean seemingly pious discourses, instead of humane benevolent actions. Those they almost put out of countenance, by calling morality *rotten morality*—righteousness *ragged righteousness*, and even filthy rags—and when you mention virtue, pucker up their noses as if they smelt a stink; at the same time that they eagerly snuff up an empty canting harangue, as if it was a poesy of the choicest flowers: so they have inverted the good old verse, and say now

A man of deeds and not of words
Is like a garden full of

I have forgot the rhyme, but remember 'tis something the very reverse of perfume. So much by way of commentary. My wife will let you see my letter, containing an account of our travels, which I would have you to read to sister Douse, and give my love to her. I have no thoughts of returning till next year, and then may possibly have the pleasure of seeing you and yours—take Boston in my way home.

"My love to brother and all your children, concludes at this time from,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Lord Kames.*[*]

"London, January 3, 1760.

"My Dear Lord,—You have been pleased kindly to desire to have all my publications. I had daily expectations of procuring some of them from a friend to whom I formerly sent them, when I was in America, and postponed writing to you, till I should obtain them; but at length he tells me he cannot find them: very mortifying this to an author, that his works should so soon be lost! So I can only send you my *Observations on the Peopling of Countries*, which happens to have been reprinted here; *The Description of the Pennsylvania Fire-place*, a machine of my contriving; and some little sketches that have been printed in the *Grand Magazine*, which I should hardly own, did I not know that your friendly partiality would make them seem at least tolerable.

"How unfortunate I was, that I did not press you and lady Kames more strongly to favour us with your company farther. How much more agreeable would our journey have been, if we could have enjoyed you as far as York—we could have beguiled the way, by discoursing on a thousand things, that now we may never have an opportunity of considering together; for conversation warms the mind, enlivens the imagination, and is continually starting fresh game, that is immediately pursued and taken, and which would never have occurred in the duller intercourse of epistolary correspondence. So that whenever I reflect on the great pleasure and advantage I received from the free communication of sentiment, in the conversation we had at Kames, and in the agreeable little rides to the Tweed side, I shall for ever regret our premature parting.

"No one can more sincerely rejoice than I do, on the reduction of Canada; and this is not merely as I am a colonist, but as I am a Briton I have long been of opinion, that the *foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British empire lie in America;* and though like other foundations, they are low and little now, they are, nevertheless, broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure human wisdom ever yet erected. I am therefore by no means for restoring Canada. If we keep it, all the country from Saint Lawrence to Mississippi, will in another century be filled with British people; Britain itself, will become vastly more populous, by the immense increase of its commerce; the Atlantic sea will be covered with your trading ships; and your naval power, thence continually increasing, will extend your influence round the whole globe, and awe the world!—If the French remain in Canada, they will continually harass our colonies by the Indians, impede, if not prevent their growth; your progress to greatness will at best be slow, and give room for many accidents that may for ever prevent it. But I refrain, for I see you begin to think my notions extravagant, and look upon them as the ravings of a mad prophet. Your lordship's kind offer of Penn's picture is extremely obliging. But were it certainly his picture, it would be too valuable a curiosity for me to think of accepting it. I should only desire the favour of leave to take a copy of it. I could wish to know the history of the picture before it came into your hands, and the grounds for supposing it his. I have at present some doubts about it; first, because the primitive quakers declare against pictures as a vain expense; a man's suffering his portrait to be taken was conceived as pride; and I think to this day it is very little practised among them. Then, it is on a board; and I imagine the practice of painting portraits on boards did not come down so low as Penn's time; but of this I am not certain. My other reason is an anecdote I have heard, viz. That when old lord Hobhouse, was adorning his gardens at Stowe, with busts of famous men, he made inquiry of the family, for the picture of William Penn, in order to get a bust formed from it, but could find none: that Sylvanus Bevan, an old quaker apothecary, remarkable for the notice he takes of countenances, and a knack he has of cutting in ivory strong likenesses of persons he has once seen, hearing of lord Hobhouse's desire, set himself to recollect Penn's face, with which he had been well acquainted; and cut a little bust of him in ivory, which he sent to lord Cobham, without any letter or notice that it was Penn's. But my lord, who had personally known Penn, on seeing it, immediately cried out, "Whence comes this? It is William Penn himself!" and from this little bust, they say, the large one in the gardens was formed. I doubt, too, whether the whisker was not quite out of use at the time when Penn must have been of an age appearing in the face of that picture. And yet, notwithstanding these reasons, I am not without some hope that it may be his; because I know some eminent quakers have had their pictures privately drawn and deposited with trusty friends; and I know also that there is extant at Philadelphia, a very good picture of Mrs. Penn, his last wife. After all, I own I have a strong desire to be satisfied concerning this picture; and as Bevan is yet living here, and some other old quakers that remember William Penn, who died but in 1718, I would wish to have it sent to me carefully packed up in a box by the wagon, (for I would not trust it by sea,) that I may obtain their opinion. The charges I shall very cheerfully pay; and if it proves to be Penn's picture, I shall be greatly obliged to your lordship for leave to take a copy of it, and will carefully return the original.

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[*] Henry Home, better known by his title of lord Kames, which he assumed, according to the custom of Scotland, on being appointed in 1752 a judge of the court of Session. He was born in Berwick county in 1696, and was educated to the profession of the law, in which he became distinguished as an advocate and a judge. But his greatest eminence was derived from his literary productions, which were numerous, and some of them very celebrated, particularly his Elements of Criticism, published in 1762; his Sketches of the History of Man, in 1773; a small work published in 1761, entitled, An Introduction to the Art of Thinking, which was originally compiled for the use of his own children: it is in two parts, the first a series of moral maxims, the second illustrations by little apologues, invented for the purpose; and anecdotes of different kinds, many of them however are but little adapted to the end. Dr. Franklin, in a visit to Scotland in 1759, with his son William, passed some time with lord Kames, and a friendship grew out of their intimacy which lasted during their lives. Lord Kames died in 1782.

"My son joins with me in the most respectful compliments to you and lady Kames. Our conversation till we came to York, was chiefly a recollection of what we had seen and heard, the pleasure we had enjoyed, and the kindnesses we had received in Scotland, and how far that country had exceeded our expectations. On the whole, I must say, I think the time we spent there, was six weeks of the *densest* happiness I have met with in any part of my life: and the agreeable and instructive society we found there in such plenty, has left so pleasing an impression on my memory, that did not strong connexions draw me elsewhere, I believe Scotland would be the country I should choose to spend the remainder of my days in. B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"London, May 3, 1760.

"My Dear Lord,—I have endeavoured to comply with your request in writing something on the present situation of our affairs in America, in order to give more correct notions of the British interest with regard to the colonies, than those I found many sensible men possessed of. Inclosed you have the production, such as it is. I wish it may, in any degree, be of service to the public. I shall at least hope this from it, for my own part, that you will consider it as a letter from me to you, and take its length as some excuse for being so long a-coming.

"I am now reading with great pleasure and improvement your excellent work, *The Principles of Equity.* It will be of the greatest advantage to the judges in our colonies, not only in those which have courts of chancery, but also in those which, having no such courts, are obliged to mix equity with common law. It will be of more service to the colony judges, as few of them have been bred to the law. I have sent a book to a particular friend, one of the judges of the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania.

"I will shortly send you a copy of the chapter you are pleased to mention in so obliging a manner; and shall be extremely obliged in receiving a copy of the collection of *Maxims for the Conduct of Life,* which you are preparing for the use of your children. I purpose likewise a little work for the benefit of youth, to be called the *Art of Virtue.* From the title I think you will hardly conjecture what the nature of such a book may be. I must therefore explain it a little. Many people lead bad lives that would gladly lead good ones, but know not *how* to make the change. They have frequently *resolved* and *endeavoured* it; but in vain, because their endeavours have not been properly conducted. To expect people to be good, to be just, to be temperate, &c. without *showing* them *how* they should *become* so, seems like the ineffectual charity mentioned by the apostle, which consisted in saying to the hungry, the cold, and the naked, be ye fed, be ye warmed, be ye clothed, without showing them how they should get food, fire, or clothing. Most people have naturally *some* virtues, but none have naturally *all* the virtues. To *acquire* those that are wanting, and secure what we acquire, as well as those we have naturally, is the subject of *an art.* It is as properly an art as painting, navigation, or architecture.—If a man would become a painter, navigator, or architect, it is not enough that he is *advised* to be one, that he is *convinced* by the arguments of his adviser, that it would be for his advantage to be one, and that he resolves to be one, but he must also be taught the principles of the art, be shown all the methods of working, and how to acquire the habits of using properly all the instruments; and thus regularly and gradually he arrives by practice at some perfection in the art. If he does not proceed thus, he is apt to meet with difficulties that discourage him, and make him drop the pursuit. My *Art of Virtue* has also its instruments, and teaches the manner of using them. Christians are directed to have faith in Christ, as the effectual means of obtaining the change they desire. It may, when sufficiently strong, be effectual with many: for a full opinion, that a teacher is infinitely wise, good, and powerful, and that he will certainly reward and punish the obedient and disobedient, must give great weight to his precepts, and make them much more attended to by his disciples. But many have this faith in so weak a degree, that it does not produce the effect. Our *Art of Virtue* may, therefore, be of great service to those whose faith is unhappily not so strong, and may come in aid of its weakness. Such as are naturally well-disposed, and have been carefully educated, as that good habits have been early established, and bad ones prevented, have less need of this art; but all may be more or less benefited by it. It is, in short, to be adopted for universal use. I imagine what I have now been writing will seem to savour of great presumption: I must therefore speedily finish my little piece, and communicate the manuscript to you, that you may judge whether it is possible to make good such pretensions. I shall at the same time hope for the benefit of your corrections.

"B. FRANKLIN.

"*Miss Stevenson, Wanstead.*

"Craven Street, May 16, 1760.

"I send my good girl the books I mentioned to her last night. I beg her to accept of them as a small mark of my esteem and friendship. They are written in the familiar easy manner for which the French are so remarkable; and afford a good deal of philosophic and practical knowledge, unembarrassed with the dry mathematics used by more exact reasoners, but which is apt to discourage young beginners.

"I would advise you to read with a pen in your hand, and enter in a little book short hints of what you find that is curious, or that may be useful; for this will be the best method of imprinting such particulars in your memory, where they will be ready, either for practice on some future occasion, if they are matters of utility; or at least to adorn and improve your conversation, if they are rather points of curiosity. And as many of the terms of science are such as you cannot have met with in your common reading, and may therefore be unacquainted with, I think it would be well for you to have a good dictionary at hand, to consult immediately when you meet with a word you do not comprehend the precise meaning of. This may at first seem troublesome and interrupting; but it is a trouble that will daily diminish, as you will daily find less and less occasion for your dictionary, as you become more acquainted with the terms; and in the mean time you will read with more satisfaction, because with more understanding. When any point occurs, in which you would be glad to have farther information than your book affords you, I beg you would not in the least apprehend, that I should think it a trouble to receive and answer your questions. It will be a pleasure, and no trouble. For though I may not be able, out of my own little stock of knowledge, to afford you what you require, I can easily direct you to the books, where it may most readily be found. Adieu, and believe me ever, my dear friend,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*John Baskerville.**

"Craven Street, London, 1760.

"Dear Sir,—Let me give you a pleasant instance of the prejudice some have entertained against your work. Soon after I returned, discoursing with a gentleman concerning the artists of Birmingham, he said you would be a means of blinding all the readers in the nation; for the strokes of your letters being too thin and narrow, hurt the eye, and he could never read a line of them, without pain. I thought, said I, you were going to complain of the gloss of the paper, which some object to. "No, no," said he, "I have heard that mentioned, but it is not that; it is in the form and cut of the letters themselves: they have not that height and thickness of the stroke, which makes the common printing so much the more comfortable to the eye:" You see this gentleman was a *connoisseur*. In vain I endeavoured to support your character against the charge; he knew what he felt, and could see the reason of it, and several other gentlemen among his friends had made the same observation, &c. Yesterday he called to visit me, when, mischievously bent to try his judgment, I stepped into my closet, tore off the top of Mr. Caslon's specimen, and produced it to him as yours, brought with me from Birmingham; saying, I had been examining it, since he spoke to me, and could not for my life perceive the disproportion he mentioned, desiring him to point it out to me. He readily undertook it, and went over the several founts, showing me every where what he thought instances of that disproportion; and declared, that he could not then read the specimen, without feeling very strongly the pain he had mentioned to me. I spared him that time, the confusion of being told, that these were the types he had been reading all his life, with so much ease to his eyes; the types his adored Newton is printed with, on which he has pored not a little; nay, the very types his own book is printed with; (for he is himself an author) and yet never discovered this painful disproportion in them, till he thought they were yours.

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* John Baskerville, a celebrated type-founder and printer, was born in 1706, at Wolverley, in the county of Worcester. Having a small estate of about sixty pounds a-year, but not bred to any profession; in 1726 he became a schoolmaster at Birmingham, which he continued many years. Afterwards he entered upon the japanning business, which succeeded so well, as to enable him to purchase a country house and set up his carriage; each pannel of which was a distinct picture, and the whole might be considered as a pattern card of his trade. In 1750, he began business as a type-founder, on which he spent many hundreds before he could produce a letter to please himself. By perseverance he succeeded, and in 1756 published an edition of Virgil in quarto, which was followed by Paradise Lost, the Bible, Common Prayer, and several other works. In 1765, he applied to Dr. Franklin, then at Paris, to sound the literati there, respecting the purchase of his types. But the proposal was not accepted. They were many years after purchased by the celebrated M. de Beaumarchais, and employed in printing his edition of the works of Voltaire. Baskerville died at Birmingham, in 1775; and as he had an aversion to churchyards, he was by his own direction buried in a mausoleum erected on his own grounds.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Lord Kames.*

"PORTSMOUTH, August 17, 1761.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I am now waiting here only for a wind to waft me to America, but cannot leave this happy island and my friends in it, without extreme regret, though I am going to a country and a people that I love. I am going from the old world to the new; and I fancy I feel like those who are leaving this world for the next; grief at the parting; fear of the passage; hope of the future: these different passions all affect their minds at once; and these have *tendered* me down exceedingly. It is usual for the dying to beg forgiveness of their surviving friends, if they have ever offended them. Can you, my lord, forgive my long silence, and my not acknowledging till now the favour you did me in sending me your excellent book? Can you make some allowance for a fault in others which you have never experienced in yourself; for the bad habit of postponing from day to day, what one every day resolves to do tomorrow? A habit that grows upon us with years, and whose only excuse is we know not how to mend it. If you are disposed to favour me, you will also consider how much one's mind is taken up and distracted, by the many little affairs one has to settle, before the undertaking such a voyage, after so long a residence in a country; and how little, in such a situation, one's mind is fitted for serious and attentive reading, which with regard to the *elements of criticism*, I intended before I should write. I can now only confess and endeavour to amend. In packing up my books, I have reserved yours, to read on the passage. I hope I shall therefore be able to write to you upon it soon after my arrival. At present I can only return my thanks, and say that the parts I have read gave me both pleasure and instruction; that I am convinced of your position, new as it was to me, that a good taste in the arts contributes to the improvement of morals; and that I have had the satisfaction of hearing the work universally commended by those who have read it.

"And now, my dear sir, accept my sincere thanks for the kindness you have shown me, and my best wishes of happiness to you and yours. Wherever I am, I shall esteem the friendship you honour me with as one of the felicities of my life; I shall endeavour to cultivate it by a more punctual correspondence; and I hope frequently to hear of your welfare and prosperity. B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"CRAVEN STREET, London, June 2, 1765.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I received with great pleasure your friendly letter, by Mr. Alexander, which I should have answered sooner, by some other conveyance, if I had not understood that his stay here was like to be so long. I value myself extremely on the continuance of your regard, which I hope hereafter better to deserve, by more punctual returns in the correspondence you honour me with.

"You require my history from the time I set sail for America. I left England about the end of August, 1762, in company with ten sail of merchant ships, under a convoy of a man of war. We had a pleasant passage to Madeira, where we were kindly received and entertained; our nation being then in high honour with the Portuguese, on account of the protection we were then affording them against the united invasions of France and Spain. 'Tis a fertile island, and the different heights and situations among its mountains, afford such temperaments of air, that all the fruits of northern and southern countries are produced there: corn, grapes, apples, peaches, oranges, lemons, plantains, bananas, &c. Here we furnished ourselves with fresh provisions, and refreshments of all kinds; and after a few days proceeded on our voyage, running southward until we got into the trade winds, and then with them westward, till we drew near the coast of America. The weather was so favourable that there were few days in which we could not visit from ship to ship, dining with each other, and on board of the man of war; which made the time pass agreeably, much more so than when one goes in a single ship; for this was like travelling in a moving village, with all one's neighbours about one. On the first of November, I arrived safe and well at my own home, after an absence of near six years; found my wife and daughter well; the latter grown quite a woman, with many amiable accomplishments acquired in my absence, and my friends as hearty and affectionate as ever: with whom my house was filled for many days, to congratulate me on my return. I had been chose yearly during my absence to represent the city of Philadelphia in our provincial assembly; and on my appearance in the house, they voted me three thousand pounds sterling for my services in England, and their thanks delivered by the speaker. In February following my son arrived with my new daughter; for with my consent and approbation he married, soon after I left England, a very agreeable West India lady, with whom he is very happy. I accompanied him to his government, where he met with the kindest reception from the people of all ranks, and has lived with them ever since in the greatest harmony. A river only parts that province and ours, and his residence is within seventeen miles of me, so that we frequently see each other. In the spring of 1763, I set out on a tour through all the northern colonies to inspect and regulate the post offices in the several provinces. In this journey I spent the summer, travelled about 1600 miles, and did not get home till the beginning of November. The assembly sitting through the following winter, and warm disputes arising between them and the governor, I became wholly engaged in public affairs; for besides my duty as an assemblyman, I had another trust to execute, that of being one of the commissioners appointed by law to dispose of the public money appropriated to the raising and paying an army to act against the Indians, and defend the frontiers. And then in December, we had two insurrections of the back inhabitants of our province, by whom twenty poor Indians were murdered, that had, from the first settlement of this province, lived among us, under the protection of our government. This gave me a good deal of employment; for as the rioters threatened further mischief, and their actions seemed to be approved by an ever-acting party; I wrote a pamphlet entitled "*A Narrative*, &c." (which I think I sent you) to strengthen the hands of our weak government, by rendering the proceedings of the rioters unpopular and odious. This had a good effect: and afterwards, when a great body of them with arms marched towards the capital, in defiance of the government, with an avowed resolution to put to death one hundred and forty Indian converts then under its protection, I formed an association at the governor's request, for his and their defence, we having no militia. Near 1000 of the citizens accordingly took arms; governor Penn made my house for some time his head-quarters, and did every thing by my advice; so that for about forty-eight hours, I was a very great man; as I had been once some years before, in a time of public danger. But the fighting-face we put on, and the reasonings we used with the insurgents, (for I went at the request of the governor and council, with three others, to meet and discourse them) having turned them back and restored quiet to the city, I became a less man than ever: for I had by this transaction made myself many enemies among the populace; and the governor (with whose family our public disputes had long placed me in an unfriendly light, and the services I had lately rendered him not being of the kind that make a man acceptable) thinking it a favourable opportunity, joined the whole weight of the proprietary interest to get me out of the assembly; which was accordingly effected at the last election, by a majority of about twenty-five in 4000 voters. The house, however, when they met in October, approved of the resolutions taken, while I was speaker, of petitioning the crown for a change of government, and requested me to return to England, to prosecute that petition; which service I accordingly undertook, and embarked the beginning of November last, being accompanied to the ship, sixteen miles, by a cavalcade of three hundred of my friends, who filled our sails with their good wishes, and I arrived in thirty days at London. Here I have been ever since, engaged in that and other public affairs relating to America, which are like to continue some time longer upon my hands; but I promise you that when I am quit of these, I will engage in no other; and that as soon as I have recovered the ease and leisure I hope for, the task you require of me, of finishing my *Art of Virtue*, shall be performed. In the mean time, I must request you would excuse me on this consideration, that the powers of the mind are possessed by different men in different degrees, and that every one cannot, like lord Kames, intermix literary pursuits and important business without prejudice to either.

"I send you herewith two or three other pamphlets of my writing on our political affairs, during my short residence in America; but I do not insist on your reading them; for I know you employ all your time to some useful purpose.

"In my passage to America, I read your excellent work *The Elements of Criticism*, in which I found great entertainment: much to admire and nothing to reprove. I only wished you had examined more fully the subject of music, and demonstrated that the pleasure which artists feel, in hearing much of that compiled in the modern taste, is not the natural pleasure arising from melody or harmony of sounds, but of the same kind with the pleasure we feel on seeing the surprising feats of tumblers and rope dancers who execute difficult things. For my part, I take this to be really the case, and suppose it the reason why those, who being unpractised in music, and therefore unacquainted with those difficulties, have little or no pleasure in hearing this music. Many pieces of it are mere compositions of tricks. I have sometimes at a concert, attended by a common audience, placed myself so as to see all their faces, and observed no signs of pleasure during the performance of much that was admired by the performers themselves; while a plain old *Scottish tune*, which they disdained, and could scarcely be prevailed upon to play, gave manifest and general delight. Give me leave on this occasion to extend a little the sense of your position, that "Melody and harmony are separately agreeable, and in union delightful," and to give it as my opinion that the reason why the Scottish tunes have lived so long and will probably live for ever (if they escape being stifled in modern affected ornament,) is merely this, that they are really compositions of melody and harmony united, or rather that their melody is harmony, I mean the simple tunes, sung by a single voice. As this will appear paradoxical, I must explain my meaning. In common acceptation indeed, only an agreeable *succession* of sounds is called melody; and only the *co-existence* of agreeable sounds, *harmony*. But since the memory is capable of retaining for some moments a perfect idea of the pitch of a past sound, so as to compare with it the pitch of a preceding sound, and judge truly of their agreement or disagreement, there may and does from thence arise a sense of harmony between present and past sounds, equally pleasing with that between two present sounds. Now the construction of the old Scotch tunes is this, that almost every preceding *emphatical* note, is a third, a fifth, an octave, or in short some note that is in concord with the preceding note. Thirds are chiefly used, which are very pleasing concords. I use the word *emphatical*, to distinguish those notes, which have a stress laid on them in singing the tune, from the lighter connecting notes, that serve merely like grammar articles to tack the others together. That we have a most perfect idea of sounds just past, I might appeal to all unacquainted with music, who know how easy it is to repeat a sound in the same pitch with one just heard. In tuning an instrument, a good ear can as easily determine that two strings are in unison, by sounding them separately, as by sounding them together; their disagreement is also as easily perceived. I believe I may say, more easily and better distinguished when sounded separately: for when sounded together, though you know by the beating, that one is higher than the other, you cannot tell which it is. Farther, when we consider by whom these ancient tunes were composed, and how they were first performed, we shall see that such harmonical succession of sounds was natural and even necessary in their construction. They were composed by the minstrels of those days, to be played on the harp accompanied by the voice. The harp was strung with wire, and had no contrivance, like that in the modern harpsichord, by which the sound of a preceding note could be stopt the moment a succeeding note began; to avoid *actual* discord, it was therefore necessary, that the preceding emphatic note should be a chord with the preceding, as those sounds must exist at the same time. Hence arose that beauty in those tunes that has so long pleased, and will please for ever, though men scarce know why. That they were originally composed for the harp, and of the most simple kind,—I mean a harp without any half notes, but those in the natural scale, and with no more than two octaves of strings from C to C, I conjecture, from another circumstance, which is, that not one of those tunes really ancient has a single artificial half note in it; and that in tunes, where it was most convenient for the voice to use the middle note of the harp, and place the key in F, there the B, which if used should be a B flat, is always omitted by passing over it with a third. The connoisseurs in modern music, will say,—I have no taste; but I cannot help adding, that I believe our ancestors in hearing a good song distinctly articulated, sung to one of those tunes, and accompanied by the harp, felt more real pleasure than is communicated by the generality of modern operas, exclusive of that arising from the scenery and dancing. Most tunes of late composition, not having the natural harmony united with their melody, have recourse to the artificial harmony of a bass, and other accompanying parts. This support, in my opinion, the old tunes do not need, and are rather confused than aided by it. Whoever has heard *James Oswald* play them on his violincello, will be less inclined to dispute this with me. I have more than once seen tears of pleasure in the eyes of his auditors; and yet I think, even his playing those tunes would please more, if he gave them less modern ornament.

"My son, when we parted, desired me to present his affectionate respects to you, lady Kames, and your amiable children; be so good, with those, to accept mine, and believe me with the sincerest esteem, my dear lord, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

"P. S. I promise myself the pleasure of seeing you and my other friends in Scotland before I return to America."

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*To the same.**

"LONDON, April 11, 1767.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I received your obliging favour of January the 19th. You have kindly relieved me from the pain I had long been under. You are goodness itself. I ought to have answered yours of December 25, 1765. I never received a letter that contained sentiments more suitable to my own. It found me under much agitation of mind on the very important subject it treated. It fortified me greatly in the judgment I was inclined to form (though contrary to the general vogue) on the then delicate and critical situation of affairs between Great Britain and the colonies, and on that weighty point, their *union*. You guessed aright in supposing that I would not be a *mute in that play*. I was extremely busy, attending members of both houses, informing, explaining, consulting, disputing, in a continual hurry from morning to night, till the affair was happily ended. During the course of its being called before the house of commons, I spoke my mind pretty freely. Inclosed, I send you the imperfect account that was taken of that examination: you will there see how entirely we agree, except in a point of fact, of which you could not but be misinformed; the papers at that time being full of mistaken assertions, that the colonies had been the cause of the war, and had ungratefully refused to bear any part of the expense of it. I send it you now, because I apprehend some late accidents are likely to revive the contest between the two countries. I fear it will be a mischievous one. It becomes a matter of great importance, that clear ideas should be formed on solid principles, both in Britain and America, of the true political relation between them, and the mutual duties belonging to that relation. Till this is done, they will be often jarring. I know none whose knowledge, sagacity, and impartiality qualify him so thoroughly for such a service as yours do you. I wish therefore you would consider it. You may thereby be the happy instrument of great good to the nation, and of preventing much mischief and bloodshed. I am fully persuaded with you, that a *consolidating union*, by a fair and equal representation of all the parts of this empire in parliament, is the only firm basis on which its political grandeur and prosperity can be founded. Ireland once wished it, but now rejects it. The time has been, when the colonies might have been pleased with it: they are now *indifferent* about it; and if it is much longer delayed they too will *refuse* it. But the pride of this people cannot bear the thought of it, and therefore it will be delayed. Every man in England seems to consider himself as a piece of a sovereign over America; seems to jostle himself into the throne with the king, and talks of *our subjects in the colonies*. The parliament cannot well and wisely make laws suited to the colonies, without being properly and truly informed of their circumstances, abilities, temper, &c. This it cannot be without representatives from thence; and yet it is fond of this power, and averse to the only means of acquiring the necessary knowledge for exercising it; which is desiring to be *omnipotent* without being *omniscient*.

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* Lord Kames had written to Dr. Franklin as early as 1765, when the first advices reached England of the disorders occasioned by the attempts to carry the stamp act into execution; and he had written a second letter to him on the same subject in the beginning of 1767. This is a copy of Dr. Franklin's answer to these letters.

"I have mentioned that the contest is likely to be revived. It is on this occasion: in the same session with the stamp act, an act was passed to regulate the quartering of soldiers in America: when the bill was first brought in, it contained a clause, empowering the officers to quarter their soldiers in private houses; this we warmly opposed, and got it omitted. The bill passed, however, with a clause, that empty houses, barns, &c. should be hired for them; and that the respective provinces, where they were, should pay the expense and furnish firing, bedding, drink, and some other articles to the soldiers, *gratis*. There is no way for any province to do this but by the assembly's making a law to raise the money. Pennsylvania assembly has made such a law; New York assembly has refused to do it: and now all the talk here is, of sending a force to compel them.

"The reasons given by the assembly to the governor for the refusal, are, that they understand the act to mean the furnishing such things to soldiers only while on their march through the country, and not to great bodies of soldiers, to be fixed, as at present, in the province; the burden in the latter case being greater than the inhabitants can bear: that it would put it in the power of the captain-general to oppress the province at pleasure, &c. But there is supposed to be another reason at bottom, which they intimate, though they do not plainly express it, to wit, that it is of the nature of an *internal tax* laid on them by parliament, which has no right so to do. Their refusal is here called *rebellion*, and punishment is thought of.

"Now waving that point of right, and supposing the legislatures in America subordinate to the legislature of Great Britain, one might conceive, I think, a power in the superior legislature to forbid the inferior legislatures making particular laws; but to enjoin it to make a particular law, contrary to its own judgment, seems improper; an assembly or parliament not being an *executive* officer of government, whose duty it is, in law making, to obey orders, but a *deliberative* body, who are to consider what comes before them, its propriety, practicability, or possibility, and to determine accordingly; the very nature of a parliament seems to be destroyed, by supposing it may be bound and compelled by a law of a superior parliament, to make a law contrary to its own judgment.

"Indeed the act of parliament in question has not, as in other acts, when a duty is enjoined, directed a penalty on neglect or refusal, and a mode of recovering that penalty. It seems, therefore, to the people in America as a mere requisition, which they are at liberty to comply with or not, as it may suit or not suit the different circumstances of the different provinces. Pennsylvania has therefore voluntarily complied. New York, as I said before, has refused. The ministry that made the act, and all their adherents, call for vengeance. The present ministry are perplexed, and the measures they will finally take on the occasion are yet unknown. But sure I am that if *force* is used, great mischief will ensue; the affections of the people of America to this country will be alienated: your commerce will be diminished; and a total separation of interests be the final consequence.

"It is a common, but mistaken notion here, that the colonies were planted at the expense of parliament, and that therefore the parliament has a right to tax them, &c. The truth is, they were planted at the expense of private adventurers, who went over there to settle, with leave of the king, given by charter. On receiving this leave, and those charters, the adventurers voluntarily engaged to remain the king's subjects, though in a foreign country; a country which had not been conquered by either king or parliament, but was possessed by a free people.

"When our planters arrived, they purchased the lands of the natives, without putting king or parliament to any expense. Parliament had no hand in their settlement, was never so much as consulted about their constitution, and took no kind of notice of them, till many years after they were established. I except only the two modern colonies, or rather attempts to make colonies, (for they succeed but poorly, and as yet hardly deserve the name of colonies,) I mean Georgia and Nova Scotia, which have hitherto been little better than parliamentary jobs. Thus all the colonies acknowledge the king as their sovereign; his governors there represent his person: laws are made by their assemblies or little parliaments, with the governor's assent, subject still to the king's pleasure to affirm or annul them. Suits arising in the colonies, and between colony and colony, are determined by the king in council. In this view they seem so many separate little states, subject to the same prince. The sovereignty of the king is therefore easily understood. But nothing is more common here than to talk of the *sovereignty* of PARLIAMENT, and the sovereignty of this nation over the colonies; a kind of sovereignty, the idea of which is not so clear, nor does it clearly appear on what foundation it is established. On the other hand it seems necessary for the common good of the empire, that a power be lodged somewhere, to regulate its general commerce; this can be placed no where so properly as in the parliament of Great Britain; and therefore, though that power has in some instances been executed with great partiality to Britain, and prejudice to the colonies, they have nevertheless always submitted to it. Custom houses are established in all of them, by virtue of laws made here, and the duties instantly paid, except by a few smugglers, such as are here and in all countries; but internal taxes laid on them by parliament, are still and ever will be objected to, for the reason that you will see in the mentioned examination.

"Upon the whole, I have lived so great a part of my life in Britain, and have formed so many friendships in it, that I love it, and sincerely wish it prosperity; and therefore wish to see that union, on which alone I think it can be secured and established. As to America, the advantages of such an union to her are not so apparent. She may suffer at present under the arbitrary power of this country; she may suffer for a while in a separation from it; but these are temporary evils which she will outgrow. Scotland and Ireland are differently circumstanced. Confined by the sea, they can scarcely increase in numbers, wealth and strength, so as to overbalance England. But America, an immense territory, favoured by nature, with all advantages of climate, soils, great navigable rivers, lakes, &c. must become a great country, populous and mighty; and will, in a less time than is generally conceived, be able to shake off any shackles that may be imposed upon her, and perhaps place them on the imposers. In the mean time every act of oppression will sour their tempers, lessen greatly if not annihilate the profits of your commerce with them, and hasten their final revolt; for the seeds of liberty are universally found there, and nothing can eradicate them. And yet there remains among that people, so much respect, veneration, and affection for Britain, that if cultivated prudently, with a kind usage and tenderness for their privileges, they might be easily governed still for ages, without force or any considerable expense. But I do not see here a sufficient quantity of the wisdom that is necessary to produce such a conduct, and I lament the want of it.

"I borrowed at Millar's the new edition of your *Principles of Equity*, and have read with great pleasure the preliminary discourse on the principles of morality. I have never before met with any thing so satisfactory on the subject. While reading it, I made a few remarks as I went along. They are not of much importance, but I send you the paper.

"I know the lady you mention (Mrs. Montague;) having, when in England before, met her once or twice at lord Bath's. I remember I then entertained the same opinion of her that you express. On the strength of your recommendation, I purpose soon to wait on her.

"This is unexpectedly grown a long letter. The visit to Scotland, and the *Art of Virtue* we will talk of hereafter. It is now time to say, that I am, with increasing esteem and affection, B. FRANKLIN."*

"*Lord Kames.*

"LONDON, February 21, 1769.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I received your excellent paper on the preferable use of oxen in agriculture, and have put it in the way of being communicated to the public here. I have observed in America, that the farmers are more thriving in those parts of the country where horned cattle are used, than in those where the labour is done by horses. The latter are said to require twice the quantity of land to maintain them; and after all are not good to eat—at least we don't think them so. Here is a waste of land that might afford subsistence for so many of the human species. Perhaps it was for this reason that the Hebrew lawgiver having promised that the children of Israel should be as numerous as the sands of the sea, not only took care to secure the health of individuals, by regulating their diet, that they might be fitter for producing children, but also forbid their using horses, as those animals would lessen the quantity of subsistence for men. Thus we find, when they took any horses from their enemies, they destroyed them; and in the commandments, where the labour of the ox and ass is mentioned, and forbidden on the sabbath, there is no mention of the horse, probably because they were to have none. And by the great armies suddenly raised in that small territory they inhabited, it appears to have been very full of people.*

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* This letter was intercepted by the British ministry; Dr. F. had preserved a copy of it, which was afterwards transmitted to lord Kames; but the wisdom that composed and conveyed it was thrown away upon the men at that time in power.

"Food is *always* necessary to *all*, and much the greatest part of the labour of mankind is employed in raising provisions for the mouth. Is not this kind of labour then, the fittest to be the standard by which to measure the values of all other labour, and consequently of all other things whose value depends on the labour of making or procuring them? may not even gold and silver be thus valued! if the labour of the farmer in producing a bushel of wheat, be equal to the labour of the miner in producing an ounce of silver, will not the bushel of wheat just measure the value of the ounce of silver. The miner must eat; the farmer indeed can live without the ounce of silver, and so perhaps will have some advantage in settling the price. But these discussions I leave to you, as being more able to manage them: only, I will send you a little scrap I wrote some time since on the laws prohibiting foreign commodities.

"I congratulate you on your election as president of your Edinburgh Society. I think I formerly took notice to you in conversation, that I thought there had been some similarity in our fortunes, and the circumstances of our lives. This is a fresh instance, for by letters just received, I find that I was about the same time chosen president of our American Philosophical Society, established at Philadelphia.*

"I have sent by sea, to the care of Mr. Alexander, a little box, containing a few copies of the late edition of my books, for my friends in Scotland. One is directed for you, and one for your society, which I beg that you and they would accept as a small mark of my respect. With the sincerest esteem and regard, B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. I am sorry my letter of 1767, concerning the American disputes miscarried. I now send you a copy of it from my book. The examination mentioned in it you have probably seen. Things daily wear a worse aspect, and tend more and more to a breach and final separation."

"*John Alleyne.*

"Craven Street, August 9, 1768.

"Dear Jack,—You desire, you say, my impartial thoughts on the subject of an early marriage, by way of answer to the numberless objections that have been made by numerous persons to your own. You may remember, when you consulted me on the occasion, that I thought youth on both sides to be no objection. Indeed, from the marriages that have fallen under my observation, I am rather inclined to think, that early ones stand the best chance of happiness. The temper and habits of the young are not yet become so stiff and uncomplying, as when more advanced in life; they form more easily to each other, and hence many occasions of disgust are removed. And if youth has less of that prudence which is necessary to manage a family, yet the parents and elder friends of young married persons are generally at hand to afford their advice, which amply supplies that defect; and by early marriage, youth is sooner formed to regular and useful life; and possibly some of those accidents or connexions, that might have injured the constitution, or reputation, or both, are thereby happily prevented. Particular circumstances of particular persons, may possibly sometimes make it prudent to delay entering into that state; but in general when nature has rendered our bodies fit for it, the presumption is in nature's favour, that she has not judged amiss in making us desire it. Late marriages are often attended, too, with this further inconvenience, that there is not the same chance that the parents shall live to see their offspring educated. "*Late children*," says the Spanish proverb, "*are early orphans.*" A melancholy reflection to those whose case it may be! With us in America, marriages are generally in the morning of life; our children are therefore educated and settled in the world by noon; and thus, our business being done, we have an afternoon and evening of cheerful leisure to ourselves; such as our friend at present enjoys. By these early marriages we are blessed with more children; and from the mode among us, founded by nature, of every mother suckling and nursing her own child, more of them are raised. Thence the swift progress of population among us, unparalleled in Europe. In fine, I am glad you are married, and congratulate you most cordially upon it. You are now in the way of becoming a useful citizen; and you have escaped the unnatural state of celibacy for life—the fate of many here, who never intended it, but who having too long postponed the change of their condition, find at length, that it is too late to think of it, and so live all their lives in a situation that greatly lessens a man's value. An odd volume of a set of books, bears not the value of its proportion to the set: what think you of the odd half of a pair of scissors? it can't well cut any thing; it may possibly serve to scrape a trencher.

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* There is not in the Jewish law any express prohibition against the use of horses: it is only enjoined, that the kings should not multiply the breed, or carry on trade with Egypt for the purchase of horses. Deut. xvii. 16. Solomon was the first of the kings of Judah who disregarded this ordinance. He had 40,000 stalls of horses, which he brought out of Egypt. 1 Kings iv. 26. and x. 28. From this time downwards, horses were in constant use in the Jewish armies. It is true that the country, from its rocky surface and unfertile soil, was extremely unfit for the maintenance of those animals —*Note by lord Kames.*

* The American Philosophical Society was instituted in 1769, and was formed by the union of two societies which had formerly subsisted at Philadelphia, whose views and objects were of a similar nature. Its members were classed in the following committees:

1. Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy.
2 Medicine and Anatomy.
3. Natural History and Chemistry.
4. Trade and Commerce.
5 Mechanics and Architecture.
6. Husbandry, and American Improvements.

Several volumes have been published of the transactions of this American Society, in which are many papers by Dr. Franklin.—*Note by lord Kames.*

"Pray make my compliments and best wishes acceptable to your bride. I am old and heavy, or I should ere this have presented them in person. I shall make but small use of the old man's privilege, that of giving advice to younger friends. Treat your wife always with respect; it will procure respect to you, not only from her, but from all that observe it. Never use a slighting expression to her, even in jest, for slights in jest, after frequent bandyings, are apt to end in angry earnest. Be studious in your profession, and you will be learned. Be industrious and frugal, and you will be rich. Be sober and temperate, and you will be healthy. Be in general virtuous, and you will be happy. At least, you will, by such conduct, stand the best chance for such consequences.

"I pray God to bless you both; being ever your affectionate friend,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Joseph Galloway, Speaker of the Assembly, Pennsylvania.*

"LONDON, June 13, 1767.

"DEAR SIR,—In my last of May 20th, I mentioned my hopes that we should at length get over all obstructions to the repeal of the act restraining the legal tender of paper money; but those hopes are now greatly lessened.

"The ministry had agreed to the repeal, and the notion that had possessed them, that they might make a revenue from paper money in appropriating the interest by parliament, was pretty well removed by my assuring them, that it was my opinion no colony would make money on those terms, and that the benefits arising to the commerce of this country in America from a plentiful currency, would therefore be lost, and the repeal answer no end, if the assemblies were not allowed to appropriate the interest themselves; that the crown might get a great share upon occasional requisitions, I made no doubt, by voluntary appropriations of the assemblies; but they would never establish such funds as to make themselves unnecessary to government, &c. Those and other reasons that were urged seemed to satisfy them, and we began to think all would go on smoothly, and the merchants prepared their petition, on which the repeal was to be founded. But in the house, when the chancellor of the Exchequer had gone through his proposed American revenue, viz. by duties on glass, china ware, paper, pasteboard, colours, tea, &c. Grenville stood up and undervalued them all as trifles; and, says he, 'I'll tell the honourable gentleman of a revenue, what will produce something valuable in America: make paper money for the colonies, issue it upon loan there, take the interest, and apply it as you think proper.' Mr. Townsend finding the house listened to this, and seemed to like it, stood up again, and said 'that was a proposition of his own which he had intended to make with the rest, but it had slipt his memory, and the gentleman, who must have heard of it, now unfairly would take advantage of that slip and make a merit to himself of a proposition that was another's, and as a proof of it, assured the house a bill was prepared for the purpose, and would be laid before them.' This startled all our friends; and the merchants concluded to keep back their petition for a while, till things appeared a little clearer, lest their friends in America should blame them, as having furnished foundation for an act that must have been disagreeable to the colonies. I found the rest of the ministry did not like this proceeding of the chancellor's, but there was no going on with our scheme against his declaration, and as he daily talked of resigning, there being no good agreement between him and the rest; and as we found the general prejudice against the colonies so strong in the house, that any thing in the shape of a favour to them all was like to meet with great opposition, whether he was out or in, I proposed to Mr. Jackson, the putting our colony foremost, as we stood in a pretty good light, and asking the favour for us alone. This he agreed might be proper, in case the chancellor should go out, and undertook to bring in a bill for that purpose, provided the Philadelphia merchants would petition for it, and he wished to have such petition ready to present, if an opening for it should offer. Accordingly I applied to them, and prepared a draft of a petition for them to sign, a copy of which I send you inclosed. They seemed generally for the measure; but apprehending the merchants of the other colonies, who had hitherto gone hand in hand with us in all American affairs, might take umbrage if we now separated from them, it was thought right to call a meeting of the whole to consult upon this proposal. At this meeting I represented to them, as the ground of this measure, that the colonies being generally out of favour at present, any hard clause relating to paper money in the repealing bill, will be more easily received in parliament, if the bill related to all the colonies: that Pennsylvania being in some degree of favour, might possibly alone obtain a better act than the whole could do, as it might by government be thought as good policy to show favour where there had been the reverse. That a good act obtained by Pennsylvania, might another year, when the resentment against the colonies should be abated, be made use of as a precedent, &c. &c. But after a good deal of debate, it was finally concluded not to precipitate matters, it being very dangerous by any kind of petition to furnish the chancellor with a horse on which he could put what saddle he thought fit: the other merchants seemed rather averse to the Pennsylvania merchants proceeding alone, but said they were certainly at liberty to do as they thought proper. The conclusion of the Pennsylvania merchants was to wait a while, holding the separate petition ready to sign, and present if a proper opening should appear this session, but otherwise to reserve it to the next, when the complexion of ministers and measures may probably be changed. And as this session now draws to a conclusion, I begin to think nothing will be farther done in it this year.

"Mentioning the merchants, puts me in mind of some discourse I heard among them, that was by no means agreeable. It was said that in the opposition they gave the stamp act, and their endeavours to obtain the repeal, they had spent at their meetings, and in expresses to all parts of this country, and for a vessel to carry the joyful news to North America, and in the entertainments given our friends of both houses, &c. near fifteen hundred pounds; that for all this, except from the little colony of Rhode Island, they had not received as much as a *thank ye*. That on the contrary the circular letters they had written with the best intentions to the merchants of the several colonies, containing their best and most friendly advice, were either answered with unkind reflections, or contemptuously left without answer. And that the captain of the vessel, they sent express with the news, having met with misfortunes, that obliged him to travel by land through all the colonies from New Hampshire to Pennsylvania, was every where treated with neglect and contempt, instead of civility and hospitality; and no where with more than at Philadelphia, where, though he delivered letters to the merchants, that must make him and his errand known to them, no one took the least notice of him. I own I was ashamed to hear all this, but hope there is some mistake in it. I should not have troubled you with this account, but that I think we stand in truth greatly obliged to the merchants, who are a very respectable body, and whose friendship is worth preserving, as it may greatly help us on future occasions; and therefore I wish some decent acknowledgments or thanks were sent from the assemblies of the colonies, since their correspondents have omitted it.

"I have said the less of late in my letters concerning the petitions, because I hoped this summer to have an opportunity of communicating every thing *viva voce*, and there are particulars that cannot safely be trusted to paper. Perhaps I may be more determined, as to returning or staying another winter, when I receive my next letters from you and my other friends in Philadelphia.

"We got the chancellor to drop his salt duty. And the merchants trading to Portugal and Spain, he says, have made such a clamour about the intention of suffering ships to go directly with wine, fruit, and oil, from those countries to America, that he has dropped that scheme, and we are, it seems, to labour a little longer under the inconveniences of the restraint.

"It is said the bill to suspend the legislatures of New York and Georgia, till they comply with the act of parliament for quartering soldiers, will pass this session. I fear that imprudences on both sides may, step by step, bring on the most mischievous consequences. It is imagined here, that this act will enforce immediate compliance; and if the people should be quiet, content themselves with the laws they have, and let the matter rest, till in some future war the king wanting aids from them, and finding himself restrained in his legislation by the act as much as the people, shall think fit by his ministers to propose the repeal, the parliament will be greatly disappointed; and perhaps it may take this turn. I wish nothing worse may happen.

"The present ministry will probably continue through this session. But their disagreement, with the total inability of lord Chatham, through sickness, to do any business, must bring on some change before next winter. I wish it may be for the better, but fear the contrary.

"Please to present my dutiful respects to the assembly, and believe me ever, dear sir, yours and the committee's most obedient and faithful humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Joseph Galloway.*

"LONDON, August 8, 1767.

"DEAR SIR,—I have before me your favours of April 23, May 21 and 26. The confusion among our great men still continues as much as ever, and a melancholy thing it is to consider, that instead of employing the present leisure of peace in such measures as might extend our commerce, pay off our debts, secure allies, and increase the strength and ability of the nation to support a future war, the whole seems to be wasted in party contentions, about places of power and profit, in court intrigues and cabals, and in abusing one another.

"There has lately been an attempt to make a kind of coalition of parties in a new ministry, but it fell through, and the present set is likely to continue for some time longer, which I am rather pleased with, as some of those who were proposed to be introduced are professed adversaries to America, which is now made one of the distinctions of party here; those who have in the two last sessions shown a disposition to favour us, being called by way of reproach, Americans; while the others, adherents to Grenville and Bedford, value themselves on being true to the interests of Britain, and zealous for maintaining its dignity and sovereignty over the colonies. This distinction will, it is apprehended, be carried much higher in the next session, for the political purpose of influencing the ensuing election. It is already given out that the compliance of New York, in providing for the quarters, without taking notice of its being done in obedience to the act of parliament, is evasive and unsatisfactory. That it is high time to put the right and power of this country to tax the colonies out of dispute, by an act of taxation, effectually carried into execution, and that all the colonies should be obliged explicitly to acknowledge that right. Every step is taking to render the taxing America a popular measure here, by continually insisting on the topics of our wealth and flourishing circumstances, while this country is loaded with debt, great part of it incurred on our account, the distress of the poor here by the multitude and weight of taxes, &c. &c. and though the traders and manufacturers may possibly be kept in our interest, the idea of an American tax is very pleasing to the landed men, who therefore readily receive and propagate these sentiments wherever they have influence.—If such a bill should be brought in, it is hard to say what would be the event of it, or what would be the effects. Those who oppose it, though they should be strong enough to throw it out, would be stigmatised as Americans, betrayers of Old England, &c. and perhaps our friends by this means being excluded, a majority of our adversaries may get in, and then the act infallibly passes the following session. To avoid the danger of such exclusion, perhaps little opposition will be given, and then it passes immediately. I know not what to advise on this occasion, but that we should all do our endeavours on both sides the water to lessen the present unpopularity of the American cause, conciliate the affections of people here towards us, increase by all possible means the number of our friends, and be careful not to weaken their hands and strengthen those of our enemies, by rash proceedings on our side, the mischiefs of which are inconceivable. Some of our friends have thought that a publication of my examination here, might answer some of the above purposes, by removing prejudices and refuting falsehoods, and demonstrating our merits with regard to this country. It is accordingly printed, and has a great run. I have another piece in hand, which I intend to put out about the time of the meeting of parliament, if those I consult with shall judge that it may be of service.

"The next session of parliament will probably be a short one, on account of the following election. And I am now advised by some of our great friends here to see that out, not returning to America till the spring. My presence indeed is necessary there to settle some private affairs. Unforeseen and unavoidable difficulties have hitherto obstructed our proceedings in the main intent of my coming over, and perhaps (though I think my being here has not been altogether unserviceable) our friends in the assembly may begin to be discouraged and tired of the expense. If that should be the case I would not have you propose to continue me as agent at the meeting of the new assembly: my endeavours to serve the province in what I may while I remain here, shall not be lessened by that omission.

"I am glad you have made a trial of paper money, *not a legal tender*. The quantity being small, may perhaps be kept in full credit notwithstanding; and if that can be avoided, I am not for applying here again very soon for a repeal of the restraining act. I am afraid an ill use will be made of it. The plan of our adversaries is to render assemblies in America useless; and to have a revenue independent of their grants, for all the purposes of their defence, and supporting governments among them.. It is our interest to prevent this. And that they may not lay hold of our necessities for paper money, to draw a revenue from that article, whenever they grant us the liberty we want, of making it a legal tender, I wish some other method may be fallen upon of supporting its credit. What think you of getting all the merchants, traders, and principal people of all sorts, to join in petitions to the assembly for a moderate emission, the petition being accompanied with a mutual engagement to take it in all dealings at the rates fixed by law? Such an engagement had a great effect in fixing the value and rates of our gold and silver. Or, perhaps, a bank might be established that would answer all purposes. Indeed I think with you, that those merchants here, who have made difficulties on the subject of the legal tender, have not understood their own interests. For there can be no doubt, that should a scarcity of money continue among us, we shall take off less of their merchandise, and attend more to manufacturing, and raising the necessaries and superfluities of life among ourselves, which we now receive from them. And perhaps this consequence would attend our making no paper money at all of any sort, that being thus by a want of cash driven to industry and frugality, we should gradually become more rich without their trade, than we can possibly be with it, and by keeping in the country the real cash that comes into it, have in time a quantity sufficient for all our occasions. But I suppose our people will scarce have patience to wait for this.

"I have received the printed votes, but not the laws. I hear nothing yet of any objection made by the proprietaries to any of them at the board of trade.

"Please to present my duty to the assembly, with thanks for their care of me, and assure them of my most faithful services.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Governor Franklin.*

"London, August 28, 1767.

"Dear Son,—I have no letter of yours since my last, in which I answered all preceding ones.

"Last week I dined at lord Shelburne's, and had a long conversation with him and Mr. Conway (there being no other company,) on the subject of reducing American expense. They have it in contemplation to return the management of Indian affairs into the hands of the several provinces on which the nations border, that the colonies may bear the charge of treaties, &c. which they think will then be managed more frugally, the treasury being tired with the immense drafts of the superintendents, &c. I took the opportunity of urging it as one means of saving expense in supporting the outposts, that a settlement should be made in the Illinois country; expatiated on the various advantages, viz. furnishing provisions cheaper to the garrisons, securing the country, retaining the trade, raising a strength there which, on occasion of a future war, might easily be poured down the Mississippi upon the lower country, and into the bay of Mexico, to be used against Cuba or Mexico itself, &c. I mentioned your plan, its being approved by sir William Johnson, the readiness and ability of the gentlemen concerned to carry the settlement into execution, with very little expense to the crown, &c. The secretaries appeared finally to be fully convinced, and there remained no obstacle but the board of trade, which was to be brought over privately, before the matter should be referred to them officially. In case of laying aside the superintendents, a provision was thought of for sir William Johnson, &c. We had a good deal of farther discourse on American affairs, particularly on paper money: lord Shelburne declared himself fully convinced of the utility of taking off the restraint, by my answer to the report of the board of trade. General Conway had not seen it, and desired me to send it to him, which I did next morning. They gave me expectation of a repeal next session, lord Clare being come over: but they said there was some difficulty with others at the board, who had signed that report: for there was a good deal in what Soame Jenyns had laughingly said, when asked to concur in some measure, *I have no kind of objection to it, provided we have heretofore signed nothing to the contrary.* In this conversation I did not forget our main Pennsylvania business, and I think made some farther progress, though but little. The two secretaries seemed intent upon preparing business for next parliament, which makes me think, that the late projects of changes are now quite over, and that they expect to continue in place. But whether they will do much or little I cannot say.

"Du Guerchy the French ambassador is gone home, and Monsieur Durand is left minister plenipotentiary. He is extremely curious to inform himself in the affairs of America; pretends to have a great esteem for me, on account of the abilities shown in my examination; has desired to have all my political writings, invited me to dine with him, was very inquisitive, treated me with great civility, makes me visits, &c. I fancy that intriguing nation would like very well to meddle on occasion, and blow up the coals between Britain and her colonies; but I hope we shall give them no opportunity.

"I write this in a great hurry, being setting out in an hour on another journey with my steady good friend sir John Pringle. We propose to visit Paris. Durand has given me letters of recommendation to the Lord knows who. I am told I shall meet with great respect there; but winds change, and perhaps it will be full as well if I do not. We shall be gone six weeks. I have a little private commission to transact, of which more another time. Communicate nothing of this letter but privately to our friend Galloway. B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"London, Nov. 25, 1767.

"Dear Son,—I think the New Yorkers have been very discreet in forbearing to write and publish against the late act of parliament. I wish the Boston people had been as quiet, since governor Bernard has sent over all their violent papers to the ministry, and wrote them word that he daily expected a rebellion. He did indeed afterwards correct this extravagance, by writing again, that he now understood those papers were approved but by few, and disliked by all the sober sensible people of the province. A certain noble lord expressed himself to me with some disgust and contempt of Bernard, on this occasion, saying he ought to have known his people better, than to impute to the whole country sentiments, that perhaps are only scribbled by some madman in a garret; that he appeared to be too fond of contention, and mistook the matter greatly, in supposing such letters as he wrote were acceptable to the ministry. I have heard nothing of the appointment of general Clark to New York: but I know he is a friend of lord Shelburne's, and the same that recommended Mr. M'Lean to be his secretary. Perhaps it might be talked of in my absence.

"The commissioners for the American Board, went hence while I was in France; you know before this time who they are and how are they are received, which I want to hear. Mr. Williams, who is gone in some office with them, is brother to our cousin Williams of Boston; but I assure you I had not the least share in his appointment; having, as I told you before, carefully kept out of the way of that whole affair.

"As soon as I received Mr. Galloway's, Mr. T. Wharton's, and Mr. Croghan's letters on the subject of the boundary, I communicated them immediately to lord Shelburne. He invited me the next day to dine with him. Lord Clare was to have been there but did not come. There was nobody but Mr. M'Lean. My lord knew nothing of the boundary's having ever been agreed on by sir William, had sent the letters to the board of trade, desiring search to be made there for sir William's letters, and ordered Mr. M'Lean to search the secretary's office, who found nothing. We had much discourse about it, and I pressed the importance of despatching orders immediately to sir William to complete the affair. His lordship asked who was to make the purchase, i. e. be at the expense? I said that if the line included any lands within the grants of the charter colonies, they should pay the purchase money of such proportion. If any within the proprietary grants they should pay their proportion, but that what was within royal governments where the king granted the lands, the crown should pay for that proportion. His lordship was pleased to say he thought this reasonable. He finally desired me to go to lord Clare, as from him, and urge the business there, which I undertook to do. Among other things, at this conversation, we talked of the new settlement; his lordship told me he had himself drawn up a paper of reasons for those settlements, which he laid before the king in council, acquainting them that he did not offer them merely as his own sentiments, they were what he had collected from general Amherst, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Jackson, three gentlemen that were allowed to be the best authorities for any thing that related to America. I think he added that the council seemed to approve of the design: I know it was referred to the board of trade, who I believe have not yet reported on it, and I doubt will report against it. My lord told me one pleasant circumstance, viz., that he had shown his paper to the dean of Gloucester (Tucker,) to hear his opinion of the matter; who very sagaciously remarked that he was sure that paper was drawn up by Dr. Franklin, he saw him in every paragraph; adding, that Dr. Franklin wanted to remove the seat of government to America; that, says he, is his constant plan.

"I waited next morning upon lord Clare, and pressed the matter of the boundary closely upon him. He said they could not find they had ever received any letters from sir William concerning this boundary, but were searching farther: agreed to the necessity of settling it; but thought there would be some difficulty about who should pay the purchase money; for that this country was already so loaded it could bear no more. We then talked of the new colonies. I found he was inclined to think one near the mouth of the Ohio might be of use, in securing the country, but did not much approve that at Detroit. And as to the trade, he imagined it would be of little consequence if we had all the peltry to be purchased there, but supposed our traders would sell it chiefly to the French and Spaniards, at New Orleans, as he heard they had hitherto done.

"At the same time that we Americans wish not to be judged of, in the gross, by particular papers written by anonymous scribblers and published in the colonies, it would be well if we could avoid falling into the same mistake in America, in judging of ministers here by the libels printed against them. The inclosed is a very abusive one, in which if there is any foundation of truth, it can only be in the insinuation contained in the words, "*after eleven adjournments*," that they are too apt to postpone business: but if they have given any occasion for this reflection, there are reasons and circumstances that may be urged in their excuse.

"It gives me pleasure to hear that the people of the other colonies are not insensible of the zeal with which I occasionally espouse their respective interests, as well as the interests of the whole. I shall continue to do so as long as I reside here and am able.

"The present ministry seem now likely to continue through this session of parliament; and perhaps if the new parliament should not differ greatly in complexion from this, they may be fixed for a number of years, which I earnestly wish, as we have no chance for a better.

"*Joseph Galloway.*

"London, Dec. 1, 1767.

"Dear Sir,—I duly received your favours of August 22, September 20, and October 8, and within these few days one of February 14, recommending Mr. Morgan Edwards and his affair of the Rhode Island college, which I shall endeavour to promote, deeming the institution one of the most catholic and generous of the kind.

"I am inclined to think with you, that the small sum you have issued to discharge the public debts only will not be materially affected in its credit for want of the legal tender, considering especially the present extreme want of money in the province. You appear to me to point out the true cause of the general distress, viz. the late luxurious mode of living introduced by a too great plenty of cash. It is indeed amazing to consider, that we had a quantity sufficient before the war began, and that the war added immensely to that quantity, by the sums spent among us by the crown, and the paper struck and issued in the province; and now in so few years all the money spent by the crown is gone away, and has carried with it all the gold and silver we had before, leaving us bare and empty, and at the same time more in debt to England than ever we were! But I am inclined to think, that the mere making more money will not mend our circumstances, if we do not return to that industry and frugality which were the fundamental causes of our former prosperity. I shall nevertheless do my utmost this winter to obtain the repeal of the act restraining the legal tender, if our friends, the merchants, think it practicable, and will heartily espouse the cause; and in truth they have full as much interest in the event as we have.

"The present ministry, it is now thought, are likely to continue at least till a new parliament, so that our apprehensions of a change, and that Mr. Grenville would come in again, seem over for the present. He behaves as if a little out of his head on the article of America, which he brings into every debate without rhyme or reason, when the matter has not the least connexion with it; thus at the beginning of this session, on the debate upon the king's speech, he tired every body, even his friends, with a long harangue about and against America, of which there was not a word in the speech. Last Friday he produced in the house a late Boston Gazette, which, he said, denied the legislative authority of parliament, was treasonable, rebellious, &c. and moved it might be read, and that the house would take cognizance of it, but it being moved on the other hand that Mr. G.'s motion should be postponed to that day six months, it was carried without a division: and as it is known that this parliament will expire before that time, it was equivalent to a total rejection of the motion. The duke of Bedford too, it seems, moved in vain for a consideration of this paper in the house of lords. These are favourable symptoms of the present disposition of parliament towards America, which I hope no conduct of the Americans will give just cause of altering.

"Be so good as to present my best respects to the house, and believe me with sincere esteem and regard, dear sir, your affectionate friend and most obedient servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. Ross, Philadelphia.*

"London, Dec. 13, 1767.

"Dear Sir,—I received your kind letter of October 18. I had before seen with great pleasure your name in the papers as chosen for the city of Philadelphia.

"The instruction you mention, as proposed by a certain great man, was really a wild one. The reasons you made use of against it, were clear and strong, and could not but prevail. It will be time enough to show a dislike to the coalition when it is proposed to us. Meanwhile we have all the advantage in the agreement of taxation, which our not being represented will continue to give us. I think indeed that such an event is very remote. This nation is indeed too proud to propose admitting American representatives into their parliament; and America is not so humble or so fond of the honour as to petition for it. In matrimonial matches 'tis said, when one party is willing the match is half made, but where neither party is willing, there is no great danger of their coming together. And to be sure such an important business would never be treated of by agents unempowered and uninstructed; nor would government here act upon the private opinion of agents which might be disowned by their constituents.

"The present ministry seem now likely to continue through this session; and this, as a new election approaches, gives them the advantage of getting so many of their friends chosen as may give a stability to their administration. I heartily wish it, because they are all well disposed towards America.

"With sincere esteem, I am, dear sir, your affectionate friend and most obedient servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Governor Franklin.*

"LONDON, Dec. 19, 1767.

"DEAR SIR,—The resolutions of the Boston people concerning trade, make a great noise here. Parliament has not yet taken notice of them, but the newspapers are in full cry against America. Colonel Onslow told me at court last Sunday, that I could not conceive how much the friends of America were run upon and hurt by them, and how much the Grenvillians triumphed. I have just written a paper for next Tuesday's Chronicle, to extenuate matters a little.

"Mentioning colonel Onslow, reminds me of something that passed at the beginning of this session in the house between him and Mr. Grenville. The latter had been raving against America, as traitorous, rebellious, &c. when the former, who has always been its firm friend, stood up and gravely said, that in reading the Roman history he found it was a custom among that wise and magnanimous people, whenever the senate was informed of any discontent in the provinces, to send two or three of their body into the discontented provinces, to inquire into the grievances complained of, and report to the senate, that mild measures might be used to remedy what was amiss, before any severe steps were taken to enforce obedience. That this example he thought worthy our imitation in the present state of our colonies, for he did so far agree with the honourable gentleman that spoke just before him, as to allow there were great discontents among them. He should therefore beg leave to move, that two or three members of parliament be appointed to go over to New England on this service. And that it might not be supposed he was for imposing burdens on others that he would not be willing to bear himself, he did at the same time declare his own willingness, if the house should think fit to appoint them, to go over thither *with that honourable gentleman*. Upon this there was a great laugh which continued some time, and was rather increased by Mr. Grenville's asking, 'will the gentleman engage that I shall be safe there? Can I be assured that I shall be allowed to come back again to make the report?' As soon as the laugh was so far subsided as that Mr. Onslow could be heard again, he added, 'I cannot absolutely engage for the honourable gentleman's safe return, but if he goes thither upon this service, I am strongly of opinion the *event* will contribute greatly to the future quiet of both countries.' On which the laugh was renewed and redoubled.

"If our people should follow the Boston example in entering into resolutions of frugality and industry, full as necessary for us as for them, I hope they will, among other things, give this reason, that 'tis to enable them more speedily and effectually to discharge their debts to Great Britain; this will soften a little, and at the same time appear honourable, and like ourselves. Yours, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"LONDON, Jan. 9, 1768.

"DEAR SON,—We have had so many alarms of changes, which did not take place, that just when I wrote it was thought the ministry would stand their ground. However, immediately after the talk was renewed, and it soon appeared that the Sunday changes were actually settled, Mr. Conway resigns and lord Weymouth takes his place. Lord Gower is made president of the council in the room of lord Northington. Lord Shelburne is stript of the American business, which is given to lord Hillsborough, as secretary of state for America, a new distinct department. Lord Sandwich 'tis said comes into the post office in his place. Several of the Bedford party are now to come in. How these changes may affect us a little time will show. Little at present is thought of but elections, which gives me hopes that nothing will be done against America this session, though the Boston Gazette had occasioned some heats, and the Boston resolutions a prodigious clamour. I have endeavoured to palliate matters for them as well as I can: I send you my manuscript of one paper, though I think you take the Chronicle. The editor of that paper, one Jones, seems a Grenvillian, or is very cautious, as you will see by his corrections and omissions. He has drawn the teeth and pared the nails of my paper, so that it can neither scratch nor bite. It seems only to paw and mumble. I send you also two other late pieces of mine. There is another which I cannot find.

"I am told there has been a talk of getting me appointed under secretary to lord Hillsborough; but with little likelihood, as it is a settled point here that I am too much of an American.

"I am in very good health, thanks to God: your affectionate father,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Joseph Galloway.*

"London, Jan. 9, 1768.

"Dear Sir,—I wrote to you via Boston, and have little to add, except to acquaint you, that some changes have taken place since my last, which have not the most promising aspect for America, several of the Bedford party being come into employment again; a party that has distinguished itself by exclaiming against us on all late occasions. Mr. Conway, one of our friends, has resigned, and lord Weymouth takes his place. Lord Shelburne, another friend, is stripped of the American part of the business of his office, which now makes a distinct department, in which lord Hillsborough is placed. I do not think this nobleman in general an enemy to America; but in the affair of paper money he was last winter strongly against us. I did hope I had removed some of his prejudices on that head, but am not certain. We have however increased the cry for it here, and believe shall attempt to obtain the repeal of the act, though the Boston Gazette and their resolutions about manufactures have hurt us much, having occasioned an immense clamour here. I have endeavoured to palliate matters for them as well as I can, and hope with some success. For having, in a large company in which were some members of parliament, given satisfaction to all, by what I alleged in explanation of the conduct of the Americans, and to show that they were not quite so unreasonable as they appeared to be, I was advised by several present to make my sentiments public, not only for the sake of America, but as it would be some ease to our friends here, who are triumphed over a good deal by our adversaries on the occasion. I have accordingly done it in the inclosed paper.

"I shall write you fully on other subjects very soon; at present can only add my respects to the committee, and that I am, dear sir, your faithful humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"London, Feb. 17, 1768.

"Dear Sir,—In mine of January 9th, I wrote to you that I believed, notwithstanding the clamour against America had been greatly increased by the Boston proceedings, we should attempt this session to obtain the repeal of the restraining act relating to paper money. The change of the administration with regard to American affairs, which was agreed on some time before the new secretary kissed hands and entered upon business, made it impossible to go forward with that affair, as the minister quitting that department would not, and his successor could not engage in it; but now our friends the merchants have been moving in it, and some of them have conceived hopes, from the manner in which lord Hillsborough attended to their representations. It had been previously concluded among us, that if the repeal was to be obtained at all, it must be proposed in the light of a favour to the merchants of this country, and asked for by them, not by the agents as a favour to America. But as my lord had, at sundry times before he came into his present station, discoursed with me on the subject, and got from me a copy of my answer to his report, when at the head of the board of trade, which some time since he thanked me for, and said he would read again and consider carefully, I waited upon him this morning, partly with intent to learn if he had changed his sentiments. We entered into the subject and had a long conversation upon it, in which all the arguments he used, against the legal tender of paper money, were intended to demonstrate that it was for the benefit of the people themselves to have no such money current among them; and it was strongly his opinion, that after the experience of being without it a few years we should all be convinced of this truth, as he said, the New England colonies now were; they having lately, on the rumour of an intended application for taking off the restraint, petitioned here that it might be continued as to them. However, his lordship was pleased to say, that if such application was made for the three colonies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, as I proposed, it should have fair play; he would himself give it no sort of opposition, but he was sure it would meet with a great deal, and he thought it could not succeed. He was pleased to make me compliments upon my paper, assuring me he had read it with a great deal of attention, that I had said much more in favour of such a currency than he thought could be said, and all he believed that the subject would admit of; but that it had not on the whole changed his opinion, any further than to induce him to leave the matter now to the judgment of others, and let it take its course, without opposing it as last year he had determined to have done. I go into the city to-morrow, to confer with the merchants again upon it; that if they see any hopes, we may at least try the event: but I own my expectations are now very slender, knowing as I do, that nothing is to be done in parliament that is not a measure adopted by ministry and supported by their strength, much less any thing they are averse to *or indifferent about.*

"I took the opportunity of discoursing with his lordship concerning our particular affair of the change of government, gave him a detail of all proceedings hitherto, the delays it had met with, and its present situation. He was pleased to say he would inquire into the matter, and would talk with me farther upon it. He expressed great satisfaction in the good disposition that he said appeared now to be general in America, with regard to government here, according to the latest advices: and informed me that he had by his majesty's order wrote the most healing letters to the several governors, which if shown to the assemblies, as he supposed they would be, could not but confirm that good disposition. As to the permission we want to bring wine, fruit, and oil directly from Spain and Portugal, and to carry iron direct to foreign markets, 'tis agreed on all hands, that this is an unfavourable time to move in those matters; G. Grenville and those in the opposition, on every hint of the kind, making a great noise about the Act of Navigation, that palladium of England as they call it, to be given up to rebellious America, &c. &c., so that the ministry would not venture to propose it if *they* approved. I am to wait on the secretary again next Wednesday, and shall write you farther what passes, that is material.

"The parliament have of late been acting an egregious farce, calling before them the mayor and aldermen of Oxford, for proposing a sum to be paid by their old members on being rechosen at the next election; and sundry printers and brokers, for advertising and dealing in boroughs, &c. The Oxford people were sent to Newgate, and discharged after some days on humble petition, and receiving the speaker's reprimand upon their knees. The house could scarcely keep countenances, knowing as they all do, that the practice is general. People say, they mean nothing more than to *beat down the price* by a little discouragement of borough jobbing, now that their own elections are all coming on. The price indeed is grown exorbitant, no less than *four thousand pounds* for a member. Mr. Beckford has brought in a bill for preventing bribery and corruption in elections, wherein was a clause to oblige every member to swear, on their admission into the house, that he had not directly or indirectly given any bribe to any elector, &c.; but this was so universally exclaimed against, as answering no end but perjuring the members, that he has been obliged to withdraw that clause. It was indeed a cruel contrivance of his, worse than the gunpowder plot; for that was only to blow the parliament up to heaven, this to sink them all down to ——. Mr. Thurlow opposed his bill by a long speech. Beckford, in reply, gave a dry hit to the house, that is repeated every where, 'the honourable gentleman says he, in his learned discourse, gave us first one definition of corruption, then he gave us another definition of corruption, and I think he was about to give us a third. Pray does that gentleman imagine *there is any member of this house that does not* KNOW what corruption is?' which occasioned only a roar of laughter, for they are so hardened in the practice, that they are very little ashamed of it. This between ourselves.

"I am with sincerest esteem, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*T. Wharton, Philadelphia.*

"LONDON, Feb. 20, 1768.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I received your favours of November 17th and 18th, with another dozen of excellent wine, the manufacture of our friend Lievezy. I thank you for the care you have taken in forwarding them, and for your kind good wishes that accompany them.

"The story you mention of secretary Conway's wondering what I could be doing in England, and that he had not seen me for a considerable time, savours strongly of the channel through which it came, and deserves no notice. But since his name is mentioned, it gives me occasion to relate what passed between us the last time I had the honour of conversing with him. It was at court, when the late changes were first rumoured, and it was reported he was to resign the secretary's office. Talking of America, I said I was sorry to find that our friends were one after another quitting the administration, that I was apprehensive of the consequences, and hoped what I heard of his going out was not true. He said it was really true, the employment had not been of his choice, he had never any taste for it, but had submitted to engage in it for a time, at the instance of his friends, and he believed his removal could not be attended with any ill consequences to America: that he was a sincere well wisher to the prosperity of that country as well as this, and hoped the imprudencies of either side would never be carried to such a height as to create a breach of the union, so essentially necessary to the welfare of both: that as long as his majesty continued to honour him with a share in his councils, America should always find in him a friend, &c. This I write, as it was agreeable to me to hear, and I suppose will be so to you to read. For his character has more in it of the frank honesty of the soldier, than of the plausible insincerity of the courtier; and therefore, what he says is more to be depended on. The proprietor's dislike to my continuing in England, to be sure is very natural; as well as to the repeated choice of assembly men, not his friends; and probably he would, as they so little answer his purposes, wish to see elections as well as agencies abolished. They make him very unhappy, but it cannot be helped.

"The proceedings in Boston, as the news came just upon the meeting of parliament, and occasioned great clamour here, gave me much concern. And as every offensive thing done in America is charged upon all, and every province though unconcerned in it, suffers in its interests through the general disgust given, and the little distinction here made, it became necessary I thought to palliate the matter a little for our own sakes, and therefore I wrote the paper which probably you have seen printed in the Chronicle of January 7, and signed F+S. Yours affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Governor Franklin.*

"LONDON, March 13, 1768.

"DEAR SON,—I have received all together your letters of January 6, 21, and 22: it had been a great while that I had not heard from you.

"The purpose of settling the new colonies seem at present to be dropped, the change of American administration not appearing favourable to it. There seems rather to be an inclination to abandon the posts in the back country as more expensive than useful; but counsels are so continually fluctuating here that nothing can be depended on. The new secretary, my lord Hillsborough, is, I find, of opinion, that the troops should be placed, the chief part of them in Canada and Florida, only three battalions to be quartered in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; and that forts Pitt, Oswego, Niagara, &c. should be left to the colonies to garrison and keep up, if they think it necessary, for the protection of their trade, &c. Probably his opinion may be followed if the new changes do not produce other ideas. As to my own sentiments, I am weary of suggesting them to so many different inattentive heads, though I must continue to do it while I stay among them. The letters from sir William Johnson, relating to the boundary, were at last found, and orders were sent over about Christmas for completing the purchase and settlement of it. My lord H. has promised me to send duplicates by this packet, and urge the speedy execution, as we represented to him the danger that these dissatisfications of the Indians might produce a war. But I can tell you there are many here to whom the news of such a war would give pleasure; who speak of it as a thing to be wished; partly as a chastisement to the colonies, and partly to make them feel the want of protection from this country, and pray for it. For it is imagined that we could not possibly defend ourselves against the Indians without such assistance; so little is the state of America understood here.

"My lord H. mentioned the Farmer's letter's to me, said he had read them, that they were well written, and he believed he could guess who was the author, looking in my face at the same time, as if he thought it was me. He censured the doctrines as extremely wild, &c. I have read them as far as No. 8. I know not if any more have been published. I should have thought they had been written by Mr. Delancey, not having heard any mention of the others you point out as joint-authors. I am not yet master of the idea these and the New England writers have of the relation between Britain and her colonies. I know not what the Boston people mean by the 'subordination' they acknowledge in their assembly to parliament, while they deny its power to make laws for them, nor what bounds the Farmer sets to the power he acknowledges in parliament to 'regulate the trade of the colonies,' it being difficult to draw lines between duties for regulation and those for revenue; and if the parliament is to be the judge, it seems to me that establishing such principles of distinction will amount to little. The more I have thought and read on the subject, the more I find myself confirmed in opinion, that no middle doctrine can be well maintained, I mean not clearly with intelligible arguments. Something might be made of either of the extremes; that parliament has a power to make *all laws* for us, or that it has a power to make *no laws* for us; and I think the arguments for the latter more numerous and weighty than those for the former. Supposing that doctrine established, the colonies would then be so many separate states, only subject to the same king, as England and Scotland were before the union. And then the question would be, whether a union like that with Scotland would or would not be advantageous to *the whole.* I should have no doubt of the affirmative, being fully persuaded that it would be best for *the whole*, and that though particular parts might find particular disadvantages in it, they would find greater advantages in the security arising to every part from the increased strength of the whole. But such union is not likely to take place while the nature of our present relation is so little understood on both sides the water, and sentiments concerning it remain so widely different. As to the Farmers' combating, as you say they intend to do, my opinion, that the parliament might lay duties, though not impose internal taxes, I shall not give myself the trouble to defend it. Only to you, I may say, that not only the parliament of Britain, but every state in Europe claims and exercises a right of laying duties on the exportation of its own commodities to foreign countries. A duty is paid here on coals exported to Holland, and yet England has no right to lay an internal tax on Holland. All goods brought out of France to England, or any other country, are charged with a small duty in France, which the consumers pay, and yet France has no right to tax other countries. And in my opinion the grievance is not that

Britain puts duties upon her own manufactures exported to us, but that she forbids us to buy the like manufactures from any other country. This she does, however, in virtue of her allowed right to regulate the commerce of the whole empire, allowed I mean by the Farmer, though I think whoever would dispute that right, might stand upon firmer ground and make much more of the argument: but my reasons are too many and too long for a letter.

"Mr. Grenville complained in the house that the governors of New Jersey, New Hampshire, East and West Florida, had none of them obeyed the orders sent them, to give an account of the manufactures carried on in their respective provinces. Upon hearing this, I went after the house was up, and got a sight of the reports made by the other governors. They are all much in the same strain, that there are no manufactures of any consequence; in Massachusetts a little coarse woollen only, made in families for their own wear: glass and linen have been tried and failed. Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York much the same. Pennsylvania has tried a linen manufactory, but it is dropped, it being imported cheaper; there is a glass-house in Lancaster county, but it makes only a little coarse ware for the country neighbours. Maryland is clothed all with English manufactures. Virginia the same, except that in their families they spin a little cotton of their own growing. South Carolina and Georgia none. All speak of the dearness of labour that makes manufactures impracticable. Only the governor of North Carolina parades with a large manufacture in his country, that may be useful to Britain, of *pine boards;* they having fifty saw mills on one river. These accounts are very satisfactory here, and induce the parliament to despise and take no notice of the Boston resolutions. I wish you would send your account before the meeting of next parliament. You have only to report a glass-house for coarse window glass and bottles, and some domestic manufactures of linen and woollen for family use, that do not half clothe the inhabitants, all the finer goods coming from England and the like. I believe you will be puzzled to find any other, though I see great puffs in the papers.

"The parliament is up and the nation in a ferment with the new elections. Great complaints are made that the natural interests of country gentlemen in their neighbouring boroughs, is overborne by the monied interest of the new people who have got sudden fortunes in the Indies, or as contractors, &c. *four thousand pounds* is now the *market price* for a borough. In short this whole venal nation is now at market, will be sold for about two millions; and might be bought out of the hands of the present bidders (if he would offer half a million more) by the very devil himself.

"I shall wait on lord H. again next Wednesday, on behalf of the sufferers by Indian and French depredations, to have an allowance of lands out of any new grant made by the Indians, so long solicited (and perhaps still to be solicited) in vain.

"I am your affectionate father,
"B. FRANKLIN.

"I dined yesterday with general Monckton, major Gates, colonel Lee, and other officers who have served in and are friends of America. Monckton inquired kindly after your welfare."

"*To the Committee of Correspondence, Pennsylvania.*

"LONDON, March 13, 1768.

"GENTLEMEN,—On receipt of your letter of January 20, Mr. Jackson and myself waited on lord Hillsborough, the new secretary of state for American affairs, and communicated to him the contents, pressing the necessity of enforcing the orders already sent to sir William Johnson, for immediately settling the affairs of the boundary line with the Indians. His lordship was pleased to assure us, that he would cause duplicates of the orders to be forwarded by this packet, and urge the completion of them.

"We communicated also the copy of general Gage's letter, and the messages that had passed between the governor and the house thereupon. His lordship acquainted us that a letter from governor Penn had been shown him by the proprietor, importing that a horrid murder had lately been committed on the Indians, upon which the governor had issued a proclamation for apprehending the murderer; and that a bill was under his and the council's consideration to prevent future settlements on Indian lands. But his lordship remarked that these messages had not been communicated to him by the proprietor.

"Government here begins to grow tired of the enormous expense of Indian affairs, and of maintaining posts in the Indian country, and it is now talked of as a proper measure to abandon these posts, demolishing all but such as the colonies may think fit to keep up at their own expense; and also to return the management of their own Indian affairs into the hands of the respective provinces as formerly. What the result will be, is uncertain, counsels here being so continually fluctuating. But I have urged often, that after taking those affairs out of our hands, it seems highly incumbent on the ministry not to neglect them, but to see that they are well managed, and the Indians kept in peace. I think, however, that we should not too much depend on their doing this, but look to the matter a little ourselves, taking every opportunity of conciliating the affections of the Indians, by seeing that they always have justice done them, and sometimes kindness. For I can assure you that here are not wanting people, who though not now in the ministry, no one knows how soon they may be; and if they were ministers, would take no step to prevent an Indian war in the colonies; being of opinion, which they express openly, that it would be a very good thing, in the first place to chastise the colonists for their undutifulness, and then to make them sensible of the necessity of protection by the troops of this country.

"Mr. Jackson being now taken up with his election business, will hardly have time to write by this opportunity. But he joins with me in respects to you and the assembly, and assurances of our most faithful services.

"I am, gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Joseph Galloway.*

"London, March 13, 1768.

"I wrote to you very fully per Falconer, of February 17th, and have since received yours of January 21st, together with one from the committee, and the messages which, as you will see by my answer to the committee, I communicated to lord Hillsborough. His lordship read them deliberately, and took notice that the message of the assembly seemed to insinuate that the governor had been tardy in bringing the former murderers to justice, which gave me an opportunity of explaining that matter to him; whereby he might also understand why the proprietor had not shown him the messages when he communicated the governor's letter concerning the Indian uneasinesses, the law under his consideration for removing them, the late murder, and his proclamation. I shall wait on his lordship again next Wednesday, on our affairs, and show him moreover your letter with some other papers.

"The old parliament is gone, and its enemies now find themselves at liberty to abuse it. I inclose you a pamphlet, published the very hour of its prorogation. All the members are now in their counties and boroughs among their drunken electors; much confusion and disorder in many places, and such profusion of money as never was known before on any similar occasion. The first instance of bribery to be chosen a member, taken notice of on the Journals, is no longer ago than queen Elizabeth's time, when the being sent to parliament was looked upon as a troublesome service, and therefore not sought after, it is said that such a one, 'being a simple man, and conceiving it might be of some advantage to him, had given *four pounds* to the mayor and corporation that they might choose him to serve them in parliament.'

"The price is monstrously risen since that time, for it is now no less than *four thousand pounds!* It is thought that near two millions will be spent this election; but those who understand figures and act by computation, say the crown has *two millions a-year, in places and pensions to dispose of*, and it is well worth while to engage in such a seven years' lottery, though all that have tickets should not get prizes. I am, my dear friend, yours affectionately, B. FRANKLIN."

"*The Committee of Correspondence, Pennsylvania.*

"London, April 16, 1768.

"Gentlemen,—I have just received your favour of February 20th, directed to Mr. Jackson and myself, containing instructions for our conduct relating to the application for a repeal of the duty act, to the change of government, and to the legal tender of paper money; which instructions we shall observe to the best of our abilities. Mr. Jackson has read your letter, and is now reading the messages and other papers transmitted to us, which we shall lay before the secretaries of state on Monday, and thereupon press the necessity of a change in the administration of our province. The parliament will have a short session, it is said, in May, when if any application is made for the repeal of that act, by the agents of the other colonies, we shall join them heartily, and do what we can likewise in the affair of paper money. In the mean time should an Indian war make it necessary to emit paper money with a legal tender, it may be considered how far the fourth clause in the act of the 24 Geo. II. might give countenance to your providing in that way for the emergency; that act not being altered or repealed by any later, it seems as if the parliament thought that clause not improper, though they have not expressly made the same provision for the other colonies. The mail being to go this evening, I can only add, that I am with the utmost respect for you and the assembly, gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Governor Franklin.*

"London, April 16, 1768.

"Dear Son,—Since my last, a long one, of March 13th, nothing has been talked or thought of here but elections. There have been amazing contests all over the kingdom, *twenty* or *thirty thousand pounds* of a side spent in several places, and inconceivable mischief done by debauching the people and making them idle, besides the immediate actual mischief done by drunken mad mobs, to houses, windows, &c. The scenes have been horrible. London was illuminated two nights running at the command of the mob for the success of Wilkes, in the Middlesex election; the second night exceeded any thing of the kind ever seen here on the greatest occasions of rejoicing, as even the small cross streets, lanes, courts, and other out-of-the-way places were all in a blaze with lights, and the principal streets all night long, as the mobs went round again after two o'clock, and obliged people who had extinguished their candles to light them again. Those who refused had all their windows destroyed. The damage done and expense of candles has been computed at *fifty thousand pounds;* it must have been great, though probably not so much. The ferment is not yet over, for he has promised to surrender himself to the court next Wednesday, and another tumult is then expected; and what the upshot will be no one can yet foresee. 'Tis really an extraordinary event to see an outlaw and an exile, of bad personal character, not worth a farthing, come over from France, set himself up as candidate for the capital of the kingdom, miss his election only by being too late in his application, and immediately carrying it for the principal county. The mob, (spirited up by numbers of different ballads sung or roared in every street) requiring gentlemen and ladies of all ranks as they passed in their carriages to shout for Wilkes and liberty, marking the same words on all their coaches with chalk, and No. 45 on every door: which extends a vast way along the roads into the country. I went last week to Winchester, and observed that for fifteen miles out of town, there was scarce a door or window shutter next the road unmarked; and this continued here and there quite to Winchester, which is sixty-four miles. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. Ross, Philadelphia.*

"London, May 14, 1768.

"Dear Sir,—I received your favour of March 13th, and am extremely concerned at the disorders on our frontiers, and at the debility or wicked connivance of our government and magistrates, which must make property and even life more and more insecure among us, if some effectual remedy is not speedily applied. I have laid all the accounts before the ministry here. I wish I could procure more attention to them. I have urged over and over the necessity of the change we desire; but this country itself being at present in a situation very little better, weakens our argument that a royal government would be better managed and safer to live under than that of a proprietary. Even this capital, the residence of the king, is now a daily scene of lawless riot and confusion. Mobs patrolling the streets at noon-day, some knocking all down that will not roar for Wilkes and liberty; courts of justice afraid to give judgment against him; coal heavers and porters pulling down the houses of coal merchants, that refuse to give them more wages; sawyers destroying saw mills; sailors unrigging all the outward bound ships, and suffering none to sail till merchants agree to raise their pay; watermen destroying private boats and threatening bridges; soldiers firing among the mobs and killing men, women, and children, which seems only to have produced an universal sullenness, that looks like a great black cloud coming on, ready to burst in a general tempest. What the event will be God only knows. But some punishment seems preparing for a people who are ungratefully abusing the best constitution and the best king any nation was ever blessed with, intent on nothing but luxury, licentiousness, power, places, pensions, and plunder; while the ministry divided in their councils, with little regard for each other, worried by perpetual oppositions, in continual apprehension of changes, intent on securing popularity in case they should lose favour, have for some years past had little time or inclination to attend to our small affairs, whose remoteness makes them appear still smaller.

"The bishops here are very desirous of securing the Church of England in America, and promoting its interest and enlargement by sending one of their order thither: but though they have long solicited this point with government here, they have not as yet been able to obtain it. So apprehensive are ministers of engaging in any novel measure.

"I hope soon to have an opportunity of conferring with you, and therefore say no more at present on this subject.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Joseph Galloway.*

"London, May 14, 1768.

"Dear Sir,—I received your favour of March 31st. It is now with the messages, &c. in the hands of the minister, so that I cannot be more particular at present in answering it than to say, I should have a melancholy prospect in going home to such public confusion, if I did not leave greater confusion behind me. The newspapers, and my letter of this day to Mr. Ross, will inform you of the miserable situation this country is in. While I am writing, a great mob of coal porters fill the street, carrying a wretch of their business upon poles to be ducked, and otherwise punished at their pleasure for working at the old wages. All respect to law and government seems to be lost among the common people, who are moreover continually inflamed by seditious scribblers, to trample on authority and every thing that used to keep them in order.

"The parliament is now sitting, but will not continue long together, nor undertake any material business. The court of king's bench postponed giving sentence against Wilkes on his outlawry till the next term, intimidated as some say by his popularity, and willing to get rid of the affair for a time, till it should be seen what the parliament would conclude as to his membership. The commons, at least some of them, resent that conduct, which has thrown a burden on them it might have eased them of, by pillorying or punishing him in some infamous manner, that would have given better ground for expelling him the house. His friends complain of it as a delay of justice, say the court knew the outlawry to be defective, and that they must finally pronounce it void, but would punish him by long confinement. Great mobs of his adherents have assembled before the prison, the guards have fired on them: it is said five or six are killed, and sixteen or seventeen wounded, and some circumstances have attended this military execution, such as its being done by the Scotch regiment, the pursuing a lad, and killing him at his father's house, &c. &c. that exasperate people exceedingly, and more mischief seems brewing. Several of the soldiers are imprisoned. If they are not hanged, it is feared there will be more and greater mobs; and if they are, that no soldier will assist in suppressing any mob hereafter. The prospect either way is gloomy. It is said the English soldiers cannot be confided in to act against these mobs, being suspected as rather inclined to favour and join them.

"I am preparing for my return, and hope for the pleasure of finding you well, when I shall have an opportunity of communicating to you more particularly the state of things here relating to our American affairs, which I cannot so well do by letter. I inclose you a report of sir M. L. counsel to the board of trade, on one of your late acts. I suppose it has had its effect, so that the repeal will be of little consequence.

"In the mean time I am, with sincere esteem and affection, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Governor Franklin.*

"LONDON, July 2, 1768.

"DEAR SON,—Since my last I have received yours of May 10, dated at Amboy, which I shall answer particularly by next week's packet. I purpose now to take notice of that part wherein you say it was reported at Philadelphia I was to be appointed to a certain office here, which my friends all wished, but you did not believe it for the reason I had mentioned. Instead of my being appointed to a new office, there has been a motion made to deprive me of that I now hold, and I believe for the same reason, though that was not the reason given out, viz. my being too much of an American; but, as it came from lord Sandwich, our new post-master-general, who is of the Bedford party, and a friend of Mr. Grenville, I have no doubt that the reason he gave out, viz. my non-residence, was only the pretence, and that the other was the true reason; especially as it is the practice in many other instances to allow the non-residence of American officers who spend their salaries here, provided care is taken that the business be done by deputy or otherwise.

"The first notice I had of this was from my fast friend, Mr. Cooper, secretary of the treasury. He desired me by a little note, to call upon him there, which I did, when he told me that the duke of Grafton had mentioned to him some discourse of lord Sandwich's, as if the office suffered by my absence, and that it would be fit to appoint another, as I seemed constantly to reside in England: that Mr. Todd, secretary of the post office, had also been with the duke, talking to the same purpose, &c. That the duke had wished him, (Mr. Cooper) to mention this to me, and to say to me at the same time, that though my going to my post might remove the objection, yet if I chose rather to reside in England, my merit was such in his opinion, as to entitle me to something better here, and it should not be his fault if I was not well provided for. I told Mr. Cooper, that without having heard any exception had been taken to my residence here, I was really preparing to return home, and expected to be gone in a few weeks. That, however, I was extremely sensible of the duke's goodness, in giving me this intimation, and very thankful for his favourable disposition towards me; that having lived long in England, and contracted a friendship and affection for many persons here, it could not but be agreeable to me to remain among them some time longer, if not for the rest of my life; and that there was no nobleman to whom I could from sincere respect for his great abilities, and amiable qualities, so cordially attach myself, or to whom I should so willingly be obliged for the provision he mentioned, as to the duke of Grafton, if his grace should think I could, in any station where he might place me, be serviceable to him and to the public. Mr. Cooper said he was very glad to hear I was still willing to remain in England, as it agreed so perfectly with his inclinations to keep me here. Wished me to leave my name at the duke of Grafton's as soon as possible, and to be at the treasury again the next board day. I accordingly called at the duke's, and left my card; and when I went next to the treasury, his grace not being there, Mr. Cooper carried me to lord

North, chancellor of the exchequer, who said very obligingly, after talking of some American affairs, I am told by Mr. Cooper that you are not unwilling to stay with us, I hope we shall find some way of making it worth your while. I thanked his lordship, and said I should stay with pleasure if I could any ways be useful to government. He made me a compliment, and I took my leave, Mr. Cooper carrying me away with him to his country house at Richmond to dine and stay all night. He then told me that Mr. Todd had been again at the duke of Grafton's, and that upon his (Mr. Cooper's) speaking in my behalf, Mr. Todd had changed his style, and said I had to be sure a great deal of merit with the office, having by my good management regulated the posts in America, so as greatly to increase the revenue: that he had had great satisfaction in corresponding with me while I was there, and he believed they never had a better officer, &c. The Thursday following, being the birth-day, I met with Mr. Todd at court; he was very civil, took me with him in his coach to the king's arms in the city, where I had been invited to dine by Mr. Trevor, with the gentlemen of the post office; we had a good deal of chat after dinner between us two, in which he told me, lord Sandwich (who was very sharp) had taken notice of my stay in England, and said if *one* could do the business, why should there be *two*, &c. On my telling Mr. Todd that I was going home, (which I still say to every body, not knowing but that what is intimated above may fail of taking effect) he looked blank, and seemed disconcerted a little, which makes me think some friend of his was to have been vested with my place; but this is surmise only. We parted very good friends. That day I received another note from Mr. Cooper, directing me to be at the duke of Grafton's next morning, whose porter had orders to let me in. I went accordingly, and was immediately admitted. But his grace being then engaged in some unexpected business, with much condescension and politeness made that apology for his not discoursing with me then, but wished me to be at the treasury at twelve the next Tuesday. I went accordingly, when Mr. Cooper told me something had called the duke into the country, and the board was put off, which was not known till it was too late to send me word; but was glad I was come, as he might then fix another day for me to go again with him into the country; the day fixed was Thursday. I returned yesterday, should have stayed till Monday, but for writing by these vessels. He assures me the duke has it at heart to do something handsome for me. Sir John Pringle, who is anxious for my stay, says, Mr. Cooper is the honestest man of a courtier that he ever knew, and he is persuaded they are in earnest to keep me. The piece I wrote against smuggling, in the Chronicle of November last, and one in April, on the labouring poor (you will find in the Gentleman's Magazine for that month) have been lately shown by Mr. Cooper to the chancellor of the exchequer, and to the duke, who have expressed themselves much pleased with them. I am to be again at the treasury on Tuesday next, by appointment of Mr. Cooper. Thus particular I have been, that you may judge of this affair. For my own thoughts, I must tell you, that though I did not think fit to decline any favour so great a man expressed an inclination to do me, because at court if one shows an unwillingness to be obliged it is often construed as a mark of mental hostility, and one makes an enemy; yet so great is my inclination to be at home, and at rest, that I shall not be sorry if this business falls through, and I am suffered to retire with my old post; nor indeed very sorry if they take that from me too on account of my zeal for America, in which some of my friends have hinted to me that I have been too open. I shall soon be able, I hope, by the next packet, to give you farther light. In the mean time, as no one but sir J. knows of the treaty, I talk daily of going in the August packet at farthest. And when the late Georgia appointment of me to be their agent is mentioned as what may detain me, I say, I have yet received no letters from that assembly, acquainting me what their business may be; that I shall probably hear from them before that packet sails. That if it is extraordinary, and of such a nature as to make my stay another winter necessary, I may possibly stay, because there would not be time for them to choose another; but if it is common business, I shall leave it with Mr. Jackson, and proceed. I do not, by the way, know how that appointment came about, having no acquaintance that I can recollect in that country. It has been mentioned in the papers some time, but I have only just now received a letter from governor Wright, informing me that he had that day given his assent to it, and expressing his desire to correspond with me on all occasions, saying the committee, as soon as they could get their papers ready, would write to me and acquaint me with their business. We have lost lord Clare from the board of trade. He took me home from court, the Sunday before his removal, that I might dine with him, as he said, alone, and talk over American affairs. He seemed as attentive to them as if he was to continue ever so long. He gave me a great deal of flummery; saying, that though at my examination I answered some of his questions a little pertly, yet he liked me from that day, for the spirit I showed in defence of my country; and at parting, after we had drank a bottle and a half of claret each, he hugged and kissed me, protesting he never in his life met with a man he was so much in love with.

This I write for your amusement. You see by the nature of this whole letter that it is to yourself only. It may serve to prepare your mind for any event that shall happen. If Mr. Grenville comes into power again, in any department respecting America, I must refuse to accept of any thing that may seem to put me in his power, because I apprehend a breach between the two countries; and that refusal might give offence. So that you see a turn of a die may make a great difference in our affairs. We may be either promoted, or discarded; one or the other seems likely soon to be the case, but it is hard to divine which. I am myself grown so old as to feel much less than formerly the spur of ambition, and if it were not for the flattering expectation, that by being fixed here I might more effectually serve my country, I should certainly determine for retirement, without a moment's hesitation.

"I am, as ever, your affectionate father,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Joseph Galloway.*

"London, July 2, 1768.

"Dear Sir,—Since my last nothing material has occurred here, relating to American affairs, except the removal of lord Clare from the head of the board of trade to the treasury of Ireland, and the return of lord Hillsborough to the board of trade as first commissioner, retaining the title and powers of secretary of state for the colonies. This change was very sudden and unexpected. My lord Clare took me home from court to dine with him but two days before, saying he should be without other company, and wanted to talk with me on sundry American businesses. We had accordingly a good deal of conversation on our affairs, in which he seemed to interest himself with all the attention that could be supposed in a minister who expected to continue in the management of them. This was on Sunday, and on the Tuesday following he was removed. Whether my lord Hillsborough's administration will be more stable than others have been for a long time, is quite uncertain; but as his inclinations are rather favourable towards us (so far as he thinks consistent with what he supposes the unquestionable rights of Britain,) I cannot but wish it may continue, especially as these perpetual mutations prevent the progress of all business.

"But another change is now talked of that gives me great uneasiness. Several of the Bedford party being now got in, it has been for some time apprehended that they would sooner or later draw their friend Mr. Grenville in after them. It is now said, he is to be secretary of state, in the room of lord Shelburne. If this should take place, or if in any other shape he comes again into power, I fear his sentiments of the Americans, and theirs of him, will occasion such clashings as may be attended with fatal consequences. The last accounts from your part of the world, of the combinations relating to commerce with this country, and resolutions concerning the duties here laid upon it, occasion much serious reflection, and 'tis thought the points in dispute between the two countries will not fail to come under the consideration of parliament early in next session. Our friends wonder that I persist in my intention of returning this summer, alleging that I might be of much more service to my country here than I can be there, and wishing me by all means to stay the ensuing winter, as the presence of persons well acquainted with America, and of ability to represent these affairs in a proper light, will then be highly necessary. My private concerns, however, so much require my presence at home, that I have not yet suffered myself to be persuaded by their partial opinion of me.

"The tumults and disorders that prevailed here lately, have now pretty well subsided. Wilkes's outlawry is reversed, but he is sentenced to twenty-two months imprisonment, and *one thousand pounds* fine, which his friends, who feared he would be pilloried, seem rather satisfied with. The importation of corn, a pretty good hay harvest, now near over, and the prospect of plenty from a fine crop of wheat, makes the poor more patient, in hopes of an abatement in the price of provisions; so that unless want of employment, by the failure of American orders, should distress them, they are like to be tolerably quiet.

"I purpose writing to you again by the packet that goes next Saturday, and therefore now only add that I am, with sincere esteem, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*To* * * *.

"London, Nov. 28, 1768.

"Dear Sir,—I received your obliging favour of the 12th instant. Your sentiments of the importance of the present dispute between Great Britain and the colonies, appear to me extremely just. There is nothing I wish for more than to see it amicably and equitably settled.

"But Providence will bring about its own ends by its own means; and if it intends the downfall of a nation, that nation will be so blinded by its pride, and other passions, as not to see its danger, or how its fall may be prevented.

"Being born and bred in one of the countries, and having lived long and made many agreeable connexions of friendship in the other, I wish all prosperity to both; but I have talked, and written so much and so long on the subject, that my acquaintance are weary of hearing, and the public of reading any more of it, which begins to make me weary of talking and writing; especially as I do not find that I have gained any point, in either country, except that of rendering myself suspected, by my impartiality; in England, of being too much an American, and in America, of being too much an Englishman. Your opinion, however, weighs with me, and encourages me to try one effort more, in a full, though concise statement of facts, accompanied with arguments drawn from those facts; to be published about the meeting of parliament, after the holidays.

"If any good may be done I shall rejoice; but at present I almost despair.

"Have you ever seen the barometer so low as of late? The 22d instant it was at 28 deg. 41 min., and yet the weather fine and fair. B. FRANKLIN."

W. Strahan to Dr. Franklin.

"Nov. 21, 1769.

"Dear Sir,—In the many conversations we have had together about our present disputes with North America, we perfectly agreed in wishing they may be brought to a speedy and happy conclusion. How this is to be done, is not so easily ascertained.

"*Two objects*, I humbly apprehend, his majesty's servants have now in contemplation. 1st. To relieve the colonies from the taxes complained of, which they certainly had no hand in imposing. 2dly. To preserve the honour, the dignity, and the supremacy of the British legislature over all his majesty's dominions.

"As I know your singular knowledge of the subject in question, and am as fully convinced of your cordial attachment to his majesty, and your sincere desire to promote the happiness equally of all his subjects, I beg you would in your own clear, brief, and explicit manner, send me an answer to the following questions: I make this request now, because this matter is of the utmost importance, and must very quickly be agitated; and I do it with the more freedom, as you know me and my motives too well to entertain the most remote suspicion that I will make an improper use of any information you shall hereby convey to me.

"1st. Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of course no new imposition) fully satisfy the colonies?[*] If you answer in the negative,

"2d. Your reasons for that opinion?

"3d. Do you think the only effectual way of composing the present differences is to put the Americans precisely in the situation they were in before the passing of the late stamp act?—If that is your opinion,

"4th. Your reasons for that opinion?

"5th. If this last method is deemed by the legislature, and his majesty's ministers, to be repugnant to their duty, as guardians of the just rights of the crown and of their fellow subjects; can you suggest any other way of terminating these disputes, consistent with the ideas of justice and propriety conceived by the king's subjects on both sides of the Atlantic?

"6th. And if this method was actually followed, do you not think it would actually encourage the violent and factious part of the colonies to aim at still farther concessions from the mother country?

"7th. If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate man, and an equal friend to both sides, imagine will be the probable consequences?

"The answers to these questions, I humbly conceive, will include all the information I want; and I beg you will favour me with them as soon as may be. Every well wisher to the peace and prosperity of the British empire, and every friend to our truly happy constitution, must be desirous of seeing even the most trivial causes of dissention among our fellow subjects removed. Our domestic squabbles, in my mind, are nothing to what I am speaking of. This you know much better than I do, and therefore I need add nothing farther to recommend this subject to your serious consideration. W. STRAHAN."

Answer to the preceding Queries.

"Craven Street, Nov. 29, 1769.

"Dear Sir,—Being just returned to town from a little excursion, I find yours of the 21st, containing a number of queries, that would require a pamphlet to answer them fully. You, however, desire only brief answers, which I shall endeavour to give.

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[*] In the year 1767, for the express purpose of raising a revenue in America, glass, red lead, white lead, painters' colours, paper, and *tea* (which last article was subject to various *home* impositions) became charged by act of parliament, with new *permanent* duties payable in the American ports. Soon after, in the same sessions, (the English East India Company promising indemnification for the experiment) a *temporary* alteration was made with respect to the *home* customs, or excise upon certain teas, in the hope that a deduction in the nominal imposition, by producing a more extended consumption, would give an increased sum to the British exchequer. Mr. Strahan, comparing only the *amounts* of the imposed American duty, and the deducted home duty, determines that the Americans had suffered no new imposition. The people of America however thought otherwise. Had the British established this precedent for a revenue, they would, as they thought, have every thing to hope; yet they affected surprise, when the colonies avoided an acquiescence in measures, which by parity of reasoning gave *the Americans* every thing to fear.

"Previous to your queries, you tell me, that 'you apprehend his majesty's servants have now in contemplation, 1st, To relieve the colonists from the taxes complained of; 2d, To preserve the honour, the dignity, and the supremacy of the British legislature over all his majesty's dominions.' I hope your information is good; and that what you suppose to be in contemplation will be carried into execution, by repealing all the laws, that have been made for raising a revenue in America by authority of parliament without the consent of the people there. The honour and the dignity of the British legislature will not be hurt by such an act of justice and wisdom. The wisest councils are liable to be misled, especially in matters remote from their inspection. It is the persisting in an error, not the correcting it, that lessens the honour of any man or body of men. The supremacy of that legislature, I believe, will be best preserved by making a very sparing use of it; never but for the evident good of the colonies themselves, or of the whole British empire; never for the partial advantage of Britain to their prejudice. By such prudent conduct, I imagine, that supremacy may be gradually strengthened, and in time fully established; but otherwise, I apprehend it will be disputed, and lost in the dispute. At present the colonies consent and submit to it, for the regulations of general commerce; but a submission to acts of parliament was no part of their original constitution. Our former kings governed their colonies, as they had governed their dominions in France, without the participation of British parliaments. The parliament of England never presumed to interfere in that prerogative, till the time of the great rebellion, when they usurped the government of all the king's other dominions, Ireland, Scotland, &c. The colonies that held for the king, they conquered by force of arms, and governed afterwards as conquered countries: but New England, having not opposed the parliament, was considered and treated as a sister kingdom, in amity with England (as appears by the Journals, *March* 10, 1642.)

'1st. Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of course no new imposition) fully satisfy the colonists?'

"*Answer*, I think not.

'2d. Your reasons for that opinion?'

"*A.* Because it is not the sum paid in that duty on tea that is complained of as a burden, but the principle of the act, expressed in the preamble, viz. That those duties were laid for the better support of government, and the administration of justice in the colonies.* This the colonists think unnecessary, unjust, and dangerous to their most important rights. *Unnecessary*, because in all the colonies (two or three new ones excepted*) government and the administration of justice were, and always had been, well supported without any charge to Britain: *unjust*, as it has made such colonies liable to pay such charge for others, in which they had no concern or interest: *dangerous*, as such mode of raising money for those purposes tended to render their assemblies useless; for if a revenue could be raised in the colonies for all the purposes of government by act of parliament, without grants from the people there, governors, who do not generally love assemblies, would never call them; they would be laid aside; and when nothing should depend on the people's good will to government, their rights would be trampled on; they would be treated with contempt. Another reason, why I think they would not be satisfied with such a partial repeal, is that their agreements, not to import till the repeal takes place, include the whole; which shows, that they object to the whole; and those agreements will continue binding on them, if the whole is not repealed.

'3d. Do you think the only effectual way of composing the present differences is to put the Americans precisely in the situation they were in before the passing of the late stamp act?'

"*A.* I think so.

'4th. Your reasons for that opinion?'

"*A.* Other methods have been tried. They have been refused or rebuked in angry letters. Their petitions have been refused or rejected by parliament. They have been threatened with the punishments of treason by resolves of both houses. Their assemblies have been dissolved, and troops have been sent among them: but all these ways have only exasperated their minds and widened the breach. Their agreements to use no more British manufactures have been strengthened; and these measures, instead of composing differences, and promoting a good correspondence, have almost annihilated your commerce with those countries, and greatly endanger the national peace and general welfare.

'5th. If this last method is deemed by the legislature, and his majesty's ministers, to be repugnant to their duty as guardians of the just rights of the crown, and of their fellow-subjects; can you suggest any other way of terminating these disputes, consistent with the ideas of justice and propriety conceived by the king's subjects on *both* sides the Atlantic?'

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* "Men may lose little property by an act which takes away all their freedom. When a man is robbed of a trifle on the highway, it is not the two pence lost that makes the capital outrage." "Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave." See Mr Burke's speeches in 1774 and 1775.

* Nova Scotia, Canada, Georgia, and Florida.

"*A.* I do not see how that method can be deemed repugnant to the rights of the crown. If the Americans are put into their former situation, it must be by an act of parliament; in the passing of which by the king, the rights of the crown are exercised, not infringed. It is indifferent to the crown whether the aids received from America are granted by parliament here, or by the assemblies there, provided the *quantum* be the same; and it is my opinion, that more will be generally granted there voluntarily, than can ever be exacted or collected from thence by authority of parliament. As to the rights of fellow-subjects (I suppose you mean the people of Britain) I cannot conceive how those will be infringed by that method. They will still enjoy the right of granting their own money, and may still, if it pleases them, keep up their claim to the right of granting ours; a right they can never exercise properly, for want of a sufficient knowledge of us, our circumstances and abilities (to say nothing of the little likelihood there is that we should ever submit to it) therefore a right that can be of no good use to them; and we shall continue to enjoy in fact the right of granting our money, with the opinion, now universally prevailing among us, that we are free subjects of the king, and that fellow-subjects of one part of his dominions are not sovereigns over fellow-subjects in any other part. If the subjects on the different sides of the Atlantic have different and opposite ideas of "justice and propriety," no one "method" can possibly be consistent with both. The best will be, to let each enjoy their own opinions, without disturbing them, when they do not interfere with the common good.

'6th. And if this method were actually allowed, do you not think it would encourage the violent and factious part of the colonists, to aim at still farther concessions from the mother country?'

"A. I do not think it would. There may be a few among them that deserve the name of factious and violent, as there are in all countries; but these would have little influence, if the great majority of sober reasonable people were satisfied. If any colony should happen to think, that some of your regulations of trade are inconvenient to the general interests of the empire, or prejudicial to them without being beneficial to you, they will state these matters to parliament in petitions as heretofore; but will, I believe, take no violent steps to obtain what they may hope for in time from the wisdom of government here. I know of nothing else they can have in view: the notion that prevails here, of their being desirous to set up a kingdom or commonwealth of their own, is to my certain knowledge entirely groundless. I therefore think, that on a total repeal of all duties, laid expressly for the purpose of raising a revenue on the people of America without their consent, the present uneasiness would subside; the agreements not to import would be dissolved; and the commerce flourish as heretofore; and I am confirmed in this sentiment by all the letters I have received from America, and by the opinions of all the sensible people who have lately come from thence,—crown officers excepted. I know, indeed, that the people of Boston are grievously offended by the quartering of troops among them, as they think, contrary to law, and are very angry with the board of commissioners, who have calumniated them to government; but as I suppose the withdrawing of those troops may be a consequence of reconciliating measures taking place; and that the commission also will be either dissolved, if found useless, or filled with more temperate and prudent men, if still deemed useful and necessary; I do not imagine these particulars would prevent a return of the harmony so much to be wished."[*]

'7th. If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate man, and an equal friend to both sides, imagine will be the probable consequences?'

"*A.* I imagine, that repealing the offensive duties in part will answer no end to this country: the commerce will remain obstructed, and the Americans go on with their schemes of frugality, industry, and manufactures, to their own great advantage. How much they may tend to the prejudice of Britain, I cannot say; perhaps not so much as some apprehend, since she may in time find new markets. But I think, if the union of the two countries continues to subsist, it will not hurt the general interest; for whatever wealth Britain loses by the failing of its trade with the colonies, America will gain; and the crown will receive equal aids from its subjects upon the whole, if not greater.

"And now I have answered your questions, as to what may be, in my opinion, the consequences of this or that supposed measure, I will go a little farther, and tell you, what I fear is more likely to come to pass in *reality*. I apprehend, that the ministry, at least the American part of it, being fully persuaded of the right of parliament, think it ought to be enforced, whatever may be the consequences; and at the same time do not believe, there is even now any abatement of the trade between the two countries on account of these disputes; or, that if there is, it is small, and cannot long continue. They are assured by the crown-officers in America, that manufactures are impossible there; that the discontented are few, and persons of little consequence; that almost all the people of property and importance are satisfied, and disposed to submit quietly to the taxing power of parliament; and that if the revenue-acts are continued, and those duties only that are called anti-commercial be repealed, and others perhaps laid in their stead, the power ere long will be patiently submitted to, and the agreements not to import be broken, when they are found to produce no change of measures here. From these and similar misinformations, which seem to be credited, I think it likely, that no thorough redress of grievances will be afforded to America this session. This may inflame matters still more in that country; farther rash measures there may create more resentment here, that may produce not merely ill-advised dissolutions of their assemblies, as last year, but attempts to dissolve their constitution;* more troops may be sent over, which will create more uneasiness; to justify the measures of government, your writers will revile the Americans in your newspapers, as they have already begun to do, treating them as miscreants, rogues, dastards, rebels, &c. to alienate the minds of the people here from them, and which will tend farther to diminish their affections to this country. Possibly, too, some of their warm patriots may be distracted enough to expose themselves by some mad action to be sent for hither, and government here may be indiscreet enough to hang them, on the act of Henry VIII.† Mutual provocations will thus go on to complete the separation; and instead of that cordial affection, that once and so long existed, and that harmony, so suitable to the circumstances, and so necessary to the happiness, strength, safety, and welfare of both countries, an implacable malice and mutual hatred, such as we now see subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Genoese and Corsicans, from the same original misconduct in the superior governments, will take place: the sameness of nation, the similarity of religion, manners, and language, not in the least preventing in our case, more than it did in theirs.—I hope, however, that this may all prove false prophecy, and that you and I may live to see as sincere and perfect a friendship established between our respective countries, as has so many years subsisted between Mr. Strahan, and his truly affectionate old friend,

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[*] "The opposition [to lord Rockingham's administration"] says lord Chesterfield, "are for taking vigorous, as they call them, but I call them violent measures; not less than *les dragonades;* and to have the tax collected by the troops we have there. For my part, I never saw a froward child mended by whipping: and I would not have the mother become a step mother." Letter, No. 360.

"It is a certain maxim," pleads Mr. Burke, "that the fewer causes of dissatisfaction are left by government, the more the subject will be disinclined to resist and rebel!" "I confess I do not feel the least alarm from the discontents which are to arise from putting people at their ease. Nor do I apprehend the destruction of this empire, from giving, by an act of free grace and indulgence, to two millions of my fellow-citizens, some share of those rights, upon which I have always been taught to value myself." Burke's Speeches in 1774 and 1775.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*M. Dubourg*,† *Paris.*

"LONDON, October 2, 1770.

"I SEE with pleasure, that we think pretty much alike on the subjects of English America. We of the colonies have never insisted that we ought to be exempt from contributing to the common expenses necessary to support the prosperity of the empire. We only assert, that having parliaments of our own, and not having representatives in that of Great Britain, our parliaments are the only judges of what we can and what we ought to contribute in this case; and that the English parliament has no right to take our money without our consent. In fact, the British empire is not a single state, it comprehends many; and though the parliament of Great Britain has arrogated to itself the power of taxing the colonies, it has no more right to do so, than it has to tax Hanover. We have the same king, but not the same legislatures.

"The dispute between the two countries has already lost England many millions sterling, which it has lost in its commerce, and America has in this respect been a proportionable gainer. This commerce consisted principally of superfluities; objects of luxury and fashion, which we can well do without; and the resolution we have formed of importing no more till our grievances are redressed, has enabled many of our infant manufactures to take root; and it will not be easy to make our people abandon them in future, even should a connexion more cordial than ever succeed the present troubles. I have indeed, no doubt that the parliament of England will finally abandon its present pretensions, and leave us to the peaceable enjoyment of our rights and privileges. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Governor Franklin.*

"LONDON, August 17, 1772.

"DEAR SON,—At length we have got rid of lord Hillsborough, and lord Dartmouth takes his place, to the great satisfaction of all the friends of America. You will hear it said among you (I suppose) that the interest of the Ohio planters has ousted him, but the truth is, what I wrote you long since, that all his brother ministers disliked him extremely, and wished for a fair occasion of tripping up his heels; so seeing that he made a point of defeating our scheme, they made another of supporting it, on purpose to mortify him, which they knew his pride could not bear. I do not mean they would have done this if they had thought our proposal bad in itself, or his opposition well founded; but I believe if he had been on good terms with them, they would not have differed with him for so small a matter. The king too was tired of him and of his administration, which had weakened the affection and respect of the colonies for a royal government, with which (I may say it to you) I used proper means from time to time that his majesty should have due information and convincing proofs. More of this when I see you. The king's dislike made the others more firmly united in the resolution of disgracing H., by setting at nought his famous report. But now that business is done, perhaps our affair may be less regarded in the cabinet and suffered to linger, and possibly may yet miscarry. Therefore let us beware of every word and action, that may betray a confidence in its success, lest we render ourselves ridiculous in case of disappointment. We are now pushing for a completion of the business, but the time is unfavourable, every body gone or going into the country, which gives room for accidents.

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* This was afterwards attempted by the British legislature, in the case of the province of Massachusett's Bay.

† The lords and commons very prudently concurred in an address for this purpose, and the king *very graciously* assured them of his compliance with their wishes.

* Translator of Dr. Franklin's Philosophical Works, into French

"I am writing by Falconer, and therefore in this only add that I am ever your affectionate father, B. FRANKLIN.

"P. S. The regard lord Dartmouth has always done me the honour to express for me, gives me room to hope being able to obtain more in favour of our colonies upon occasion, than I could for some time past."

To the same.

"LONDON, August 19, 1772.

"DEAR SON,—I received yours of June 30. I am vexed that my letter to you, written at Glasgow, miscarried; not so much that you did not receive it, as that it is probably in other hands. It contained some accounts of what passed in Ireland, which were for you only.

"As lord Hillsborough in fact got nothing out of me, I should rather suppose he threw me away as an orange that would yield no juice, and therefore not worth more squeezing. When I had been a little while returned to London, I waited on him to thank him for his civilities in Ireland, and to discourse with him on a Georgia affair. The porter told me he was not at home. I left my card, went another time, and received the same answer, though I knew he was at home, a friend of mine being with him. After intermissions of a week each, I made two more visits, and received the same answer. The last time was on a levee day, when a number of carriages were at his door. My coachman driving up, alighted and was opening the coach door, when the porter, seeing me, came out, and surlily chid the coachman for opening the door before he had inquired whether my lord was at home; and then turning to me, said, "My lord is not at home." I have never since been nigh him, and we have only abused one another at a distance. The contrast, as you observe, is very striking between his conversation with the chief justice, and his letter to you concerning your province. I know him to be as double and deceitful as any man I ever met with. But we have done with him, I hope, for ever. His removal has I believe been meditated ever since the death of the princess dowager. For I recollect, that on my complaining of him about that time to a friend at court, whom you may guess, he told me, we Americans were represented by Hillsborough as an unquiet people, not easily satisfied with any ministry, that however it was thought too much occasion had been given us to dislike the present: and asked me, whether, if he should be removed I could name another likely to be more acceptable to us. I said, yes, there is lord Dartmouth: we liked him very well when he was at the head of the board formerly, and probably should like him again. This I heard no more of, but I am pretty sure it was reported where I could wish it, though I know not that it had any effect.

"As to my situation here, nothing can be more agreeable, especially as I hope for less embarrassment from the new minister. A general respect paid me by the learned, a number of friends and acquaintance among them with whom I have a pleasing intercourse; a character of so much weight that it has protected me when some in power would have done me injury, and continued me in an office they would have deprived me of; my company is so much desired that I seldom dine at home in winter, and could spend the whole summer in the country houses of inviting friends if I chose it. Learned and ingenious foreigners that come to England, almost all make a point of visiting me, for my reputation is still higher abroad than here; several of the foreign ambassadors have assiduously cultivated my acquaintance, treating me as one of their *corps*, partly I believe from the desire they have from time to time of hearing something of American affairs, an object become of importance in foreign courts, who begin to hope Britain's alarming power will be diminished by the defection of her colonies; and partly that they may have an opportunity of introducing me to the gentlemen of their country who desire it. The king too has lately been heard to speak of me with great regard. These are flattering circumstances, but a violent longing for home sometimes seizes me, which I can no otherways subdue but by promising myself a return next spring or next fall, and so forth. As to returning hither, if I once go back I have no thoughts of it. I am too far advanced in life to propose three voyages more. I have some important affairs to settle at home, and considering my double expenses here and there, I hardly think my salaries fully compensate the disadvantages. The late change however being thrown into the balance determines me to stay another winter.

"P. S. August 22. I find I omitted congratulating you on the honour of your election into the Society for propagating the Gospel. There you match indeed my Dutch honour. But you are again behind, for last night I received a letter from Paris of which the inclosed is an extract, acquainting me that I am chosen *Associe etranger* (foreign member) of the Royal Academy there. There are but eight of these *Associes etrangers* in all Europe, and those of the most distinguished names for science. The vacancy I have the honour of filling, was made by the death of the late celebrated M. Van Swieten of Vienna. This mark of respect from the first academy in the world, which abbe Nolet, one of its members, took so much pains to prejudice against my doctrines, I consider as a kind of victory without ink shed, since I never answered him. I am told he has but one of his sect now remaining in the academy. All the rest who have in any degree acquainted themselves with electricity, are, as he calls them, Franklinists. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Joseph Galloway.*

"LONDON, August 22, 1772.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I acknowledged before the receipt of your favour of May 14, since which I have no line from you. It will be a pleasure to render any service to Mr. Tilghman whom you recommended.

"The acts passed in your winter and spring sessions I have not yet received, nor have I heard from Mr. Wilmot that they have been presented.

"Lord Hillsborough, mortified by the committee of council's approbation of our grant, in opposition to his report, has resigned. I believe when he offered to do so, he had such an opinion of his importance that he did not think it would be accepted; and that it would be thought prudent rather to set our grant aside than part with him. His colleagues in the ministry were all glad to get rid of him, and perhaps for this reason joined more readily in giving him that mortification. Lord Dartmouth succeeds him, who has much more favourable dispositions towards the colonies. He has heretofore expressed some personal regard for me, and I hope now to find our business with the board more easy to transact.

"Your observations on the state of the Islands did not come to hand till after lord Rochford had withdrawn his petition. His lordship and the promoters of it were so roasted on the occasion, that I believe another of the kind will not very soon be thought of. The proprietor was at the expense of the opposition, and as I knew it would not be necessary, and thought it might be inconvenient to our affairs, I did not openly engage in it, but I gave some private assistance that I believe was not without effect; I think too that Mr. Jackson's opinion was of great service. I would lodge a copy of your paper in the plantation office against any similar future applications if you approve of it. I only think the Island holders make too great a concession to the crown, when they suppose it may have a right to quit-rent. It can have none in my opinion on the old grants from Indians, Swedes, and Dutch, where none was reserved. And I think those grants so clearly good as to need no confirmation: to obtain which I suppose is the only motive for offering such quit-rent. I imagine too, that it may not be amiss to affix a caveat in the plantation office in the behalf of holders of property in those Islands, against any grant of them that may be applied for, till they have had timely notice, and an opportunity of being fully heard. Mr Jackson is out of town, but I shall confer with him on the subject as soon as he returns.

"I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"LONDON, Dec. 2, 1772.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I am glad you are returned again to a seat in the assembly, where your abilities are so useful and necessary in the service of your country. We must not in the course of *public* life expect *immediate* approbation and *immediate* grateful acknowledgment of our services. But let us persevere through abuse and even injury. The internal satisfaction of a good conscience is always present, and time will do us justice in the minds of the people, even those at present the most prejudiced against us.

"I have given Dr. Denormandie a recommendation to a friend in Geneva, for which place he set out this morning; and I shall be glad of any opportunity of serving him when he returns to London. I see by the Pennsylvania Gazette, of October 21, that you are continued speaker, and myself agent, but I have no line from you or the committee relative to instructions. Perhaps I shall hear from you by Falconer. I find myself upon very good terms with our new minister, lord Dartmouth, who we have reason to think means well to the colonies. I believe all are now sensible that nothing is to be got by contesting with or oppressing us. Two circumstances have diverted me lately. One was, that being at the court of exchequer on some business of my own, I there met with one of the commissioners of the stamp office, who told me he attended with a memorial from that board, to be allowed in their accounts the difference between their expense in endeavouring to establish those offices in America, and the amount of what they received, which from Canada and the West India islands was but about *fifteen hundred pounds*, while the expense, if I remember right, was above *twelve thousand pounds*, being for stamps and stamping, with paper and parchment returned upon their hands, freight, &c. The other is the present difficulties of the India company and of government on their account. The company have accepted bills which they find themselves unable to pay, though they have the value of two millions in tea and other India goods in their stores, perishing under a want of demand. Their credit thus suffering, and their stock falling one hundred and twenty per cent., whereby the government will lose the *four hundred thousand pounds* per annum, it having been stipulated that it should no longer be paid if the dividend fell to that mark. And although it is known that the American market is lost by continuing the duty on tea, and that we are supplied by the Dutch, who doubtless take the opportunity of smuggling other India goods among us with the tea, so that for the five years past we might probably have otherwise taken off the greatest part of what the company have on hand, and so have prevented their present embarrassment, yet the honour of government is supposed to forbid the repeal of the American tea duty; while the amount of all the duties goes on decreasing, so that the balance of this year does not (as I have it from good authority) exceed eighty pounds, after paying the collection; not reckoning the immense expense of guarda costas, &c. Can an American help smiling at these blunders?—though in a national light they are truly deplorable.

"With the sincerest esteem and inviolable attachment, I am, my dear friend, ever most affectionately yours, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Thomas Cushing.*

"London, Dec. 2, 1772.

"Sir,—The above is a copy of my last. A few days after my leaving your petition with lord Dartmouth, his lordship sent for me to discourse with me upon it. After a long audience, he was pleased to say, that notwithstanding all I had said or could say, in support and justification of the petition, he was sure the presenting it at this time could not possibly produce any good: that the king would be exceedingly offended, but what steps his majesty would take upon it was uncertain; perhaps he would require the opinion of the judges or government lawyers, which would surely be against us; perhaps he might lay it before parliament, and so the censure of both houses would be drawn down upon us: the most favourable thing to be expected was, a severe reprimand to the assembly, by order of his majesty, the natural consequence of which must be more discontent and uneasiness in the province. That possessed as he was with great good will for New England, he was extremely unwilling that one of the first acts of his administration, with regard to the Massachusetts, should be of so unpleasant a nature. That minds had been heated and irritated on both sides the water, but he hoped those heats were now cooling, and he was averse to the addition of fresh fuel; that as I had delivered the petition to him officially, he must present it if I insisted upon it; but he wished I would first consult my constituents, who might possibly, on reconsideration, think fit to order its being deferred. I answered that the great majority with which the petition and the resolves on which it was founded were carried through the house, made it scarce expectable that their order would be countermanded; that the slighting, evading, or refusing to receive petitions from the colonies, on some late occasions by the parliament, had occasioned a total loss of the respect for and confidence in that body, formerly subsisting so strongly in America, and brought on a questioning of their authority: that his lordship might observe that petitions came no more from thence to parliament, but to the king only: that the king appeared now to be the only connexion between the two countries; and that as a continued union was essentially necessary to the well being of the whole empire, I should be sorry to see that link weakened, as the other had been; that I thought it a dangerous thing for any government to refuse receiving petitions, and thereby prevent the subjects from giving vent to their griefs. His lordship interrupted me by replying, that he did not refuse to deliver the petition; that it should never justly be said of him, that he interrupted the complaints of his majesty's subjects; and that he must and would present it, as he had said before, whenever I should absolutely require it; but for motives of pure good will to the province, he wished me not to insist on it till I should receive fresh orders. Finally, considering that since the petition was ordered, there had been a change in the American administration, that the present minister was our friend in the repeal of the stamp act, and seems still to have good dispositions towards us; that you had mentioned to me the probability that the house would have remonstrated on all their other grievances, had not their time been taken up with the difficult business of a general valuation; and since the complaint of this petition was likely alone to give offence, it might perhaps be judged advisable to give the substance of all our complaints at once, rather than in parts, and after a reprimand received; I say, upon the whole, I thought it best not to disoblige him in the beginning of his administration, by refusing him what he seemed so desirous of, a delay at least in presenting the petition, till farther directions should be received from my constituents. If after deliberation they should send me fresh orders I shall immediately obey them, and the application to the crown itself may possibly derive greater weight, from the reconsideration given it, while the temper of the house may be somewhat calmed by the removal of a minister who had rendered himself so obnoxious to them. Accordingly I consented to the delay desired, wherein I hope my conduct will not be disapproved.

"With the greatest esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, sir, your and the committee's most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

To the same. (*Private.*)

"LONDON, Jan. 5, 1773.

"SIR,—I did myself the honour of writing to you on the 2d of December past, inclosing some original letters from persons in Boston, which I hope got safe to hand. I have since received your favour of October 27, which containing in a small compass so full an enumeration of our grievances, the steps necessary to remove them, and the happy effects that must follow, I thought that though marked *private*, it might be of use to communicate it to lord Dartmouth, the rather too, as he would there find himself occasionally mentioned with proper respect, and learn that his character was esteemed in the colonies. Accordingly I wrote him a few lines, and inclosed it a day or two before I was to wait on his lordship, that he might have a little time to consider the contents. When I next attended him, he returned me the letter with great complaisance in his countenance, said he was glad to find that people in America were disposed to think so favourably of him; that they did him but justice in believing he had the best disposition towards them, for he wished sincerely their welfare, though possibly he might not always think with them as to the means of obtaining that end. That the heads of complaint in your letter were many, some of them requiring much consideration, and therefore it could scarce be expected that a sudden change should be made in so many measures, supposing them all improper to be continued, which perhaps might not be the case. It was however his opinion, that if the Americans continued quiet, and gave no fresh offence to government, those measures would be reconsidered, and such relief given as upon consideration should be thought reasonable. I need not remark that there is not much in such general discourse, but I could then obtain nothing more particular, except that his lordship expressed in direct terms his disapprobation of the instruction for exempting the colonies from taxation: which however was, as he said, in confidence to me, relying that no public mention should be made of his opinion on that head.

"In the mean time, some circumstances are working in our favour with regard to the duties. It is found by the last year's accounts transmitted by the commissioners, that the balance in favour of Britain is but about eight-five pounds, after payment of salaries, &c. exclusive of the charge of a fleet to enforce the collection. Then it is observed, that the India company is so out of cash, that it cannot pay the bills drawn upon it, and its other debts, and at the same time so out of credit, that the bank does not care to assist them, whence they find themselves obliged to lower their dividend; the apprehension of which has sunk their stock from two hundred and eighty to one hundred and sixty, whereby several millions of property are annihilated, occasioning private bankruptcies and other distress, besides a loss to the public treasury of four hundred thousand pounds per annum, which the company are not to pay into it as heretofore, if they are not able to keep up their dividend at twelve and a-half. And as they have at the same time tea, and other India goods in their warehouses, to the amount of four millions, as some say, for which they want a market, and which, if it had been sold, would have kept up their credit, I take the opportunity of remarking in all companies the great imprudence of losing the American market, by keeping up the duty on tea, which has thrown that trade into the hands of the Dutch, Danes, Swedes, and French, who according to the reports and letters of some custom-house officers in America, now supply by smuggling the whole continent, not with tea only, but accompany that article with other India goods, amounting as supposed in the whole to five hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum. This gives some alarm, and begins to convince people more and more of the impropriety of quarrelling with America, who at that rate might have taken off two millions and a half of those goods within these five years that the combination has subsisted, if the duty had not been laid, or had been speedily repealed.

"But our great security lies, I think, in our growing strength, both in numbers and wealth, that creates an increasing ability of assisting this nation in its wars, which will make us more respectable, our friendship more valued, and our enmity feared, thence it will soon be thought proper to treat us not with justice only, but with kindness, and thence we may expect in a few years a total change of measures with regard to us; unless by a neglect of military discipline we should lose all martial spirit, and our western people become as tame as those in the eastern dominions of Britain, when we may expect the same oppressions, for there is much truth in the Italian saying, *Make yourselves sheep and the wolves will eat you.* In confidence of this coming change in our favour, I think our prudence is meanwhile to be quiet, only holding up our rights and claims on all occasions in resolutions, memorials, and remonstrances; but bearing patiently the little present notice that is taken of them. They will all have their weight in time, and that time is at no great distance.

"With the greatest esteem, I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Governor Franklin.*

"LONDON, February 14, 1773.

"DEAR SON,—The opposition are now attacking the ministry on the St. Vincent's affair, which is generally condemned here, and some think lord Hillsborough will be given up, as the adviser of that expedition. But if it succeeds perhaps all will blow over. The ministry are more embarrassed with the India affairs; the continued refusal of North America to take tea from hence, has brought infinite distress on the company: they imported great quantities in faith that the agreement could not hold; and now they can neither pay their debts nor dividends, their stock has sunk to the annihilating near three millions of their property, and government will lose its four hundred thousand pounds a-year; while their teas lie on hand: the bankruptcies brought on partly by this means have given such a shock to credit as has not been experienced here since the South Sea year. And this has affected the great manufactures so much, as to oblige them to discharge their hands, and thousands of Spitalfields and Manchester weavers are now starving, or subsisting on charity. Blessed effects of pride, pique, and passion in government, which should have no passions.

"Yours, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Thomas Cushing.*

"LONDON, March 9, 1773.

"SIR,—I did myself the honour of writing to you the 2d of December and the 5th January past. Since which I have received your favour of November 28, inclosing the votes and proceedings of the town of Boston, which I have reprinted here, with a preface. Herewith I send you a few copies.

"Governor Hutchinson's speech at the opening of your January session, has been printed and industriously circulated here by (as I think) the ministerial people, which I take to be no good sign. The assembly's answer to it is not yet arrived, and in the mean while it seems to make impression on the minds of many not well acquainted with the dispute. The tea duty however is under the consideration of parliament, for a repeal on the petition from the East India company, and no new measures have been talked of against America, is likely to be taken during the present session; I was therefore preparing to return home by the spring ships, but have been advised by our friends to stay till the session is over: as the commission sent to Rhode Island, and discontents in your province, with the correspondence of the towns, may possibly give rise to something here, when my being on the spot may be of use to our country. I conclude to stay a little longer. In the mean time I must hope that great care will be taken to keep our people quiet, since nothing is more wished for by our enemies than that by insurrections we should give a good pretence for increasing the military among us, and putting us under more severe restraints. And it must be as evident that by our rapidly increasing strength we shall soon become of so much importance, that none of our just claims of privilege will be as heretofore unattended to, nor any security we can wish for our rights be denied us.

"With great respect I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same. (*Private.*)

"LONDON, April 3, 1773.

"SIR,—My last was of the 9th past, since which nothing material has occurred relating to the colonies. The assembly's answer to governor Hutchinson's speech is not yet come over, but I find that even his friends here are apprehensive of some ill consequences, from his forcing the assembly into that dispute; and begin to say it was not prudently done, though they believe it meant well. I inclose you two newspapers in which it is mentioned. Lord Dartmouth the other day expressed his wish to me, that some means could be fallen upon to heal the breach. I took the freedom to tell him, that he could do much in it if he would exert himself; I think I see signs of relenting in some others. The bishop of St. Asaph's sermon before the society for propagating the gospel is much talked of, for its catholic spirit and favourable sentiments relating to the colonies. I will endeavour to get a copy to send you.

"With great esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Governor Franklin.*

"London, April 6, 1773.

"Dear Son,—I received yours of February 2, with the papers of information that accompany it.

"I have sent to Mr. Galloway one of the bishop of St. Asaph's sermons for your society for propogating the gospel. I would have sent you one, but you will receive it of course as a member. It contains such liberal and generous sentiments relating to the conduct of government here towards America, that sir J. P. says it was written in compliment to me. But from the intimacy of friendship in which I live with the author, I know he has expressed nothing but what he thinks and feels; and I honour him the more, that through the mere hope of doing good he has hazarded the displeasure of the court, and of course the prospect of further preferment. Possibly indeed the ideas of the court may change; for I think I see some alarms at the discontents in New England, and some appearance of softening in the disposition of government, on the idea that matters have been carried too far there. But all depends upon circumstances and events. We govern from hand to mouth. There seems to be no wise regular plan.

"I saw lord Dartmouth about two weeks since. He mentioned nothing to me of your application for additional salary, nor did I to him, for I do not like it. I fear it will embroil you with your people.

"While I am writing comes to hand yours of March 2. My letter by the October packet must have been sent as usual to the office by the bell-man. That being, as you inform me, rubbed open as some of yours to me have been, gives an additional circumstance of probability to the conjecture made in mine of December 2. For the future I shall send letters of consequence to the office (when I use the packet conveyance) by my clerk.

"Your accounts of the numbers of people, births, burials, &c. in your province, will be very agreeable to me, and particularly so to Dr. Price. Compared with former accounts, they will show the increase of your people, but not perfectly, as I think a great many have gone from New Jersey to the more southern colonies.

"The parliament is like to sit till the end of June, as Mr. Cooper tells me. I had thoughts of returning home about that time. The Boston assembly's answer to the governor's speech, which I have just received, may possibly produce something here to occasion my longer stay.

"I am your affectionate father,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Thomas Cushing.* (*Private.*)

"London, May 6, 1773.

"Sir,—I have received none of your favours since that of November 28. I have since written to you of the following dates, December 2, January 5, March 9, and April 3, which I hope got safe to hand.

"The council and assembly's answer to governor Hutchinson's speech I caused to be printed here as soon as I received them. His reply I see since printed also, but their rejoinder is not yet come. If he intended by reviving that dispute to recommend himself, he has greatly missed his aim; for the administration are chagrined with his officiousness, their intention having been to let all contention subside, and by degrees suffer matters to return to the old channel. They are now embarrassed by his proceedings; for if they lay the governor's despatches, containing the declaration of the general court before parliament, they apprehend measures may be taken that will widen the breach; which would be more particularly inconvenient at this time, when the disturbed state of Europe gives some apprehensions of a general war; on the other hand, if they do not lay them before parliament they give advantage to opposition against themselves on some future occasion, in a charge of criminal neglect. Some say he must be a fool, others that through some misinformation he really supposed lord Hillsborough to be again in office.

"Yesterday I had a conversation with lord D. of which I think it right to give you some account. On my saying that I had no late advices from Boston, and asking if his lordship had any, he said, none since the governor's second speech; but what difficulties that gentleman has brought us all into by his imprudence! though I suppose he meant well: —yet what can now be done? It is impossible that parliament can suffer such a declaration of the general assembly, asserting its independency, to pass unnoticed. In my opinion, said I, it would be better and more prudent to take no notice of it. It is *words* only. Acts of parliament are still submitted to there. No force is used to obstruct their execution. And while that is the case, parliament would do well to turn a deaf ear, and seem not to know that such declarations had ever been made. Violent measures against the province will not change the opinion of the people. Force could do no good. I do not know, said he, that force would be thought of; but perhaps an act may pass to lay them under some inconveniences till they rescind that declaration. Can they not withdraw it? I wish they could be persuaded to reconsider the matter, and do it of themselves voluntarily, and thus leave things between us on the old footing, the points undiscussed. Don't you think (continued his lordship) such a thing possible? No, my lord, said I, I think it is impossible. If they were even to wish matters back in the situation before the governor's speech, and the dispute obliterated, they cannot withdraw their answers till he first withdraws his speech, which methinks would be an awkward operation, that perhaps he will hardly be directed to perform. As to an act of parliament, laying that country under inconveniences, it is likely that it will only put them as heretofore on some method of incommoding this country till the act is repealed; and so we shall go on injuring and provoking each other, instead of cultivating that good will and harmony, so necessary to the general welfare. He said, that might be, and he was sensible our divisions must weaken the whole; for we are yet *one empire*, said he, whatever may be the sentiments of the Massachusetts assembly, but he did not see how that could be avoided, He wondered, as the dispute was now of public notoriety, parliament had not already called for the despatches; and he thought he could not omit much longer the communicating them, however unwilling he was to do it, from his apprehension of the consequences. But what (his lordship was pleased to say) if you were in my place, would or could you do? Would you hazard the being called to account in some future session of parliament, for keeping back the communication of despatches of such importance? I said, his lordship could best judge, what in his situation was fittest for him to do; I could only give my poor opinion with regard to parliament, that supposing the despatches laid before them, they would act most prudently in ordering them to lie on the table, and take no farther notice of them. For were I as much an Englishman as I am an American, and ever so desirous of establishing the authority of parliament, I protest to your lordship, I cannot conceive of a single step the parliament can take to increase it, that will not tend to diminish it; and after abundance of mischief they must finally lose it. The loss in itself perhaps would not be of much consequence, because it is an authority they can never well exercise for want of due information and knowledge, and therefore it is not worth hazarding the mischief to preserve it. Then adding my wishes that I could be of any service in healing our differences, his lordship said, I do not see any thing of more service than prevailing on the general assembly, if you can do it, to withdraw their answers to the governor's speech. There is not, says I, the least probability they will ever do that; for the country is all of one mind upon the subject. Perhaps the governor may have represented to your lordship, that these are the opinions of a party only, and that great numbers are of different sentiments which may in time prevail. But if he does not deceive himself he deceives your lordship: for in both houses, notwithstanding the influence appertaining to his office, there was not, in sending up those answers, a single dissenting voice. I do not recollect, says his lordship, that the governor has written any thing of that kind. I am told, however, by gentlemen from that country, who pretend to know it, that there are many of the governor's opinion, but they dare not show their sentiments. I never heard, said I, that any one has suffered violence for siding with the governor. Not violence perhaps, said his lordship, but they are reviled and held in contempt, and people do not care to incur the disesteem and displeasure of their neighbours. As I knew governor Bernard had been in with his lordship just before me, I thought he was probably one of these gentlemen informants, and therefore said, people who are engaged in any party or have advised any measures are apt to magnify the numbers of those they would have understood as approving their measures. His lordship said that was natural to suppose might be the present case; for whoever observed the conduct of parties here, must have seen it a constant practice: and he agreed with me, that though a *nemine contradicente* did not prove the absolute agreement of every man in the opinion voted, it at least demonstrated the great prevalence of that opinion.

"Thus ended our conference. I shall watch this business till the parliament rises, and endeavour to make people in general as sensible of the inconveniences to this country that may attend a continuance of the contest, as the Spitalfields weavers seem already to be in their petition to the king, which I herewith send you. I have already the pleasure to find that my friend, the bishop of St. Asaph's sermon, is universally approved and applauded, which I take to be no bad symptom.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"London, June 2, 1773.

"Sir,—Since my last of the 6th past, I have been honoured with yours of March 6 and 24, inclosing a petition to the king, and a letter to lord Dartmouth. On considering the whole, I concluded that a longer delay of presenting the first petition and remonstrance was not likely to answer any good purpose, and therefore immediately waited on lord Dartmouth, and delivered to him the letter, and the second petition, at the same time re-delivering the first, and pressed his lordship to present them to his majesty, which he promised to do. Inclosed I send you the answer I have just received from him, as this day's packet (the mail for which is to be made up and despatched in a few hours) is the earliest opportunity, the ships for Boston not being to sail till the beginning of next week. By one of them I shall send a copy, with what observations occur to me on the occasion, which the time will not now permit me to write. In the mean while I would just beg leave to say, that I hope the house will come to no hasty resolves upon it. The longer they deliberate, the more maturely they consider, the greater weight will attend their resolutions.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"London, June 4, 1773.

"Sir,—The above is a copy of mine, per packet, which inclosed the original of his majesty's answer to our petitions and remonstrance. I now send an exact copy of the same, which I did intend to accompany with some observations, and my sentiments on the general state of our affairs in this country, and the conduct proper for us to hold on this occasion. But beginning to write, I find the matter too copious, and the subject (on reflection) too important to be treated of in an hasty letter; and being told the ships sail to-morrow, I must postpone it to another opportunity.

"It was thought at the beginning of the session, that the American duty on tea would be taken off. But now the wise scheme is to take off so much duty here, as will make tea cheaper in America than foreigners can supply us, and to confine the duty there to keep up the exercise of the right. They have no idea that any people can act from any other principle but that of interest; and they believe that three pence in a pound of tea, of which one does not perhaps drink ten pounds in a year, is sufficient to overcome all the patriotism of an American.

"I purpose soon to write to you very fully. As to the letters I communicated to you, though I have not been able to obtain leave to take copies or publish them, I have permission to let the originals remain with you as long as you may think it of any use to have them in possession.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same,

"London, July 7, 1773.

"Sir,—I thank you for the pamphlets you have sent me, containing the controversy between the governor and the two houses. I have distributed them where I thought they might be of use. He makes perhaps as much of his argument as it will bear; but has the misfortune of being on the weak side, and so is put to shifts and quibbles, and the use of much sophistry and artifice, to give plausibility to his reasonings. The council and the assembly have greatly the advantage in point of fairness, perspicuity, and force. His precedents of acts of parliament binding the colonies, and our tacit consent to those acts are all frivolous. Shall a guardian who has imposed upon, cheated, and plundered a minor under his care, who was unable to prevent it, plead those impositions after his ward has discovered them, as precedents and authorities for continuing them. There have been precedents time out of mind for robbing on Hounslow heath, but the highwayman who robbed there yesterday, does nevertheless deserve hanging.

"I am glad to see the resolves of the Virginia house of burgesses. There are brave spirits among that people. I hope their proposal will be readily complied with by all the colonies. It is natural to suppose as you do, that if the oppressions continue, a congress may grow out of that correspondence. Nothing would more alarm our ministers; but if the colonies agree to hold a congress, I do not see how it can be prevented.

"The instruction relating to the exemption of the commissioners I imagine is withdrawn; perhaps the other also relating to the agents, but of that I have heard nothing. I only wonder that the governor should make such a declaration of his readiness to comply with an intimation in acting contrary to any instructions, if he had not already, or did not soon expect a repeal of those instructions. I have not and shall never use your name on this or any similar occasion.

"I note your directions relating to public and private letters, and shall not fail to observe them. At the same time I think all the correspondence should be in the speaker's power, to communicate such extracts only as he should think proper for the house. It is extremely embarrassing to an agent, to write letters concerning his transactions with ministers, which letters he knows are to be read in the house where there may be governor's spies, who carry away parts, or perhaps take copies that are echoed back hither privately; if they should not be, as sometimes they are, printed in the votes. It is impossible to write freely in such circumstances, unless he would hazard his usefulness, and put it out of his power to do his country any farther service. I speak this now, not upon my own account, being about to decline all public business, but for your consideration with regard to future agents.

"And now we speak of agents, I must mention my concern that I should fall under so severe a censure of the house, as that of neglect in their business. I have submitted to the reproof without reply in my public letter, out of pure respect. It is not decent to dispute a father's admonitions. But to you in private, permit me to observe, that as to the two things I am blamed for not giving the earliest notice of, viz. the clause in the act relating to dock yards, and the appointment of salaries for the governor and judges; the first only seems to have some foundation. I did not know, but perhaps I ought to have known, that such a clause was intended. And yet in a parliament, that during the whole session refused admission to strangers, wherein near two hundred acts were passed, it is not so easy a matter to come at the knowledge of every clause in every act, and to give opposition to what may affect one's constituents; especially when it is not uncommon to smuggle clauses into a bill whose title shall give no suspicion, when an opposition to such clauses is apprehended. I say this is no easy matter. But had I known of this clause, it is not likely I could have prevented its passing in the present disposition of government towards America, nor do I see that my giving earlier notice of its having passed could have been of much service. As to the other, concerning the governor and judges, I should hardly have thought of sending the house an account of it, if the minister had mentioned it to me, as I understood from their first letter to me, that they had already the best intelligence "of its being determined by administration to bestow large salaries on the attorney-general, judges, and governor of the province." I could not therefore possibly "give the *first notice* of this impending evil." I answered however "that there was no doubt of the intention of making governors, and some other officers, independent of the people for their support, and that this purpose will be persisted in, if the American revenue is found sufficient to defray the salaries." This censure, though grievous, does not so much surprise me, as I apprehended all along from the beginning, that between the friends of an old agent, my predecessor, who thought himself hardly used in his dismission, and those of a young one impatient for the succession, my situation was likely to be a very comfortable one, as my faults could scarce pass unobserved.

"I think of leaving England in September. As soon as possible after my arrival in America, I purpose (God willing) to visit Boston, when I hope to have the pleasure of paying my respects to you. I shall then give every information in my power, and offer every advice relating to our affairs, (not so convenient to be written) that my situation here for so many years may enable me to suggest for the benefit of our country. Some time before my departure, I shall put your papers into the hands of Mr. Lee, and assist him with my counsel while I stay, where there may be any occasion for it. He is a gentleman of parts and ability, and though he cannot exceed me in sincere zeal for the interest and prosperity of the province, his youth will easily enable him to serve it with more activity. B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"LONDON, July 7, 1773.

"SIR,—The parliament is at length prorogued, without meddling with the state of America. Their time was much employed in the East India business: and perhaps it was not thought prudent to lay before them the advices from New England, though some threatening intimations had been given of such an intention. The king's firm answer (as it is called) to our petitions, and remonstrances, has probably been judged sufficient for the present. I forwarded that answer to you by the last packet, and sent a copy of it by a Boston ship the beginning of last month. Therein we are told 'that his majesty has well weighed the *subject matter*, and the expressions contained in those petitions; and that as he will ever attend to the *humble* petitions of his subjects, and be forward to redress every *real* grievance, so he is determined to support *the constitution*, and resist with firmness every attempt to derogate from the authority of the *supreme legislature*.'

"By this it seems that some exception is taken to the *expressions* of the petitions, as not sufficiently humble, that the grievances complained of are not thought *real* grievances, that parliament is deemed the supreme legislature, and its authority over the colonies supposed to be the *constitution*. Indeed the last idea is expressed more fully in the next paragraph, where the words of the act are used, declaring the right of the crown, with the advice of parliament, to make laws of *sufficient force and validity* to bind its subjects in America *in all cases whatsoever*.

"When one considers the king's situation, surrounded by ministers, counsellors, and judges, learned in the law, who are all of this opinion, and reflect how necessary it is for him to be well with his parliament, from whose yearly grants his fleets and armies are to be supported, and the deficiencies of his civil list supplied, it is not to be wondered at, that he should be firm in an opinion established, as far as an act of parliament could establish it, by even the friends of America at the time they repealed the stamp act; and which is so generally thought right, by his lords and commons, that any act of his, countenancing the contrary, would hazard his embroiling himself with those powerful bodies. And from hence it seems hardly to be expected from him, that he should take any step of that kind. The grievous instructions indeed might be withdrawn without their observing it, if his majesty thought fit so to do; but under the present prejudices of all about him, it seems that this is not yet likely to be advised.

"The question then arises, how are we to obtain redress? If we look back into the parliamentary history of this country, we shall find, that in similar situations of the subjects here, redress would seldom be obtained but by withholding aids when the sovereign was in distress, till the grievances were removed. Hence the rooted custom of the commons to keep money bills in their own disposition, not suffering even the lords to meddle in grants, either as to quantity, manner of raising, or even in the smallest circumstance. This country pretends to be collectively our sovereign. It is now deeply in debt. Its funds are far short of recovering their par since the last war: another would distress it still more. Its people diminish, as well as its credit. Men will be wanted as well as money. The colonies are rapidly increasing in wealth and numbers. In the last war they maintained an army of twenty-five thousand. A country able to do that, is no contemptible ally. In another war they may perhaps do twice as much with equal ease. Whenever a war happens our aid will be wished for, our friendship desired and cultivated, our good will courted: then is the time to say, *redress our grievances.* You take money from us by force, and now you ask it of voluntary grant. You cannot have it both ways. If you choose to have it without our consent, you must go on taking it that way, and be content with what little you can so obtain. If you would have our free gifts, desist from your compulsive methods, and acknowledge our rights, and secure our future enjoyment of them. Our claims will then be attended to, and our complaints regarded. By what I perceived not long since, when a war was apprehended with Spain, the different countenance put on by some great men here, towards those who were thought to have a little influence in America, and the language, that began to be held with regard to the then minister for the colonies, I am confident that if that war had taken place he would have been immediately dismissed, all his measures reversed, and every step taken to recover our affection and procure our assistance. Thence I think it fair to conclude that similar effects will probably be produced by similar circumstances.

"But as the strength of an empire depends not only on the *union* of its parts, but on their *readiness* for united exertion of their common force; and as the discussion of rights may seem unseasonable in the commencement of actual war, and the delay it might occasion be prejudicial to the common welfare: as likewise the refusal of one or a few colonies, would not be so much regarded if the others granted liberally, which perhaps by various artifices and motives they might be prevailed on to do; and as this want of concert would defeat the expectation of general redress that otherwise might be justly formed; perhaps it would be best and fairest, for the colonies in a general congress now in peace to be assembled, or by means of the correspondence lately proposed, after a full and solemn assertion and declaration of their rights, to engage firmly with each other, that they will never grant aids to the crown in any general war, till those rights are recognized by the king and both houses of parliament; communicating at the same time to the crown this their resolution. Such a step I imagine will bring the dispute to a crisis: and whether our demands are immediately complied with, or compulsory measures thought of to make us rescind them, our ends will finally be obtained, for even the odium accompanying such compulsory attempts will contribute to unite and strengthen us, and in the mean time all the world will allow that our proceeding has been honourable.

"No one doubts the advantage of a strict union between the mother-country and the colonies, if it may be obtained and preserved on equitable terms. In every fair connexion each party should find its own interest. Britain will find hers in our joining with her in every war she makes, to the greater annoyance and terror of her enemies; in our employment of her manufactures, and enriching her merchants by our commerce; and her government will feel some additional strengthening of its hands, by the disposition of our profitable posts and places. On our side, we have to expect the protection she can afford us, and the advantage of a common umpire in our disputes, thereby preventing wars we might otherwise have with each other, so that we can without interruption go on with our improvements, and increase our numbers. We ask no more of her, and she should not think of forcing more from us. By the exercise of prudent moderation on her part, mixed with a little kindness; and by a decent behaviour on ours, excusing where we can excuse from a consideration of circumstances, and bearing a little with the infirmities of her government, as we would with those of an aged parent, though firmly asserting our privileges, and declaring that we mean at a proper time to vindicate them, this advantageous union may still be long continued. We wish it, and we may endeavour it, but God will order it as to his wisdom shall seem most suitable. The friends of liberty here wish we may long preserve it on our side the water, that they may find it there, if adverse events should destroy it here. They are therefore anxious and afraid lest we should hazard it by premature attempts in its favour. They think we may risk much by violent measures, and that the risk is unnecessary, since a little time must infallibly bring us all we demand or desire, and bring it us in peace and safety. I do not presume to advise. There are many wiser men among you, and I hope you will be directed by a still superior wisdom.

"With regard to the sentiments of people in general here, concerning America, I must say, that we have among them many friends, and well-wishers. The dissenters are all for us, and many of the merchants and manufacturers. There seems to be, even among the country gentlemen, a general sense of our growing importance, a disapprobation of the harsh measures with which we have been treated, and a wish that some means may be found of perfect reconciliation. A few members of parliament in both houses, and perhaps some in high office, have in a degree the same ideas, but none of these seem willing as yet to be active in our favour, lest adversaries should take advantage and charge it upon them as a betraying the interests of this nation. In this state of things no endeavour of mine or our other friends here 'to obtain a repeal of the acts so oppressive to the colonists, or the orders of the crown so destructive of the charter rights of our province in particular, can expect a sudden success.' By degrees, and a judicious improvement of events, we may work a change in minds and measures, but otherwise such great alterations are hardly to be looked for.

"I am thankful to the house for their kind attention, in repeating their grant to me for six hundred pounds. Whether the instruction restraining the governor's assent is withdrawn or not, or is likely to be, I cannot tell, having never solicited or even once mentioned it to lord Dartmouth, being resolved to owe no obligation to the favour of any minister. If from a sense of right, that instruction should be recalled, and the general principle on which it was founded is given up, all will be very well: but you can never think it worth while to employ an agent here, if his being paid or not is to depend on the breath of a minister, and I should think it a situation too suspicious, and therefore too dishonourable for me to remain in a single hour. Living frugally, I am under no immediate necessity, and if I serve my constituents faithfully, though it should be unsuccessfully, I am confident they will always have it in their inclination, and some time or other in their power, to make their grants effectual.

"A gentleman of our province, captain Calef, is come hither as an agent for some of the eastern townships, to obtain a confirmation of their lands. Sir Francis Bernard seems inclined to make use of this person's application for promoting a separation of that country from your province, and making it a distinct government; to which purpose he prepared a draft of a memorial for Calef to present, setting forth not only the hardship of being without security in the property of their improvements, but also of the distress of the people there for want of government; that they were at too great a distance from the seat of government in the Massachusetts, to be capable of receiving the benefits of government from thence, and expressing their willingness to be separated and formed into a new province, &c. With this draft sir Francis and Mr. Calef came to me to have my opinion. I read it, and observed to them, that though I wished the people quieted in their possessions, and would do any thing I could to assist in obtaining the assurance of their property, yet as I knew the province of Massachusetts had a right to that country, of which they were justly tenacious, I must oppose that part of the memorial, if it should be presented. Sir Francis allowed the right, but proposed that a great tract of land between Merrimack and Connecticut rivers, which had been allotted to New Hampshire, might be restored to our province, by order of the crown, as a compensation. This he said would be of more value to us than that eastern country, as being nearer home, &c. I said I would mention it in my letters, but must in the mean time oppose any step taken in the affair before the sentiments of the general court should be known, as to such an exchange, if it were offered. Mr. Calef himself did not seem fond of the draft, and I have not seen him, or heard any thing farther of it since, but I shall watch it.

"Be pleased to present my dutiful respects to the house, and believe me with sincere and great esteem, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. Mather, Boston.*

"LONDON, July 4, 1773.

"REVEREND SIR,—The remarks you have added on the late proceedings against America, are very just and judicious: and I cannot see any impropriety in your making them, though a minister of the gospel. This kingdom is a good deal indebted for its liberties to the public spirit of its ancient clergy, who joined with the barons in obtaining Magna Charta, and joined heartily in forming the curses of excommunication against the infringers of it. There is no doubt but the claim of parliament, of authority to make laws *binding on the colonies in all cases whatsoever*, includes an authority to change our religious constitution, and establish popery or Mahomedanism, if they please, in its stead; but, as you intimate, *power* does not infer *right;* and as the *right* is nothing, and the *power* (by our increase) continually diminishing, the one will soon be as insignificant as the *other.* You seem only to have made a small mistake, in supposing they modestly avoided to declare they had a right, the words of the act being, 'that they have and of *right* ought to have full power, &c.'

"Your suspicion that sundry others besides governor Bernard 'had written hither their opinions and councils, encouraging the late measures to the prejudice of our country, which have been too much heeded and followed,' is, I apprehend, but too well founded. You call them 'traitorous individuals,' whence I collect, that you suppose them of our own country. There was among the twelve Apostles one traitor, who betrayed with a kiss. It should be no wonder therefore, if among so many thousand true patriots, as New England contains, there should be found even twelve Judases, ready to betray their country for a few paltry pieces of silver. Their *ends* as well as their views ought to be similar. But all the oppressions evidently work for our good. Providence seems by every means intent on making us a great people. May our virtues public and private grow with us, and be durable, that liberty, civil and religious, may be secured to our posterity, and to all from every part of the old world that take refuge among us.

"With great esteem, and my best wishes for a long continuance of your usefulness, I am, reverend sir, your most obedient humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Cooper, Boston.*

"LONDON, July 7, 1773.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your very valuable favours of March 15 and April 23. It rejoices me to find your health so far restored that your friends can again be benefited by your correspondence.

"The governor was certainly out in his politics, if he hoped to recommend himself there, by entering upon that dispute with the assembly. His imprudence in bringing it at all upon the tapis, and his bad management of it, are almost equally censured. The council and assembly on the other hand have, by the coolness, clearness, and force of their answers, gained great reputation.

"The unanimity of our towns, in their sentiments of liberty, gives me great pleasure, as it shows the generally enlightened state of our people's minds, and the falsehood of the opinion, much cultivated here by the partizans of arbitrary power in America, that only a small faction among us were discontented with the late measures. If that unanimity can be discovered in all the colonies, it will give much greater weight to our future remonstrances. I heartily wish with you, that some line could be drawn, some bill of rights established for America, that might secure peace between the two countries, so necessary for the prosperity of both. But I think little attention is like to be afforded by our ministers to that salutary work, till the breach becomes greater and more alarming, and then the difficulty of repairing it will be greater in a tenfold proportion.

"You mention the surprise of a gentleman to whom those letters have been communicated, at the restrictions with which they were accompanied, and which they suppose render them incapable of answering any important end. One great reason of forbidding their publication, was an apprehension that it might put all the possessors of such correspondence here upon their guard, and so prevent the obtaining more of it. And it was imagined that showing the originals to so many as were named, and to a few such others as they might think fit, would be sufficient to establish the authenticity, and to spread through the province so just an estimation of the writers, as to strip them of all their deluded friends, and demolish effectually their interest and influence. The letters might be shown even to some of the governor's and lieutenant-governor's partizans, and spoken of to every body; for there was no restraint proposed to talking of them, but only to copying. However the terms given with them could only be those with which they were received.

"The great defect here is in all sorts of people a want of attention to what passes in such remote countries as America, an unwillingness to read any thing about them if it appears a little lengthy; and a disposition to postpone the consideration even of the things they know they must at last consider, that so they may have time for what more immediately concerns them, and withal enjoy their amusements, and be undisturbed in the universal dissipation. In other respects, though some of the great regard us with a jealous eye, and some are angry with us, the majority of the nation rather wish us well, and have no desire to infringe our liberties. And many console themselves under the apprehension of declining liberty here, that they or their posterity shall be able to find her safe and vigorous in America.

"With sincere and great esteem, I am, &c.
"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Governor Franklin.*

"London, July 14, 1773.

"Dear Son,—I am glad to find by yours of May 4, that you have been able to assist Josiah Davenport a little; but vexed that he and you should think of putting me upon a solicitation which it is impossible for me to engage in. I am not upon terms with lord North to ask any such favour from him. Displeased with something he said relating to America, I have never been at his levees, since the first. Perhaps he has taken that amiss. For last week we met occasionally at lord Le Despencer's in our return from Oxford, where I had been to attend the solemnity of his installation, and he seemed studiously to avoid speaking to me. I ought to be ashamed to say, that on such occasions I feel myself to be as proud as any body. His lady indeed was more gracious. She came and sat down by me on the same sopha, and condescended to enter into a conversation with me agreeably enough, as if to make some amends. Their son and daughter were with them. They staid all night, so that we dined, supped, and breakfasted together, without exchanging three sentences. But had he ever so great a regard for me, I could not ask that office, trifling as it is, for any relation of mine. And detesting as I do the whole system of American customs, believing they will one day bring on a breach, through the indiscretion and insolence of those concerned in the collection, I should never wish to see one so near to me in that business. If you think him capable of acting as deputy secretary, I imagine you might easily obtain that for him of Mr. Morgan. He has lately been with me, is always very complaisant, and understanding I was about returning to America, requested my interest to obtain for him the *agency for your province.* His friend, sir Watkin Lewes, who was formerly candidate for the same *great place*, is now high sheriff of London, and in the way of being lord mayor. The new sheriffs elect, are (could you think it?) both Americans, viz. Mr. Sayre, the New Yorker, and Mr. W. Lee, brother to Dr. Lee. I am glad you stand so well with lord Dartmouth. I am likewise well with him, but he never spoke to me of augmenting your salary. He is truly a good man, and wishes sincerely a good understanding with the colonies, but does not seem to have strength equal to his wishes. Between you and me, the late measures have been, I suspect, very much the king's own, and he has in some cases a great share of what his friends call *firmness.* Yet by some pains-taking and proper management, the wrong impressions he has received may be removed, which is perhaps the only chance America has for obtaining *soon* the redress she aims at. This entirely to yourself.

"And now we are among great folks, let me tell you a little of lord Hillsborough. I went down to Oxford with and at the instance of lord Le Despencer, who is on all occasions very good to me, and seems of late very desirous of my company. Mr. Todd too was there, who has some attachment to lord H., and in a walk we were taking, told me as a secret that lord H. was much chagrined at being out of place, and could never forgive me for writing that pamphlet against his report about the Ohio. I assured him, says Mr. T., that I knew you did not write it; and the consequence is, that he thinks I know the contrary, and wanted to impose upon him in your favour; and so I find he is now displeased with me, and for no other cause in the world. His friend Bamber Gascoign too, says that they *well know* it was written by Dr. F., who was one of the most mischievous men in England. That same day lord H. called upon lord Le D., whose chamber and mine were together in Queen's college. I was in the inner room shifting, and heard his voice, but did not see him, as he went down stairs immediately with lord Le D., who mentioning that I was above, he returned directly, and came to me in the pleasantest manner imaginable. "Dr. F." said he, "I did not know till this minute that you were here, and I am come back *to make you my bow.* I am glad to see you at Oxford, and that you look so well, &c." In return for this extravagance, I complimented him on his son's performance in the theatre, though indeed it was but indifferent, so that account was settled. For as people say, when they are angry, if he *strike me*, I'll strike him again; I think sometimes it may be right to say, *if he flatters me, I'll flatter him again.* This is *lex talionis*, returning offences in kind. His son, however, (lord Fairford) is a valuable young man, and his daughters, ladies Mary and Charlotte, most amiable young women. My quarrel is only with him, who of all the men I ever met with is surely the most unequal in his treatment of people, the most insincere, and the most wrongheaded; witness besides his various behaviour to me, his duplicity in encouraging us to ask for more land, *ask for enough to make a province*, (when we at first asked only for two millions five hundred thousand acres,) were his words, pretending to befriend our application, then doing every thing to defeat it, and reconciling the first to the last, by saying to a friend, that he meant to defeat it from the beginning; and that his putting us upon asking so much was with that very view, supposing it too much to be granted. Thus by the way, his mortification becomes double. He has served us by the very means he meant to destroy us, and tript up his own heels into the bargain. Your affectionate father, "B. FRANKLIN.

"*Mr. Winthrop, Boston.*

"LONDON, July 25, 1773.

"DEAR SIR,—I am glad to see that you are elected into the council, and are about to take part in our public affairs. Your abilities, integrity, and sober attachment to the liberties of our country, will be of great use in this tempestuous time, in conducting our little bark into safe harbour. By the Boston newspapers, there seems to be among us some violent spirits, who are for an immediate rupture. But I trust the general prudence of our country will see, that by our growing strength we advance fast to a situation in which our claims must be allowed; that by a premature struggle we may be crippled, and kept down another age; that as between friends every affront is not worth a duel, between nations every injury not worth a war; so between the governed and governing every mistake in government, every incroachment on right is not worth a rebellion. 'Tis in my opinion sufficient for the present that we hold them forth on all occasions, not giving up any of them, using at the same time every means to make them generally understood and valued by the people; cultivating a harmony among the colonies, that their union in the same sentiments may give them greater weight; remembering withal, that this Protestant country, (our mother, though lately an unkind one) is worth preserving, and that her weight in the scale of Europe, and her safety in a great degree, may depend on our union with her. Thus conducting, I am confident we may in a few years, obtain every allowance of and every security for our inestimable privileges, that we can wish or desire.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Thomas Cushing.*

"LONDON, July 25, 1773.

"SIR,—I am favoured with yours of June 14 and 16, containing some copies of the resolves of the committee upon the letters. I see by your account of the transaction, that you could not well prevent what was done. As to the report of other copies being come from England, I know that could not be. It was an expedient to disengage the house. I hope the possession of the originals, and the proceedings upon them will be attended with salutary effects to the province, and then I shall be well pleased.

"I observe that you mention, that no person besides Dr. Cooper and one of the committee knew they came from me. I did not accompany them with any request of being myself concealed, for believing what I did to be in the way of my duty as agent, though I had no doubt of its giving offence, not only to the parties exposed, but to administration here, I was regardless of the consequences. However, since the letters themselves are now copied and printed, contrary to the promise I made, I am glad my name has not been heard on the occasion, and as I do not see it could be of any use to the public, I now wish it may continue unknown; though I hardly expect it. As to yours, you may rely on my never mentioning it, except that I may be obliged to show your letter in my own vindication to the person only who might otherwise think he had reason to blame *me* for breach of engagement. It must surely be seen here, that after such a detection of their duplicity, in pretending a regard and affection to the province, while they were undermining its privileges, it is impossible for the crown to make any good use of their services, and that it can never be for its interest to employ servants who are under such universal odium. The consequence one would think should be their removal. But perhaps it may be to titles, or to pensions—if your revenue can pay them. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Cooper, Boston.*

"LONDON, July 25, 1773.

"DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you on the 7th instant pretty fully, and am since favoured with yours of June 14.

"I am much pleased with the proposal of the Virginia assembly, and the respectful manner in which it has been received by ours. I think it likely to produce very salutary effects.

"I am glad to know your opinion, that those letters came seasonably, and may be of public utility. I accompanied them with no restriction relating to myself; my duty to the province as their agent, I thought required the communication of them as far as I could; I was sensible I should make enemies there, and perhaps I might offend government here; but those apprehensions I disregarded. I did not expect, that my sending them could be kept a secret: but since it is such hitherto, I now wish it may continue so, because the publication of the letters, contrary to my engagement, has changed the circumstances. If they serve to diminish the influence and demolish the power of the parties whose correspondence has been, and probably would have continued to be, so mischievous to the interests and rights of the province, I shall on that account be more easy under any inconveniences I may suffer, either here or there; and shall bear as well as I can, the imputation of not having taken sufficient care to insure the performance of my promise.

"I think government can hardly expect to draw any future service from such instruments, and one would suppose they must soon be dismissed. We shall see.

"I hope to be favoured with the continuance of your correspondence and intelligence, while I stay here; it is highly useful to me, and will be, as it always has been, pleasing every where. "B. FRANKLIN."

" *Thomas Cushing.*

"London, August 24, 1773.

"Sir,—I received duly your several favours of June 25, 26, and 30, with the papers inclosed. My lord Dartmouth being at his country seat in Staffordshire, I transmitted to him the address for the removal of the governor and lieutenant-governor, and Mr. Bollan and I, jointly, transmited the letter to his lordship from both houses. I delivered to Mr. Bollan one set of the authenticated copies of the letters, and we shall co-operate in the business we are charged with.

"I am told that the governor has requested leave to come home: that some great persons about the court do not think the letters, now they have seen them, a sufficient foundation for the resolves; that therefore it is not likely he will be removed, but suffered to resign, and that some provision will be made for him here. But nothing I apprehend is likely to be done soon, as most of the great officers of state, who composed the privy council, are in the country, and likely to continue till the parliament meets, and perhaps the above may be chiefly conjecture.

"I have informed Mr. Lee, that in case there should be a hearing, I was directed to engage him as counsel for the province; that though I had received no money, I would advance what might be necessary; those hearings by counsel being expensive.

"I purpose writing to you again by the packet, B. FRANKLIN."

" *Governor Franklin.*

"London, Sept. 1, 1773.

"Dear Son,—I have now before me yours of July 5 and 6. The August packet is not yet arrived.

"Dr. Cooper of New York's opinion of the author of the sermon, however honourable to me, is injurious to the good bishop; and therefore I must say, in justice and truth, that I knew nothing of his intention to preach on the subject, and saw not a word of the sermon till it was printed. Possibly some preceding conversation between us may have turned his thoughts that way; but if so, that is all.

"I think the resolutions of the New England townships must have the effect they seem intended for, viz. to show that the discontents were really general, and their sentiments concerning their rights unanimous, and not the fiction of a few demagogues, as their governors used to represent them here: and therefore not useless, though they should not as yet induce government to acknowledge their claims: that people may probably think it sufficient for the present to assert and hold forth their rights secure: that sooner or later they must be admitted and acknowledged. The declaratory law here, had too its use, viz. to prevent or lessen at least a clamour against the ministry that repealed the stamp act, as if they had given up the right of this country to govern America. Other use indeed it could have none, and I remember lord Mansfield told the lords, when upon that bill, that it was nugatory. To be sure, in a dispute between two parties about rights, the declaration of one party can never be supposed to bind the other.

"It is said there is now a project on foot to form an union with Ireland, and that lord Harcourt is to propose it at the next meeting of the Irish parliament. The eastern side of Ireland are averse to it; supposing that when Dublin is no longer the seat of their government it will decline, the harbour being but indifferent, and that the western and southern ports will rise and flourish on its ruins, being good in themselves, and much better situated for commerce. For these same reasons, the western and southern people are inclined to the measure, and 'tis thought it may be carried. But these are difficult affairs, and usually take longer time than the projectors imagine. Mr. Crowley, the author of several proposals for uniting the colonies with the mother country, and who runs about much among the ministers, tells me the union of Ireland is only the first step towards a general union. He is for having it done by the parliament of England, without consulting the colonies, and he will warrant, he says, that if the terms proposed are equitable, they will all come in one after the other. He seems rather a little cracked upon the subject.

"It is said here, that the famous Boston letters were sent chiefly, if not all, to the late Mr. Wheatly. They fell into my hands, and I thought it my duty to give some principal people there a sight of them, very much with this view, that when they saw the measures they complained of took their rise in a great degree from the representations and recommendations of their own countrymen, their resentment against Britain on account of those measures might abate, as mine had done, and a reconciliation be more easily obtained. In Boston they concealed who sent them, the better to conceal who received and communicated them. And perhaps it is as well that it should continue a secret. Being of that country myself, I think those letters more heinous than you seem to think them; but you had not read them all, nor perhaps the council's remarks on them. I have written to decline their agency, on account of my return to America. Dr. Lee succeeds me. I only keep it while I stay, which perhaps will be another winter.

"I grieve to hear of the death of my good old friend Dr. Evans. I have lost so many, since I left America, that I begin to fear that I shall find myself a stranger among strangers, when I return. If so, I must come again to my friends in England.

"I am ever your affectionate father,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Thomas Cushing.*

"London, Sept. 12, 1773.

"Sir,—The above is a copy of my last, per packet. Inclosed is the original letter therein mentioned. His lordship continues in the country, but is expected (secretary Pownall tells me) the beginning of next month.

"To avoid repealing the American tea duty, and yet find a vent for tea, a project is executing to send it from thence, on account of the East India company, to be sold in America, agreeably to a late act, impowering the lords of the treasury to grant licenses to the company to export tea thither, under certain restrictions, duty free. Some friends of government (as they are called,) of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, &c. are to be favoured with the commission, who undertake by their interest to carry the measure through in the colonies. How the other merchants thus excluded from the tea trade will like this, I cannot foresee. Their agreement, if I remember right, was not to import tea, till the duty shall be repealed. Perhaps they will think themselves still obliged by that agreement, notwithstanding this temporary expedient; which is only to introduce the tea for the present, and may be dropped next year, and the duty again required, the granting or refusing such license from time to time remaining in the power of the treasury. And it will seem hard, while their hands are tied, to see the profits of that article all engrossed by a few particulars.

"Inclosed* I take the liberty of sending you a small piece of mine, written to expose, in as striking a light as I could, to the nation, the absurdity of the measures towards America, and to spur the ministry, if possible, to a change of those measures.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Governor Franklin.*

"London, October 6, 1773.

"Dear Son,—I wrote to you on the 1st of last month, since which I have received yours of July 29, from New York.

"I know not what letters of mine governor H. could mean, as advising the people to insist on their independency. But whatever they were, I suppose he has sent copies of them hither, having heard some whisperings about them. I shall, however, be able at any time, to justify every thing I have written; the purport being uniformly this, that they should carefully avoid all tumults and every violent measure, and content themselves with verbally keeping up their claims, and holding forth their rights whenever occasion requires; secure, that from the growing importance of America, those claims will ere long be attended to, and acknowledged. From a long and thorough consideration of the subject, I am indeed of opinion, that the parliament has no right to make any law whatever, binding on the colonies. That the king, and not the king, lords, and commons collectively, is their sovereign; and that the king with their respective parliaments, is their only legislator. I know your sentiments differ from mine on these subjects. You are a thorough government man, which I do not wonder at, nor do I aim at converting you. I only wish you to act uprightly and steadily, avoiding that duplicity, which in Hutchinson, adds contempt to indignation. If you can promote the prosperity of your people, and leave them happier than you found them, whatever your political principles are, your memory will be honoured.

"I have written two pieces here lately for the Public Advertiser, on American affairs, designed to expose the conduct of this country towards the colonies, in a short, comprehensive, and striking view, and stated therefore in out-of-the-way forms, as most likely to take the general attention. The first was called, *Rules by which a great empire may be reduced to a small one*;* the second, *An Edict of the king of Prussia*. I send you one of the first, but could not get enough of the second to spare you one, though my clerk went the next morning to the printer's, and wherever they were sold. They were all gone but two. In my own mind I preferred the first, as a composition for the quantity and variety of the matter contained, and a kind of spirited ending of each paragraph. But I find that others here generally prefer the second. I am not suspected as the author, except by one or two friends; and have heard the latter spoken of in the highest terms as the keenest and severest piece that has appeared here a long time. Lord Mansfield I hear said of it, that it *was very* ABLE *and very* ARTFUL indeed; and would do mischief by giving here a bad impression of the measures of government; and in the colonies, by encouraging them in their contumacy. It is reprinted in the Chronicle, where you will see it, but stripped of all the capitalling and italicing, that intimate the allusions, and marks the emphasis of written discourses, to bring them as near as possible to those spoken: printing such a piece all in one even small character, seems to me like repeating one of Whitfield's sermons in the monotony of a school-boy. What made it the more noticed here was, that people in reading it, were, as the phrase is, *taken in*, till they had got half through it, and imagined it a real edict, to which mistake I suppose the king of Prussia's *character* must have contributed. I was down at lord Le Despencer's when the post brought that day's papers. Mr. Whitehead was there too (Paul Whitehead, the author of Manners) who runs early through all the papers, and tells the company what he finds remarkable. He had them in another room, and we were chatting in the breakfast parlour, when he came running into us, out of breath, with the paper in his hand. Here! says he, here 's news for ye! *Here 's the king of Prussia claiming a right to this kingdom!* All stared, and I as much as any body; and he went on to read it. When he had read two or three paragraphs, a gentleman present said, *Damn his impudence, I dare say we shall hear by next post that he is upon his march with one hundred thousand men to back this.* Whitehead, who is very shrewd, soon after began to smoke it, and looking in my face said, *I'll be hanged if this is not some of your American jokes upon us.* The reading went on, and ended with abundance of laughing, and a general verdict that it was a fair hit: and the piece was cut out of the paper, and preserved in my lord's collection.

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* See the *Prussian Edict*, p. 225 of this edition.

* See page 227 of this edition.

"I don't wonder that Hutchinson should be dejected. It must be an uncomfortable thing to live among people who he is conscious universally detest him. Yet I fancy he will not have leave to come home, both because they know not well what to do with him, and because they do not very well like his conduct.

"I am ever your affectionate father,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Thomas Cushing.*

"LONDON, NOV. 1, 1773.

"SIR,—I duly received your favour of 26th of August, with the letter inclosed for lord Dartmouth, which I immediately sent to him As soon as he comes to town, I shall wait upon his lordship, and discourse with him upon the subject of it; and I shall immediately write to you what I can collect from the conversation.

"In my own opinion, the letter of the two houses of the 29th June, proposing, as a satisfactory measure, the restoring things to the state in which they were at the conclusion of the late war, is a fair and generous offer on our part, and my discourse here is, that it is more than Britain has a right to expect from us; and that if she has any wisdom left she will embrace it, and agree with us immediately; for that the longer she delays the accommodation, which finally she must for her own sake obtain, the worse terms she may expect, since the inequality of power and importance that at present subsists between us is daily diminishing, and our sense of our own rights, and of her injustice, continually increasing. I am the more encouraged to hold such language, by perceiving that the general sense of the nation is for us; a conviction prevailing that we have been ill-used, and that a breach with us would be ruinous to this country. The pieces I wrote to increase and strengthen those sentiments, were more read, and talked of, and attended to than usual. The first, as you will see by the inclosed, has been called for and reprinted in the same paper, besides being copied in others. and in the magazines. A long laboured answer has been made to it (by governor Bernard it is said) which I send you. I am told it does not satisfy those in whose justification it was written, and that a better is preparing. I think with you, that great difficulties must attend an attempt to make a new representation of our grievances, in which the point of right should be kept out of sight, especially as the concurrence of so many colonies seems now necessary. And therefore it would certainly be best and wisest for parliament (which does not meet till after the middle of January) to make up the matter themselves, and at once reduce things to the state desired. There are not wanting some here who believe this will really be the case; for that a new election being now in view, the present members are likely to consider the composing all differences with America, as a measure agreeable to the trading and manufacturing part of the nation; and that the neglecting it may be made use of by their opponents to their disadvantage.

"I have as yet received no answer to the petition for removing the governors. I imagine that it will hardly be complied with, as it would embarrass government to provide for them otherwise, and it will be thought hard to neglect men who have exposed themselves, by adhering to what is here called the interest and rights of this country. But this I only conjecture, as I have heard nothing certain about it. Indeed I should think continuing them in their places would be rather a punishment than a favour. For what comfort can men have in living among a people with whom they are the object of universal odium.

"I shall continue here one winter longer, and use my best endeavours as long as I stay for the service of our country.

"With great esteem, I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Joseph Galloway, Philadelphia.*

"LONDON, Nov. 3, 1773.

"SIR,—There is at present great quietness here, and no prospect that the war between the Turks and Russians will spread farther in Europe. The last harvest is allowed to have been generally plentiful in this country; and yet such was the preceding scantiness of crops, that it is thought there is no corn to spare for exportation, which continues the advantages to our corn provinces.

"The parliament is not to meet till after the middle of January. It is said there is a disposition to compose all differences with America before the next general election, as the trading and manufacturing part of the nation are generally our well-wishers, think we have been hardly used, and apprehend ill consequences from a continuance of the measures that we complain of: and that if those measures are not changed, an American interest may be spirited up at the election against the present members who are in, or friends to administration. Our steady refusal to take tea from hence for several years past has made its impressions. The scheme for supplying us without repealing the act, by a temporary license from the treasury to export tea to America, free of duty, you are, before this time, acquainted with. I much want to hear how that tea is received. If it is rejected the act will undoubtedly be repealed; otherwise, I suppose it will be continued; and when we have got into the use of the company's tea, and the foreign correspondences that supply us at present, are broken off, the licenses will be discontinued, and the act enforced.

"I apprehend the better understanding that lately subsisted in our provincial administration will hardly be continued with the new governor; but you will soon see. I wish for the full letter you promise me by the next packet which is now daily expected.

"With unalterable esteem and attachment, I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Governor Franklin.*

"LONDON, Nov. 3, 1773.

"DEAR SON,—I wrote you pretty fully by the last packet, and having had no line from you of later date than the beginning of August, and little stirring here lately, I have now little to write.

"In that letter I mentioned my having written two papers, of which I preferred the first, but the public the last. It seems I was mistaken in judging of the public opinion; for the first was reprinted some weeks after in the same paper, the printer giving for reason, that he did it in compliance with the earnest request of many private persons, and some respectable societies; which is the more extraordinary as it had been copied in several other papers, and in the Gentleman's Magazine.* Such papers may seem to have a tendency to increase our divisions, but I intend a contrary effect, and hope by comprising in little room, and setting in a strong light the grievances of the colonies, more attention will be paid them by our administration, and that when their unreasonableness is generally seen, some of them will be removed to the restoration of harmony between us.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Thomas Cushing.*

"LONDON, Jan. 5, 1774.

"SIR,—I received the honour of yours dated October 28, with the Journals of the house and Mr. Turner's election sermon.

"I waited on lord Dartmouth on his return to town, and learnt that he had presented to his majesty our petition for the removal of the governors. No subsequent step had yet been taken upon it: but his lordship said, the king would probably refer the consideration of it to a committee of council, and that I should have notice to be heard in support of it. By the turn of his conversation, though he was not explicit, I apprehend the petition is not likely to be complied with: but we shall see. His lordship expressed as usual much concern at the differences subsisting, and wished they would be accommodated. Perhaps his good wishes are all that is in his power.

"The famous letters having unfortunately engaged Mr. Temple and Mr. Wheatly in a duel, which being interrupted would probably be renewed, I thought it incumbent on me to prevent, as far as I could, any farther mischief, by declaring publicly the part I had in the affair of those letters, and thereby at the same time to rescue Mr. Temple's character from an undeserved and groundless imputation, that bore hard upon his honour, viz. that of taking the letters from Mr. Wheatly, and in breach of confidence. I did this with the more pleasure, as I believe him a sincere friend to our country. I am told by some that it was imprudent in me to avow the obtaining and sending those letters, for that administration will resent it. I have not much apprehension of this, but if it happens I must take the consequences. I only hope it will not affect any friend on your side of the water, for I have never mentioned *to whom* they were transmitted.

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* Preface by the British editor [*Dr. Franklin*] to the votes and proceedings of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston in town meeting assembled, according to law, (published by order of the town) &c. Boston, printed: London reprinted and sold by J. Wilkie, St. Paul's Church Yard, 1773.

"A letter of mine to you, printed in one of the Boston papers, has lately been reprinted here, to show, as the publisher expresses it, that I am '*one of the most determined enemies* of the welfare and prosperity of Great Britain.' In the opinion of some, every one who wishes the good of the *whole empire*, may nevertheless be an enemy to *the welfare of Great Britain*, if he does not wish its good *exclusively* of every other *part*, and to see its welfare built on their servitude and wretchedness. Such an enemy I certainly am. But methinks 'tis wrong to print letters of mine at Boston which give occasion to these reflections.

"I shall continue to do all I possibly can this winter towards an accommodation of our differences; but my hopes are small. Divine Providence first infatuates the power it designs to ruin. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Governor Franklin.*

"LONDON, Jan. 5, 1774.

"DEAR SON,—I received yours of October 29 and November 2. Your December packet is not yet arrived.

"No insinuations of the kind you mention, concerning Mr. Galloway, have reached me, and if they had, it would have been without the least effect; as I have always had the strongest reliance on the steadiness of his friendship, and on the best grounds, the knowledge I have of his integrity, and the often repeated disinterested services he has rendered me. My return will interfere with nobody's interest or influence in public affairs, as my intention is to decline all interest in them, and every active part, except where it can serve a friend, and to content myself with communicating the knowledge of them my situation may have furnished me with, and be content with giving my advice for the public benefit, where it may be asked, or where I shall think it may be attended to: for being now about entering my sixty-ninth year, and having lived so great a part of my life to the public, it seems but fair that I should be allowed to live the small remainder to myself and to my friends.

"If the honourable office you mention will be agreeable to him, I heartily wish it him. I only hope that if offered him, he will insist on its being not during pleasure but *quamdiu se bene gesserit.*

"Our friend Temple, as you will see by the papers, has been engaged in a duel, about an affair in which he had no concern. As the combat was interrupted, and understood to be unfinished, I thought it incumbent on me to do what I could for preventing farther mischief, and so declared my having transmitted the letters in question. This has drawn some censure upon myself, but as I grow old, I grow less concerned about censure, when I am satisfied that I act rightly, and I have the pleasure of having exculpated a friend who lay undeservedly under an imputation much to his dishonour.

"I am now seriously preparing for my departure to America. I purpose sending my luggage, books, instruments, &c. by All or Falconer, and take my passage to New York in one of the spring or summer packets, partly for settling some business with the post office there, and partly that I may see you on my way to Philadelphia, and learn thereby more perfectly the state of affairs there. Your affectionate father, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Joseph Priestley.*

"PHILADELPHIA, July 7, 1775.

"DEAR FRIEND,—The congress met at a time when all minds were so exasperated by the perfidy of general Gage, and his attack on the country people, that propositions for attempting an accommodation were not much relished; and it has been with difficulty that we have carried another humble petition to the crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more of recovering the friendship of the colonies; which however I think she has not sense enough to embrace, and so I conclude she has lost them for ever.

"She has begun to burn our sea-port towns; secure, I suppose, we shall never be able to return the outrage in kind. She may doubtless destroy them all; but if she wishes to recover our commerce, are these the probable means? She must certainly be distracted; for no tradesman out of Bedlam ever thought of increasing the number of his customers, by knocking them on the head; or of enabling them to pay their debts, by burning their houses.

"If she wishes to have us subjects, and that we should submit to her as our compound sovereign, she is now giving us such miser able specimens of her government, that we shall ever detest and avoid it, as a complication of robbery, murder, famine, fire, and pestilence.

"You will have heard, before this reaches you, of the treacherous conduct of general Gage to the remaining people in Boston, in detaining their goods, after stipulating to let them go out with their effects, on pretence that merchants' goods were not effects; the defeat of a great body of his troops by the country people at Lexington; some other small advantages gained in skirmishes with their troops; and the action at Bunker's Hill, in which they were twice repulsed, and the third time gained a dear victory. Enough has happened, one would think, to convince your ministers, that the Americans will fight, and that this is a harder nut to crack than they imagined.

"We have not yet applied to any foreign power for assistance, nor offered our commerce for their friendship. Perhaps we never may: yet it is natural to think of it, if we are pressed.

"We have now an army on the establishment, which still holds yours besieged.

"My time was never more fully employed. In the morning at six, I am at the committee of safety, appointed by the assembly to put the province in a state of defence; which committee holds till near nine, when I am at the congress, and that sits till after four in the afternoon. Both these bodies proceed with the greatest unanimity, and their meetings are well attended. It will scarce be credited in Britain, that men can be as diligent with us from zeal for the public good, as with you for thousands per annum. Such is the difference between uncorrupted new states, and corrupted old ones.

"Great frugality and great industry are now become fashionable here: gentlemen, who used to entertain with two or three courses, pride themselves now in treating with simple beef and pudding. By these means, and the stoppage of our consumptive trade with Britain, we shall be better able to pay our voluntary taxes for the support of our troops. Our savings in the article of trade amount to near five millions sterling per annum.

"I shall communicate your letter to Mr. Winthrop, but the camp is at Cambridge, and he has as little leisure for philosophy as myself. Believe me ever, with sincere esteem, my dear friend, Yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Priestley.*[*]

"PHILADELPHIA, October 3, 1775.

"DEAR SIR,—I am to set out to-morrow for the camp,[*] and having but just heard of this opportunity, can only write a line to say that I am well and hearty.—Tell our dear good friend, Dr. Price, who sometimes has his doubts and despondencies about our firmness, that America is determined and unanimous; a very few tories and place men excepted, who will probably soon export themselves.—Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign, which is 20,000*l.* a head; and at Bunker's Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these *data* his mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory. My sincere respects to * *, and to the club of honest whigs at * *. Adieu.

"I am ever yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 3. 1775.

"I WISH as ardently as you can do for peace, and should rejoice exceedingly in co-operating with you to that end. But every ship from Britain brings some intelligence of new measures, that tend more and more to exasperate: and it seems to me, that until you have found by dear experience the reducing us by force impracticable, you will think of nothing fair and reasonable. We have as yet resolved only on defensive measures. If you would recall your forces and stay at home, we should meditate nothing to injure you. A little time so given for cooling on both sides would have excellent effects. But you will goad and provoke us. You despise us too much; and you are insensible of the Italian adage, that *there is no little enemy.* I am persuaded the body of the British people are our friends; but they are changeable, and by your lying gazettes may soon be made our enemies. Our respect for them will proportionably diminish; and I see clearly we are on the high road to mutual enmity, hatred, and detestation. A separation will of course be inevitable. It is a million of pities so fair a plan, as we have hitherto been engaged in for increasing strength and empire with *public felicity*, should be destroyed by the mangling hands of a few blundering ministers. It will not be destroyed: God will protect and prosper it: you will only exclude yourselves from any share in it. We hear that more ships and troops are coming out. We know you may do us a great deal of mischief, but we are determined to bear it patiently as long as we can; but if you flatter yourselves with beating us into submission, you know neither the people nor the country.

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[*] This letter has been several times very incorrectly printed: it is here given correctly.

[*] Dr. Franklin, colonel Harrison, and Mr. Lynch, were at this time appointed by congress (of which they were members) to confer on certain subjects with general Washington. The American army was then employed in blocking up general Howe in Boston; and it was during this visit, that general Washington communicated the following memorable anecdote to Dr. Franklin, viz. "that there had been a time when his army had been so destitute of military stores, as not to have powder enough in all its magazines, to furnish more than *five* rounds per man for their small arms." Artillery were out of the question; they were fired now and then, only to show that they had them. Yet this secret was kept with so much address and good countenance from both armies, that general Washington was enabled effectually to continue the blockade.

"The congress is still sitting, and will wait the result of their *last* petition."

"*M. Dumas.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 9, 1775.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your several favours, of May 18, June 30, and July 8, by Messrs. Vaillant and Pochard; whom, if I could serve upon your recommendation, it would give me great pleasure. Their total want of English is at present an obstruction to their getting any employment among us; but I hope they will soon obtain some knowledge of it. This is a good country for artificers or farmers, but gentlemen of mere science in *les bélles léttres* cannot so easily subsist here, there being little demand for their assistance among an industrious people, who, as yet, have not much leisure for studies of that kind.

"I am much obliged by the kind present you have made us of your edition of *Vattel.* It came to us in good season, when the circumstances of a rising state make it necessary frequently to consult the law of nations. Accordingly that copy which I kept (after depositing one in our own public library here, and sending the other to the college of Massachusett's Bay, as you directed) has been continually in the hands of the members of our congress, now sitting, who are much pleased with your notes and preface, and have entertained a high and just esteem for their author. Your manuscript '*Idée sur le gouvernment et la royauté*,' is also well relished, and may, in time, have its effect. I thank you, likewise, for the other smaller pieces, which accompanied Vattel. '*Le court exposé de ce qui s'est passé entre la cour Br. et les colonies*,' *&c.* being a very concise and clear statement of facts, will be reprinted here for the use of our new friends in Canada. The translations of the proceedings of our congress are very acceptable. I send you herewith what of them has been farther published here, together with a few newspapers, containing accounts of some of the successes Providence has favoured us with. We are threatened from England with a very powerful force, to come next year against us. We are making all the provision in our power here to oppose that force, and we hope we shall be able to defend ourselves. But, as the events of war are always uncertain, possibly after another campaign, we may find it necessary to ask aid of some foreign power. It gives us great pleasure to learn from you that *toute l' Europe nous souhaite le plus heureux succés pour le maintien de nos libertés.* But we wish to know, whether any of them, from principles of humanity, is disposed magnanimously to step in for the relief of an oppressed people, or whether, if, as it seems likely to happen, we should be obliged to break off all connexion with Britain, and declare ourselves an independent people, there is any state or power in Europe, who would be willing to enter into an alliance with us for the benefit of our commerce, which amounted, before the war, to near seven millions sterling per annum, and must continually increase, as our people increase most rapidly. Confiding, my dear friend, in your good will to us and our cause, and in your sagacity and abilities for business, the committee of congress, appointed for the purpose of establishing and conducting a correspondence with our friends in Europe, of which committee I have the honour to be a member, have directed me to request of you, that, as you are situated at the Hague, where ambassadors from all the courts reside, you would make use of the opportunity that situation affords you, of discovering, if possible, the disposition of the several courts with respect to such assistance or alliance, if we should apply for the one, or propose the other. As it may possibly be necessary, in particular instances, that you should, for this purpose, confer directly with some great ministers, and show them this letter as your credential, we only recommend it to your discretion, that you proceed therein with such caution, as to keep the same from the knowledge of the English ambassador, and prevent any public appearance, at present, of your being employed in any such business, as thereby, we imagine, many inconveniences may be avoided, and your means of rendering us service increased.

"That you may be better able to answer some questions, which will probably be put to you, concerning our present situation, we inform you—that the whole continent is very firmly united—the party for the measures of the British ministry being very small, and much dispersed—that we have had on foot, the last campaign, an army of near twenty-five thousand men, wherewith we have been able, not only to block up the king's army in Boston, but to spare considerable detachments for the invasion of Canada, where we have met with great success, as the printed papers sent herewith will inform you, and have now reason to expect the whole province will be soon in our possession—that we purpose greatly to increase our force for the ensuing year; and thereby we hope, with the assistance of a well-disciplined militia, to be able to defend our coast, notwithstanding its great extent—that we have already a small squadron of armed vessels, to protect our coasting trade, who have had some success in taking several of the enemy's cruizers, and some of their transport vessels and store-ships. This little naval force we are about to augment, and expect it may be more considerable in the next summer.

"We have hitherto applied to no foreign power. We are using the utmost industry in endeavouring to make saltpetre, and with daily increasing success. Our artificers are also every where busy in fabricating small-arms, casting cannon, &c. yet both arms and ammunition are much wanted. Any merchants, who would venture to send ships, laden with those articles, might make great profit; such is the demand in every colony. and such generous prices are and will be given; of which, and of the manner of conducting such a voyage, the bearer, Mr. Storey, can more fully inform you: and whoever brings in those articles, is allowed to carry off the value in provisions, to our West Indies, where they will probably fetch a very high price, the general exportation from North America being stopped. This you will see more particularly in a printed resolution of the congress.

"We are in great want of good engineers, and wish you could engage, and send us two able ones, in time for the next campaign, one acquainted with field service, sieges, &c. and the other with fortifying of sea-ports. They will, if well recommended, be made very welcome, and have honourable appointments, besides the expenses of their voyage hither, in which Mr. Storey can also advise them. As what we now request of you, besides taking up your time, may put you to some expense, we send you for the present, enclosed, a bill for one hundred pounds sterling, to defray such expenses, and desire you to be assured that your services will be considered, and honourably rewarded by the congress.

"We desire, also, that you would take the trouble of receiving from Arthur Lee, esquire, agent for the congress in England, such letters as may be sent by him to your care, and of forwarding them to us with your despatches. When you have occasion to write to him to inform him of any thing, which it may be of importance that our friends there should be acquainted with, please to send your letters to him, under cover, directed to Mr. Alderman Lee, merchant, on Tower-hill, London; and do not send it by post, but by some trusty shipper, or other prudent person, who will deliver it with his own hand. And when you send to us, if you have not a direct safe opportunity, we recommend sending by way of St. Eustatia, to the care of Messrs. Robert and Cornelius Stevenson, merchants there, who will forward your despatches to me. With sincere and great esteem, and respect, I am, sir, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.*

"Sir,—The enclosed paper was written just before lord Hillsborough quitted the American department. An expectation then prevailing, from the good character of the noble lord who succeeded him, that the grievances of the colonies would under his administration be redressed, it was laid aside; but as not a single measure of his predecessor has since been even attempted to be changed, and on the contrary new ones have been continually added, farther to exasperate, render them desperate, and drive them if possible into open rebellion, it may not be amiss now to give it the public, as it shows in detail the rise and progress of those differences which are about to break the empire in pieces.

"I am sir, yours, &c. A. P."

"Sir,—It is a bad temper of mind that takes a delight in opposition, and is ever ready to censure ministry in the gross, without discrimination. Charity should be willing to believe, that we never had administration so bad but there might be some good and some wise men in it; and that even such is our case at present. The scripture saith, by their works, shall ye know them. By their conduct then, in their respective departments, and not by their company or their party connexions, should they be distinctly and separately judged.

"One of the most serious affairs to this nation, that has of late required the attention of government, is our misunderstanding with the colonies. They are in the department of lord Hillsborough, and from a prevailing opinion of his abilities, have been left by the other ministers very much to his management. If then our American business has been conducted with prudence, to him chiefly will be due the reputation of it.

"Soon after the late war, it became an object with the ministers of this country to draw a revenue from America. The first attempt was by a stamp act. It soon appeared that this step had not been well considered; that the rights, the ability, the opinions, and temper of that great people had not been sufficiently attended to. They complained that the tax was *unnecessary*, because their assemblies had ever been ready to make voluntary grants to the crown, in proportion to their abilities, when duly required so to do; and *unjust*, because they had no representative in the British parliament, but had parliaments of their own, wherein their consent was *given* as it *ought to be*, in *grants* of their own money. I do not mean to enter into this question. The parliament repealed the act, as inexpedient, but in another act was asserted a right of taxing America. And in the following year laid duties on the manufactures of this country exported thither. On the repeal of the stamp act, the Americans had returned to their wonted good humour and commerce with Britain; but this new act for laying duties renewed their uneasiness. They were long since forbidden by the navigation act, to purchase manufactures of any other nation, and supposing that act well enforced, they saw by this indirect mode, it was in the power of Britain to burden them as much as by any direct tax, unless they could lay aside the use of such manufactures as they had been accustomed to purchase from Britain, or make the same themselves.

"In this situation were affairs when my lord Hillsborough entered on the American administration. Much was expected from his supposed abilities, application, and knowledge of business in that department. The newspapers were filled with his panegyrics, and expectations raised perhaps inconveniently.

"The Americans determined to petition their sovereign, praying his gracious interposition in their favour with his parliament, that the imposition of these duties which they considered as an infringement of their rights, might be repealed. The assembly of the Massachusetts bay had voted that it should be proposed to the other colonies to concur in that measure. This, for what reason I do not easily conceive, gave great offence to his lordship; and one of his first steps was to prevent these concurring petitions. To this end, he sent a mandate to that assembly (the parliament of that country) requiring them to RESCIND that vote and desist from the measure, threatening them with dissolution in case of disobedience. The governor communicated to them the instructions he received to that purpose. They refused to obey, and were dissolved! Similar orders were sent at the same time to the governors of the other colonies, to dissolve their respective parliaments, if they presumed to accede to the Boston proposition of petitioning his majesty, and several of them were accordingly dissolved.

"Bad ministers have ever been averse to the right subjects claim of petitioning and remonstrating to their sovereign: for through that channel the prince may be apprized of the mal-administration of his servants; they may sometimes be thereby brought into danger; at least such petitions afford a handle to their adversaries, whereby to give them trouble. But as the measure to be complained of, was not his lordship's, it is rather extraordinary that he should thus set his face against the intended complaints. In his angry letters to America, he called the proposal of these petitions 'a measure of most *dangerous* and *factious* tendency, calculated to inflame the minds of his majesty's subjects in the colonies, to promote an *unwarrantable combination*, and to excite and encourage an *open opposition* to and denial *of the authority of parliament*, and *to subvert the true spirit of the constitution*;' and directed the governors, immediately on the receipt of these orders, to exert their utmost influence 'to defeat this FLAGITIOUS attempt.'

"Without entering into the particular motives to this piece of his lordship's conduct, let us consider a little the wisdom of it. When subjects conceive themselves oppressed or injured, laying their complaints before the sovereign, or the governing powers, is a kind of vent to griefs that gives some ease to their minds; the receiving with at least an *appearance* of regard, their petitions, and taking them into consideration, gives present hope, and affords time for the cooling of resentment; so that even the refusal, when decently expressed and accompanied with reasons, is made less unpleasant by the manner, is half approved, and the rest submitted to with patience. But when this vent to popular discontents is denied, and the subjects are thereby driven to desperation, infinite mischiefs follow. Many princes have lost part, and some the whole of their dominions, and some their lives by this very conduct of their servants. The secretary for America therefore seems, in this instance, not to have judged rightly for the service of his excellent master.

"But supposing the measure of discouraging and *preventing* petitions a right one, were the means of effecting this end judiciously chosen? I mean, the threatening with *dissolution* and the actual dissolving of the American parliaments. His lordship probably took up the idea from what he knows of the state of things in England and Ireland, where to be rechosen upon a dissolution often gives a candidate great trouble, and sometimes costs him a great deal of money. A dissolution may therefore be both fine and punishment to the members, if they desire to be again returned. But in most of the colonies there is no such thing as standing candidate for election. There is neither treating nor bribing. No man even expresses the least inclination to be chosen. Instead of humble advertisements entreating votes and interest, you see before every new election, requests of former members, acknowledging the honour done them by preceding elections, but setting forth their long service and attendance on the public business in that station, and praying that in consideration thereof some other person may be chosen in their room. Where this is the case, where the same representatives may be, and generally are after a dissolution, chosen without asking a vote or giving even a glass of cider to an elector, is it likely that such a threat could contribute in the least to answer the end proposed. The experience of former governors, might have instructed his lordship, that this was a vain expedient. Several of them misled by their English ideas, had tried this practice, to make assemblies submissive to their measures, but never with success. By the influence of his power in granting offices, a governor naturally has a number of friends in an assembly; these, if suffered to continue, though a minority, might frequently serve his purposes, by promoting what he wishes, or obstructing what he dislikes. But, if to punish the majority, he in a pet dissolves the house, and orders a new election, he is sure not to see a single friend in the new assembly. The people are put into an ill humour by the trouble given them, they resent the dissolution as an affront, and leave out every man suspected of having the least regard for the governor. This was the very effect of my lord's dissolutions in America, and the new assemblies were all found more untractable than the old ones.

"But besides the imprudence of this measure, was it constitutional? The crown has doubtless the prerogative of dissolving parliaments, a prerogative lodged in its hands for the public good, which may in various instances require the use of it. But should a king of Great Britain demand of his parliament the rescision of any vote they had passed, or forbid them to petition the throne, *on pain of dissolution*, and actually dissolve them accordingly; I humbly conceive the minister who advised it would run some hazard of censure at least, for thus using the prerogative to the violation of *common right*, and breach of the constitution. The American assembly have no means of impeaching such a minister; but there is an assembly, the parliament of England, that have that power, and in a former instance exercised it well, by impeaching a great man (lord Clarendon) for having (though in one instance only) *endeavoured to introduce arbitrary government into the colonies.*

"The effect this operation of the American secretary had in America, was not a prevention of those petitions as he intended, but a despair in the people of any success from them, since they could not pass to the throne, but through the hands of one who showed himself so extremely averse to the existence of them. Thence arose the design of interesting the British merchants and manufacturers, in the event of their petitions, by agreements not to import goods from Great Britain till their grievances were redressed. Universal resentment occasioned these agreements to be more generally entered into, and the sending troops to Boston, who daily insulted the assembly* and townsmen, instead of terrifying into a compliance with his measures, served only to exasperate and sour the minds of people throughout the continent, make frugality fashionable, when the consumption of British goods was the question, and determine the inhabitants to exert every nerve in establishing manufactures among themselves.

"Boston having grievously offended hi lordship, by the refractory spirit they had shown in rechoosing those representatives, whom he esteemed the leaders of the opposition there, he resolved to punish that town, by removing the assembly from thence to Cambridge, a country place about four miles distant. Here too his lordship's English and Irish ideas seem to have misled him. Removing a parliament from London or Dublin, where so many of the inhabitants are supported by the expense of such a number of wealthy lords and commoners, and have a dependance on that support, may be a considerable prejudice to a city, deprived of such advantage; but the removal of the assembly, consisting of frugal honest farmers, from Boston, could only affect the interest of a few poor widows who keep lodging houses there. Whatever manufactures the members might want, were still purchased at Boston. They themselves, indeed, suffered some inconvenience, in being perhaps less commodiously lodged, and being at a distance from the records; but this, and the keeping them before so long prorogued, when the public affairs required their meeting, could never reconcile them to ministerial measures, it could serve only to put them more out of humour with Britain and its government so wantonly exercised, and to so little purpose. Ignorance alone of the true state of that country, can excuse (if it may be excused) these frivolous proceedings.

"To have *good ends* in view, and to use *proper means* to obtain them, shows the minister to be both *good* and *wise*. To pursue *good ends* by *improper means*, argues him though *good*, to be but *weak*. To pursue *bad ends* by *artful means*, shows him to be *wicked* though *able*. But when his *ends* are *bad* and the means he uses *improper* to obtain these ends, what shall we say of such a minister! Every step taken for some time past in our treatment of America, the suspending their legislative powers, for not making laws

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* They mounted a numerous guard daily round the parliament house, with drums beating and fifes playing while the members were in their debates, and had cannon planted and pointed at the building.

by direction from hence; the countenancing their adversaries by rewards and pensions, paid out of the revenues extorted from them, by laws to which they have not given their assent; the sending over a set of rash indiscreet commissioners to collect that revenue, who by insolence of behaviour; harassing commerce, and perpetually accusing the good people (out of whose substance they are supported) to government here, as rebels and traitors, have made themselves universally odious there, but here are caressed and encouraged; together with the arbitrary dissolution of assemblies, and the quartering troops among the people, to menace and insult them; all these steps if intended to provoke them to rebellion, that we might take their lives and confiscate their estates, are proper means to obtain a bad end: but if they are intended to conciliate the Americans to our government, restore our commerce with them, and secure the friendship and assistance which their growing strength, wealth, and power may in a few years render extremely valuable to us,—can any thing be conceived more injudicious, more absurd! His lordship may have in general a good understanding, his friends say he has; but in the political part of it, there must surely be some *twist*, some extreme *obliquity*.

"*A well wisher to the King and all his dominions.*"

To the same.

"Sir,—Your correspondent Britannicus, inveighs violently against Dr. Franklin, for his ingratitude to the ministry of this nation, who have conferred upon him so many favours. They gave him the post office of America; they made his son a governor; and they offered him a post of five hundred a year in the salt office, if he would relinquish the interests of his country; but he has had the wickedness to continue true to it, and is as much an American as ever. As it is a settled point in government here, that every man has his price, 'tis plain they are bunglers in their business, and have not given him enough. Their master has as much reason to be angry with them, as Rodrigue in the play, with his apothecary, for not effectually poisoning Pandolpho, and they must probably make use of the apothecary's justification," viz.

Scene IV.

Rodrigue and *Fell* the Apothecary.

Rodrigue. You promised to have this Pandolpho upon his bier in less than a week; 'tis more than a month since, and he still walks and stares me in the face.

Fell. True; and yet I have done my best endeavours. In various ways I have given the miscreant as much poison as would have killed an elephant. He has swallowed dose after dose; far from hurting him, he seems the better for it. He hath a wonderfully strong constitution. I find I cannot kill him but by cutting his throat, and that, as I take it, is not my business.

Rodrigue. Then it must be mine.

To the same.

"Sir,—Nothing can equal the present rage of our ministerial writers against our brethren in America, who have the misfortune to be *whigs* in a reign when *whiggism* is out of fashion, who are besides Protestant dissenters and lovers of liberty. One may easily see from what quarter comes the abuse of those people in the papers; their struggle for their rights is called REBELLION, and the people REBELS; while those who really rebelled in Scotland (1745) for the expulsion of the present reigning family, and the establishment of popery and arbitrary power on the ruins of liberty and protestantism, who entered England, and marched on as far as Derby, to the astonishment of this great city, and shaking the public credit of the nation; have now all their sins forgiven on account of their modish principles, and are called not *rebels*, but by the softer appellation of *insurgents!* These angry writers use their utmost efforts to persuade us that this war with the colonies (for a war it will be) is a national cause, when in fact it is merely a ministerial one. Administration wants an American revenue to dissipate in corruption. The quarrel is about a paltry three-penny duty on tea. There is no real clashing of interests between Britain and America. Their commerce is to their mutual advantage, or rather most to the advantage of Britain, which finds a vast market in America for its manufactures; and *as good pay*, I speak from knowledge, as in any country she trades to upon the face of the globe. But the fact needs not my testimony, it speaks for itself, for if we could elsewhere get better pay and better prices, we should not send our goods to America.

"The gross calumniators of that people, who want us to imbrue our hands in brothers' blood, have the effrontery to tell the world that the Americans associated in resolutions not to pay us what they owed us unless we repealed the Stamp Act. This is an INFAMOUS FALSEHOOD; they know it to be such. I call upon the incendiaries who have advanced it, to produce their proofs. Let them name any two that entered into such an association, or any one that made such a declaration. Absurdity marks the very face of this lie. Every one acquainted with trade knows, that a credited merchant daring to be concerned in such an association, could never expect to be trusted again. His character on the Exchange of London would be ruined for ever. The great credit given them since that time, nay the present debt due from them, is itself a proof of the confidence we have in their probity. Another villanous falsehood advanced against the Americans is, that though we have been at such expense in protecting them, they refuse to contribute their part to the public general expense of the empire.—The fact is, that *they never did refuse a requisition of that kind.* A writer who calls himself *Sagittarius* (I suppose from his flinging about, like Solomon's fool firebrands, *arrows*, and death) in the Ledger of March 9th asserts that the 'Experiment has been tried, and that they did not think it expedient to return even an answer.' How does he prove this? Why, 'the colony agents were told by Mr. Grenville, that a revenue *would be* required from them to defray the expenses of their protection.' But was the requisition ever made? Were circular letters ever sent by his Majesty's command from the Secretary of State to the several colony governments according to the established custom, stating the occasion, and requiring such supplies as were suitable to their abilities and loyalty? And did they then refuse not only compliance but an answer? No such matter, agents are not the channel through which requisitions are made. If they were told by Mr. Grenville, that 'a revenue *would be* required, and yet the colonies made no offer, no grant, nor laid any tax,' does it follow they would not have done it if they had been required? Probably they thought it time enough when the *requisition* should come, and in fact it never appeared there to this day. In the last war they all gave so liberally, that we thought ourselves bound in honour to return them a million. But we are disgusted with their free gifts; we want to have something that is obtained by force, like a mad landlord who should refuse the willing payment of his full rents, and choose to take less by way of robbery.

"This shameless writer would cajole the people of England with the fancy of their being kings of America, and that their honour is at stake by the Americans disputing *their* government. He thrusts us into the throne, cheek-by-jole with majesty, and would have us talk as he writes, of *our* subjects in America, and *our sovereignty* over America: forgetting that the Americans are subjects of the king, not *our* subjects, but our *fellow subjects;* and that they have parliaments of their own, with the right of granting their own money, by their own representatives, which we cannot deprive them of but by violence and injustice.

"Having by a series of iniquitous and irritating measures provoked a loyal people almost to desperation, we now magnify every act of an American mob into REBELLION, though the government there disapprove it, and order prosecution, as is now the case with regard to the tea destroyed: and we talk of nothing but troops, and fleets, and force; of blocking up ports, destroying fisheries, abolishing charters, &c. &c. Here mobs of English sawyers can burn saw-mills; mobs of English labourers destroy or plunder magazines of corn; mobs of English coal-heavers attack houses with fire-arms; English smugglers can fight regularly the king's cruising vessels, drive them ashore and burn them, as lately on the coast of Wales, and on the coast of Cornwall; but upon these accounts we hear no talk of England's being in *rebellion;* no threats of taking away its Magna Charta, or repealing its Bill of Rights: for we well know, that the operations of a mob are often unexpected, sudden, and soon over, so that the civil power can seldom prevent or suppress them, not being able to come in before they have dispersed themselves; and therefore it is not always accountable for their mischiefs.

"Surely the great commerce of this nation with the Americans is of too much importance to be risked in a quarrel, which has no foundation but ministerial pique and obstinacy!

"To us in the way of trade comes now, and has long come, all the superlucration arising from their labours. But will our reviling them as cheats, hypocrites, scoundrels, traitors, cowards, tyrants, &c. &c. according to the present court mode, in all our papers, make them more our friends, more fond of our merchandise? Did ever any tradesman succeed who attempted to drub customers into his shop? And will honest JOHN BULL, the farmer, be long satisfied with servants that before his face attempt to kill his *plough horses?*

("Signed)

"*A Londoner.*"

CORRESPONDENCE,

PRIVATE AND POLITICAL,

BEFORE

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

"*John Hancock, President of Congress.*

"NANTES, October 8, 1776.

"SIR,—In thirty days after we left the capes of Delaware, we came to an anchor in the Quiberon bay. I remained on board four days, expecting a change of wind proper to carry the ship into the river Loire, but the wind seeming fixed in an opposite quarter, I landed at Auray, and with difficulty got hither, the road not being well supplied with means of conveyance. Two days before we saw land, we met a brigantine from Bordeaux belonging to Cork, and another from Rochefort belonging to Hull, both of which were taken. The first has on board staves, tar, turpentine, and claret: the other Coniac brandy and flaxseed. There is some difficulty in determining what to do with them, as they are scarce worth sending to America, and the mind of the French court with regard to prizes brought into their ports, is not yet known. It is certainly contrary to their treaties with Britain, to permit the sale of them, and we have no regular means of trying and condemning them.—There are, however, many here who would purchase prizes, we having already had several offers from persons who are willing to take upon themselves all consequences as to the illegality.

"Captain Wickes, as soon as he can get his refreshments, intends a cruise in the channel. Our friends in France have been a good deal dejected with the gazette accounts of advantages obtained against us by the British troops. I have helped them here to recover their spirits a little, by assuring them that we still face the enemy, and were under no apprehensions of their two armies being able to complete their junction.

"I understand Mr. Lee has lately been at Paris, that Mr. Deane is still there, and that an underhand supply is obtained from the government, of two hundred brass field-pieces, thirty thousand firelocks, and some other military stores, which are now shipping for America, and will be convoyed by a ship of war.

"The court of England, Mr. Penet tells me (from whom I have the above intelligence) had the folly to demand Mr. Deane to be delivered up, but were refused.

"Our voyage though not long was rough, and I feel myself weakened by it, but I now recover strength daily, and in a few days shall be able to undertake the journey to Paris. I have not yet taken any public character, thinking it prudent first to know whether the court is ready and willing to receive ministers publicly from the Congress; that we may neither embarrass her on the one hand, nor subject ourselves to the hazard of a disgraceful refusal on the other, I have dispatched an express to Mr. Deane, with the letters I had for him from the committee, and a copy of our commission, that he may immediately make the proper inquiries, and give me information. In the mean time, I find it is generally supposed here, that I am sent to negociate, and that opinion appears to give great pleasure, if I can judge by the extreme civilities I meet with from numbers of the principal people who have done me the honour to visit me. I have desired Mr. Deane, by some speedy and safe means, to give Mr. Lee notice of his appointment. I find several vessels here laden with military stores for America, just ready to sail; on the whole, there is the greatest prospect that we shall be well provided for another campaign, and much stronger than we were the last. A Spanish fleet has sailed, with seven thousand land forces, foot and some horse, their destination not known, but supposed against the Portuguese in Brasil. Both France and England are preparing strong fleets, and it is said that all the powers of Europe are preparing for war, apprehending a general one cannot be very distant. When I arrive at Paris, I shall be able to write with more certainty. I beg you to present my duty to the Congress, and assure them of my most faithful endeavours in their service.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*The Secret Committee of Congress.*

"Nantes, December 8, 1776.

"Gentlemen,—After a short but rough passage of thirty days, we anchored in Quiberon bay, the wind not suiting to enter the Loire. Captain Wickes did every thing in his power to make the voyage comfortable to me; and I was much pleased with what I saw of his conduct as an officer, when on supposed occasions we made preparation for engagement, the good order and readiness with which it was done being far beyond my expectations, and I believe equal to any thing of the kind in the best ships of the king's fleet. He seems to have also a very good set of officers under him. I hope they will all in good time be promoted. He met and took two prizes, brigantines, one belonging to Cork, laden with staves, pitch, tar, turpentine, and claret; the other to Hull, with a cargo of flaxseed and brandy. The captains have made some propositions of ransom, which, perhaps, may be accepted, as there is yet no means of condemning them here, and they are scarce worth sending to America. The ship is yet in Quiberon bay, with her prizes. I came hither from thence, seventy miles, by land. I am made extremely welcome here, where America has many friends. As soon as I have recovered strength enough for the journey, which I hope will be in a very few days, I shall set out for Paris. My letter to the President will inform you of some other particulars. B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. December 10th. I have just learnt that eighty pieces of the cannon, all brass, with carriages, braces, and every thing fit for immediate service, were embarked in a frigate from Havre, which is sailed: the rest were to go in another frigate of thirty-six guns."

To the same.

"Paris, January 4, 1777.

"I arrived here about two weeks since, where I found Mr. Deane. Mr. Lee has since joined us from London. We have had an audience of the minister, count de Vergennes, and were respectfully received. We left for his consideration a sketch of the proposed treaty. We are to wait upon him to-morrow with a strong memorial, requesting the aids mentioned in our instructions. By his advice we had an interview with the Spanish ambassador, count d'Aranda, who seems well disposed towards us, and will forward copies of our memorials to his court, which will act, he says, in perfect concert with this. Their fleets are said to be in fine order, manned and fit for sea. The cry of this nation is for us, but the court, it is thought, views an approaching war with reluctance. The press continues in England. As soon as we can receive a positive answer from these courts, we shall dispatch an express with it.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*John Hancock, President of Congress.*

"Paris, January 20, 1777.

"Dear Sir,—The bearer, captain Balm, is strongly recommended to me as a very able officer of horse, and capable of being extremely useful to us in forming a body of men for that service. As he has otherwise an excellent character, I take the liberty of recommending him to my friends as a stranger of merit worthy of their civilities, and to the Congress as an officer, who if employed, may greatly serve a cause which he has sincerely at heart. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Priestley.*

"Paris, Jan. 27, 1777.

"Dear Sir,—I received your very kind letter of February last, some time in September. Major Carleton, who was so kind as to forward it to me, had not an opportunity of doing it sooner. I rejoice to hear of your continual progress in those useful discoveries; I find you have set all the philosophers of Europe at work upon *fixed air;* and it is with great pleasure I observe how high you stand in their opinion; for I enjoy my friends' fame as my own.

"The hint you gave me jocularly, that you did not quite despair of the *philosopher's stone*, draws from me a request, that when you have found it you will take care to lose it again; for I believe in my conscience that mankind are wicked enough to continue slaughtering one another, as long as they can find money to pay the butchers. But of all the wars in my time, this on the part of England appears to me the wickedest; having no cause but malice against liberty, and the jealousy of commerce. And I think the crime seems likely to meet with its proper punishment; a total loss of her own liberty, and the destruction of her own commerce.

"I suppose you would like to know something of the state of affairs in America. In all probability we shall be much stronger the next campaign than we were in the last; better armed, better disciplined, and with more ammunition. When I was at the camp before Boston, the army had not five rounds of powder a man; this was kept a secret even from our people. The world wondered that we so seldom fired a cannon: we could not afford it; but we now make powder in plenty.

"To me it seems, as it has always done, that this war must end in our favour, and in the ruin of Britain, if she does not speedily put an end to it. An English gentleman here the other day, in company with some French, remarked, that it was folly in France not to make war immediately. *And in England*, replied one of them, *not to make peace.*

"Do not believe the reports you hear of our internal divisions. We are, I believe, as much united as any people ever were, and as firmly. B. FRANKLIN."

"*The Secret Committee.*

"PARIS, Feb. 6, 1777.

(EXTRACTS.)

"A BODY of ten thousand men, mostly Germans, are going out this spring under the command of general Burgoyne, for the invasion of Virginia and Maryland. The opinion of this court, founded on their advices from Germany, is, that such a number can be by no means obtained, but you will be on your guard. The Amphitrite and the Seine from Havre, and the Mercury from Nantes, are all now at sea, laden with arms, ammunition, brass field-pieces, stores, clothing, canvass, &c., which, if they arrive safely, will put you in a much better condition for the next campaign than you were for the last.

"Some excellent engineers and officers of artillery will also be with you pretty early, also some few for cavalry. Officers of infantry of all ranks have offered themselves without number. It is quite a business to receive applications and refuse them. Many have gone over at their own expense, contrary to our advice. To some few of those, who were well recommended, we have given letters of introduction.

"The conduct of our general, in avoiding a decisive action, is much applauded by the military people here, particularly by marshals Maillebois, Broglio, and D'Arcy. M. Maillebois has taken the pains to write his sentiments of some particulars useful in carrying on our war, which are sent enclosed. But that which makes the greatest impression in our favour here, is the prodigious success of our armed ships and privateers. The damage we have done their West India trade has been estimated in a representation to lord Sandwich, by the merchants of London, as one million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, which has raised insurance to twenty-eight per cent., being higher than at any time in the last war with France and Spain. This mode of exerting our force against them should be pushed with vigour. It is that in which we can most sensibly hurt them, and to secure a continuance of it, we think one or two of the engineers we send over may be usefully employed in making some of our ports impregnable. As we are informed that a number of cutters are building to cruise in the West Indies against our small privateers, it may not be amiss to send your larger vessels thither, and ply in other quarters with the small ones.

"A fresh misunderstanding between the Turks and Russia is likely to give so much employment to the troops of the latter, as that England can hardly expect to obtain any of them. Her malice against us, however, is so high at present, that she would stick at no expense to gratify it. The New England colonies are, according to our best information, destined to destruction, and the rest to slavery under a military government. But the Governor of the world sets bounds to the rage of man as well as that of the ocean.

"Finding that our residence here together is nearly as expensive as if we were separate, and *having reason to believe, that one of us might be useful at Madrid, and another in Holland, and some courts further* northward, we have agreed that Mr. Lee go to Spain, and either Mr. Deane or myself (Dr. Franklin) to the Hague. Mr. Lee sets out to-morrow, having obtained passports, and a letter from the Spanish ambassador here to the minister there. The journey to Holland will not take place so soon. The particular purposes of these journeys we cannot prudently now explain."

"*Mrs. Thompson, at Lisle.*

"PARIS, February 8, 1777.

"You are too early, *hussy*, as well as too saucy, in calling me *rebel;* you should wait for the event, which will determine whether it is a *rebellion* or only a *revolution.* Here the ladies are more civil; they call us *les insurgens*, a character that usually pleases them: and methinks all other women who smart, or have smarted under the tyranny of a bad husband, ought to be fixed in *revolution* principles, and act accordingly.

"In my way to Canada last spring, I saw dear Mrs. Barrow, at New York. Mr. Barrow had been from her two or three months to keep governor Tryon, and other tories, company on board the Asia, one of the king's ships which lay in the harbour; and in all that time that naughty man had not ventured once on shore to see her. Our troops were then pouring into the town, and she was packing up to leave it; fearing, as she had a large house, they would incommode her by quartering officers in it. As she appeared in great perplexity, scarce knowing where to go, I persuaded her to stay; and I went to the general officers then commanding there, and recommended her to their protection; which they promised and performed. On my return from Canada, where I was a piece of a governor (and I think a very good one) for a fortnight, and might have been so 'till this time if your wicked army, enemies to all good government, had not come and driven me out, I found her still in quiet possession of her house. I inquired how our people had behaved to her; she spoke in high terms of the respectful attention they had paid her, and the quiet and security they had procured her. I said I was glad of it; and that if they had used her ill, I would have turned tory. Then, said she, (with that pleasing gaiety so natural to her) *I wish they had.* For you must know she is a *toryess* as well as you, and can as flippantly call *rebel.* I drank tea with her; we talked affectionately of you and our other friends the Wilkes's, of whom she had received no late intelligence; what became of her since, I have not heard. The street she lived in was some months after chiefly burnt down; but as the town was then, and ever since has been, in possession of the king's troops, I have had no opportunity of knowing whether she suffered any loss in the conflagration. I hope she did not, as if she did, I should wish I had not persuaded her to stay there. I am glad to learn from you that that unhappy, though deserving family, the W.'s are getting into some business that may afford them subsistence. I pray that God will bless them, and that they may see happier days. Mr. Cheap's and Dr. H.'s good fortunes please me. Pray learn, if you have not already learnt, like me, to be pleased with other people's pleasures, and happy with their happinesses when none occur of your own; then perhaps you will not so soon be weary of the place you chance to be in, and so fond of rambling to get rid of your *ennui.* I fancy you have hit upon the right reason of your being weary of St. Omer's, viz. that you are out of temper, which is the effect of full living and idleness. A month in Bridewell, beating hemp, upon bread and water, would give you health and spirits, and subsequent cheerfulness and contentment, with every other situation. I prescribe that regimen for you, my dear, in pure good will, without a fee. And let me tell you, if you do not get into temper, neither Brussels nor Lisle will suit you. I know nothing of the price of living in either of those places; but I am sure a single woman as you are, might with economy upon two hundred pounds a year, maintain herself comfortable any where; and me into the bargain. Do not invite me in earnest, however, to come and live with you; for being posted here, I ought not to comply, and I am not sure I should be able to refuse. Present my respects to Mrs. Payne, and Mrs. Heathcoat, for though I have not the honour of knowing them, yet as you say they are friends to the American cause, I am sure they must be women of good understanding. I know you wish you could see me, but as you can't, I will describe myself to you. Figure me in your mind as jolly as formerly, and as strong and hearty, only a few years older; very plainly dressed, wearing my thin gray straight hair, that peeps out under my only *coiffure*, a fine fur cap; which comes down my forehead almost to my spectacles. Think how this must appear among the powdered heads of Paris! I wish every lady and gentleman in France would only be so obliging as to follow my fashion, comb their own heads as I do mine, dismiss their *friseurs*, and pay me half the money they paid to them. You see the gentry might well afford this, and I could then enlist these *friseurs*, (who are at least 100,000) and with the money I would maintain them, make a visit with them to England, and dress the heads of your ministers and privy counsellors; which I conceive at present to be *un peu derangees.* Adieu! madcap; and believe me ever, your affectionate friend, and humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. Don't be proud of this long letter. A fit of the gout, which has confined me five days, and made me refuse to see company, has given me little time to trifle; otherwise it would have been very short, visiters and business would have interrupted: and perhaps with Mrs. Barrow, you wish they had."

"*Arthur Lee.*

"PASSY, March 21, 1777.

"DEAR SIR,—We have received your favours from Viloria and Burgos. The Congress, sitting at Baltimore, dispatched a packet to us the 9th of January, containing an account of the success at Trenton, and subsequent events to that date, as far as they had come to knowledge. The vessel was obliged to run up a little river in Virginia, to avoid the men of war, and was detained there seventeen days, or we should have had these advices sooner. We learn, however, through England, where they have news from New York to the 4th February, that on lord Cornwallis's retreat to New Brunswick, two regiments of his rear-guard were cut to pieces; that Gen. Washington having got round him into Newark and Elizabethtown, he had retired to Amboy in his way to New York; that Gen. Howe had called in the garrisons of fort Lee and fort Constitution, which were now possessed by our people; that on the New York side forts Washington and Independence were re-taken by our troops; and that the British forces at Rhode Island were recalled for the defence of New York.

"The committee in their letters mention the intention of Congress to send ministers to the courts of Vienna, Tuscany, Holland, and Prussia. They also send us a fresh commission, containing your name instead of Mr. Jefferson's, with this additional clause: 'and also to enter into and agree upon a treaty with his most Christian Majesty, or such other person or persons, as shall be by him authorized for that purpose, for assistance in carrying on the present war between Great Britain and the United States.' The same clause is in a particular commission they have sent me to treat with the court of Spain, similar to our common commission to the court of France; and I am accordingly directed to go to Spain; but as I know that choice was made merely on the supposition of my being a little known there to the great personage for whom you have my letter, (a circumstance of little importance,) and I am really unable through age to bear the fatigue and inconveniences of such a journey, I must excuse myself to Congress, and join with Mr. Deane in requesting you to proceed on the business on the former footing, till you can receive a particular commission from Congress, which no doubt will be sent as soon as the circumstances are known.

"We know of no plans or instructions to Mr. Deane but those you have with you. By the packet, indeed, we have some fresh instructions which relate to your mission, viz., that in case France and Spain will enter into the war, the United States will assist the former in the conquest of the British sugar islands, and the latter in the conquest of Portugal; promising the assistance of six frigates manned, of not less than twenty-four guns each, and provisions equal to two millions of dollars; America desiring only for her share what Britain holds on the continent: but you shall, by the first safe opportunity, have the instructions at length. I believe we must send a courier.

"If we can we are ordered to borrow two millions of dollars on interest. Judge then what a piece of service you will do, if you can obtain a considerable subsidy, or even a loan without interest.

"We are also ordered to build six ships of war. It is a pleasure to find the things ordered, which we are doing without orders.

"We are also to acquaint the several courts with the determination of America to maintain at all events our independence. You will see by the date of the resolution relating to Portugal as well as the above, that the Congress were stout in the midst of their difficulties. It would be well to sound the court of Spain on the subject of permitting our armed ships to bring prizes into her ports, and there dispose of them. If it can be done openly, in what manner can we be accommodated with the use of their ports, or under what restrictions? This government has of late been a little nice on that head; and the orders to L'Orient have occasioned captain Wickes some trouble.

"We have good advice of our friend at Amsterdam, that, in the height of British pride of their summer success, and just before they heard of any check, the ambassador, sir Joseph Yorke, had been ordered to send a haughty memorial to the States, importing that, notwithstanding their promises to restrain their subjects from supplying the rebels, it was notorious that those supplies were openly furnished by Hollanders at St. Eustatia, and that the governor of that island had *returned from his fort the salute of a rebel ship of war with an equal number of guns*; that his majesty justly and highly resented these proceedings, and demanded that the States should, by more severe provisions, restrain that commerce; that they should declare their disapprobation of the insolent behaviour of their governor, and punish him by an immediate recall: otherwise his majesty, who knows what appertains to the dignity of his crown, would take proper measures to vindicate it; and he required an immediate answer. The States coolly returned the memorial with only this answer, that when the respect due to sovereigns was not preserved in a memorial, it ought not to be expected in an answer. But the city of Amsterdam took fire at the insolence of it, and instructed their deputies in the States to demand satisfaction, by the British court's disavowal of the memorial, and the reprimand of the ambassador. The States immediately demanded a number of war ships to be in readiness. Perhaps, since the bad news has come, England may be civil enough to make up this little difference.

"Mr. Deane is still here. You desire our advice about stopping at Burgos. We are of opinion that you should comply with the request. While we are asking aid, it is necessary to gratify the desires, and in some sort comply with the humours, of those we apply to. Our business now is to carry our point. But I have never yet changed the opinion I gave in Congress, that a virgin state should preserve the virgin character, and not go about suitoring for alliances, but wait with dignity for the applications of others. I was overruled; perhaps for the best.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Cooper, Boston.*

"PARIS, May 1, 1777.

"I THANK you for your kind congratulations on my safe arrival here, and for your good wishes. I am, as you supposed, treated with great civility and respect by all orders of people; but it gives me still greater satisfaction to find that our being here is of some use to our country. On that head I cannot be more explicit at present.

"I rejoice with you in the happy change of affairs in America last winter; I hope the same train of success will continue through the summer. Our enemies are disappointed in the number of additional troops they purposed to send over. What they have been able to muster will not probably recruit their army to the state it was in the beginning of last campaign; and ours I hope will be equally numerous, better armed, and better clothed, than they have been heretofore.

"All Europe is on our side of the question, as far as applause and good wishes can carry them. Those who live under arbitrary power do nevertheless approve of liberty, and wish for it: they almost despair of recovering it in Europe: they read the translations of our separate colony constitutions with rapture; and there are such numbers every where who talk of removing to America, with their families and fortunes, as soon as peace and our independence shall be established, that it is generally believed we shall have a prodigious addition of strength, wealth, and arts, from the emigrations of Europe; and it is thought that to lessen or prevent such emigrations, the tyrannies established there must relax, and allow more liberty to their people. Hence it is a common observation here, that our cause is *the cause of all mankind;* and that we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own. It is a glorious task assigned us by Providence; which has, I trust, given us spirit and virtue equal to it, and will at last crown it with success.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. Winthrop, Boston.*

"PARIS, May 1, 1777.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your kind letter of February 28, which gave me great pleasure.

"I forwarded your letter to Dr. Price, who was well lately, but his friends, on his account, were under some apprehensions from the violence of government, in consequence of his late excellent publications in favour of liberty. I wish all the friends of liberty and man would quit that sink of corruption, and leave it to its fate.

"The people of this country are almost unanimously in our favour. The government has its reasons for postponing a war, but is making daily the most diligent preparations; wherein Spain goes hand in hand. In the mean time, America has the whole harvest of prizes made upon the British commerce; a kind of monopoly that has its advantages, as by affording greater encouragement to cruisers, it increases the number of our seamen, and thereby augments our naval power.

"The conduct of those princes of Germany, who have sold the blood of their people, has subjected them to the contempt and odium of all Europe. The prince of Anspach, whose recruits mutinied and refused to march, was obliged to disarm, and fetter them, and drive them to the sea-side by the help of his guards; himself attending in person. In his return he was publicly hooted by mobs through every town he passed in Holland, with all sorts of reproachful epithets. The king of Prussia's humour of obliging those princes to pay him the same toll per head for the men they drive through his dominions, as used to be paid him for their *cattle*, because they were sold as such, is generallly spoken of with approbation; as containing a just reproof of those tyrants. I send you inclosed one of the many satires that have appeared on this occasion.

"With my best wishes of prosperity to yourself and to my dear country, where I hope to spend my last years, and lay my bones.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Thomas Cushing, Boston.*

"PARIS, May 1, 1777.

"SIR,—I thank you for your kind congratulations on my arrival here, and shall be happy in finding that our negociations on this side the water are of effectual service to our country.

"The general news here is that all Europe is arming and preparing for war, as if it were soon expected. Many of the powers, however, have their reasons for endeavouring to postpone it, at least a few months longer.

"Our enemies will not be able to send against us all the strength they intended: they can procure but few Germans; and their recruiting and impressing at home, goes on heavily. They threaten, however, and give out, that lord Howe is to bombard Boston this summer, and Burgoyne, with the troops from Canada, to destroy Providence, and lay waste Connecticut; while Howe marches against Philadelphia. They will do us undoubtedly as much mischief as they can; but the virtue and bravery of our countrymen, will, with the blessing of God, prevent part of what they intend, and nobly bear the rest. This campaign is entered upon with a mixture of rage and despair, as their whole scheme of reducing us depends upon its success; the wisest of the nation being clear that if this fails, administration will not be able to support another.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*General G. Washington.*

"PARIS, June 13, 1777.

"SIR,—The bearer, M. le Conte Kotkouski, a Polish officer, is recommended to me by several persons of worth here, as a man of experience in military affairs, and of tried bravery, he has lost his family and estate in Poland, by fighting there in the cause of liberty; and wishes, by engaging in the same cause, to find a new country and new friends in America; count Pulaski, who was a general of the confederates in Poland, and who is gone to join you, is esteemed one of the greatest officers in Europe. He can give you the character of this M. Kotkouski, who served under him as lieutenant-colonel. It is with regret that I give letters of introduction to foreign officers, fearing you may be troubled with more than you can provide for, or employ to their and your own satisfaction. When particular cases seem to have a claim to such letters, I hope you will excuse my taking the liberty:—I give no expectations to those who apply for them, I promise nothing, I acquaint them that their being placed, when they arrive, is a great uncertainty, and that the voyage being long, expensive, and hazardous, I counsel them not to undertake it. This honest gentleman's zeal is not to be discouraged by such means; he determines to go and serve as a volunteer, if he cannot be employed immediately as an officer: but I wish and hope your excellency may find a better situation for him, and that he will be an useful officer. He has the advantage of understanding English, and will soon speak it intelligibly. He also speaks German and some other European languages, and the Latin. B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"Paris, June 13, 1777.

"Sir,—The person who will have the honour of delivering this to your excellency, is Monsieur le baron de Frey, who is well recommended to me as an officer of experience and merit, with a request that I would give him a letter of introduction. I have acquainted him that you are rather overstocked with officers, and that his obtaining employment in your army is an uncertainty, but his zeal for the American cause is too great for any discouragements I can lay before him, and he goes over at his own expense, to take his chance, which is a mark of attachment that merits our regard. He will show your excellency the commissions and proofs of his military service hitherto, and I beg leave to recommend him to your notice.

"B. FRANKLIN."

M. Dubourg to Dr. Franklin.

"Paris, September 8, 1777.

"My dear Sir,—I should be much obliged to you if you would be so good as to give a letter of recommendation to some one of the chiefs of your army, in favour of a young man full of courage, and also of distinguished talents, who is at Bourdeaux, ready to embark for America, where he proposes to settle himself in Pennsylvania, after having served in quality of volunteer, or otherwise, during the war. His name is Gerard. He carries with him a little adventure, sufficient for supporting him some years, and afterwards, if it is there customary, his father will make over to him his portion. I interest myself particularly in his favour, because he is the brother-in-law of one of our honestest commissaries. DUBOURG."

"*Richard Peters.*

"Passy, near Paris, September 12, 1777.

"Sir,—The bearer Monsieur Gerard is recommended to me by M. Dubourg, a gentleman of distinction here, and a hearty friend to our cause. I enclose his letter that you may see the favourable manner in which he speaks of M. Gerard. I thereupon take the liberty of recommending the young gentleman to your civilities and advice, as he will be quite a stranger there, and to request that you would put him in the way of serving as a volunteer in our armies.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*David Hartley, M. P.*

"Passy, near Paris, Oct. 14, 1777.

"Dear Sir,—I received duly your letter of May 2, '77, including a copy of one you had sent me the year before, which never came to hand, and which, it seems, has been the case with some I wrote to you from America. Filled, though our letters have always been, with sentiments of good will to both countries, and earnest desires of preventing their ruin and promoting their mutual felicity, I have been apprehensive that if it were known that a correspondence subsisted between us, it might be attended with inconvenience to you. I have therefore been backward in writing, not caring to trust the post, and not well knowing who else to trust with my letters. But being now assured of a safe conveyance, I venture to write to you, especially as I think the subject such a one as you may receive a letter upon without censure.

"Happy should I have been, if the honest warnings I gave, of the fatal separation of interests as well as of affections, that must attend the measures, commenced while I was in England, had been attended to, and the horrid mischief of this abominable war been thereby prevented. I should still be happy in any successful endeavours for restoring peace, consistent with the liberties, the safety, and the honour of America. As to our submitting to the government of Great Britain, 'tis vain to think of it. She has given us, by her numberless barbarities, (by her malice in bribing slaves to murder, their masters, and savages to massacre the families of farmers, with her baseness in rewarding the unfaithfulness of servants and debauching the virtue of honest seamen, intrusted with our property) in the prosecution of the war, and in the treatment of the prisoners, so deep an impression of her depravity, that we never again can trust her in the management of our affairs and interests. It is now impossible to persuade our people, as I long endeavoured, that the war was merely ministerial, and that the nation bore still a good will to us. The infinite number of addresses printed in your gazettes, all approving the conduct of your government towards us, and encouraging our destruction by every possible means, the great majority in parliament constantly manifesting the same sentiments, and the popular public rejoicings on occasion of any news of the slaughter of an innocent and virtuous people fighting only in defence of their just rights; these, together with the recommendations of the same measures by even your celebrated moralists and divines, in their writings and sermons, that are still approved and applauded in your great national assemblies, all join in convincing us that you are no longer the magnanimous enlightened nation we once esteemed you; and that you are unfit and unworthy to govern us, as not being able to govern your own passions.

"But, as I have said, I should be nevertheless happy in seeing peace restored. For though if my friends and the friends of liberty and virtue, who still remain in England, could be drawn out of it, a continuance of this war to the ruin of the rest, would give me less concern. I cannot, as that removal is impossible, but wish for peace for their sakes, as well as for the sake of humanity, and preventing further carnage.

"This wish of mine, ineffective as it may be, induces me to mention to you, that between nations long exasperated against each other in war, some act of generosity and kindness toward prisoners on one side has softened resentment, and abated animosity on the other, so as to bring on an accommodation. You in England, if you wish for peace, have at present the opportunity of trying this means, with regard to the prisoners now in your gaols. They complain of very severe treatment. They are far from their friends and families, and winter is coming on, in which they must suffer extremely, if continued in their present situation; fed scantily, on bad provisions, without warm lodging, clothes, or fire, and not suffered to invite or receive visits from their friends, or even from the humane and charitable of their enemies. I can assure you, from my own certain knowledge, that your people, prisoners in America, have been treated with great kindness; they have been served with the same rations of wholesome provisions with our own troops, comfortable lodgings have been provided for them, and they have been allowed large bounds of villages in the healthy air, to walk and amuse themselves with on their parole. Where you have thought fit to employ contractors to supply your people, these contractors have been protected and aided in their operations. Some considerable act of kindness towards our people would take off the reproach of inhumanity, in that respect from the nation, and leave it where it ought with more certainty to lay, on the conductors of your war in America. This I hint to you, out of some remaining good will to a nation I once loved sincerely. But as things are, and in my present temper of mind, not being overfond of receiving obligations, I shall content myself with proposing, that your government would allow us to send or employ a commissary to take some care of those unfortunate people. Perhaps on your representations this might speedily be obtained in England, though it was refused most inhumanly at New York.

"If you could have leisure to visit the gaols in which they are confined, and should be desirous of knowing the truth, relative to the treatment they receive, I wish you would take the trouble of distributing among the most necessitous, according to their wants, five or six hundred pounds, for which your drafts on me here shall be punctually honoured. You could then be able to speak with some certainty to the point in parliament, and this might be attended with good effects.

"If you cannot obtain for us permission to send a commissary, possibly you may find a trusty, humane, discreet person at Plymouth, and another at Portsmouth, who would undertake to communicate what relief we may be able to afford those unfortunate men, martyrs to the cause of liberty. Your king will not reward you for taking this trouble, but God will. I shall not mention the gratitude of America: you will have what is better, the applause of your own good conscience. Our captains have set at liberty above two hundred of your people, made prisoners by our armed vessels and brought into France, besides a great number dismissed at sea on your coasts, to whom vessels were given to carry them in. But you have not returned us a man in exchange. If we had sold your people to the moors at Sallee, as you have many of ours to the African and East India companies, could you have complained?

"In revising what I have written, I found too much warmth in it, and was about to strike out some parts. Yet I let them go, as they will afford you this one reflection: 'If a man naturally cool, and rendered still cooler by old age, is so warmed by our treatment of his country, how much must those people in general be exasperated against us! and why are we making inveterate enemies by our barbarity, not only of the present inhabitants of a great country, but of their infinitely more numerous posterity; who will in future ages detest the name of *Englishman*, as much as the children in Holland now do those of *Alva* and *Spaniard*.' This will certainly happen, unless your conduct is speedily changed, and the national resentment falls, where it ought to fall heavily, on your ministry, or perhaps rather on the king, whose will they only execute. B. FRANKLIN."

"*James Lovell.*

"PARIS, December 21, 1777.

"SIR,—I see in a vote in congress, shown me by captain Franval, that Mr. Deane is disowned in some of his agreements with officers. I who am upon the spot, and know the infinite difficulty of resisting the powerful solicitations here of great men, who, if disobliged, might have it in their power to obstruct the supplies he was then obtaining, do not wonder, that being then a stranger to the people, and unacquainted with the language, he was at first prevailed on to make some such agreements, when all were recommended, as they always are, as *officiers experementés, braves comme leurs epeés, pleins de courage, de talents, et de zele pour notre cause, &c.* in short, mere Cæsars, each of whom would be an invaluable acquisition to America. You can have no conception how we are still besieged and worried on this head, our time cut to pieces by personal applications, besides those contained in dozens of letters by every post, which are so generally refused, that scarce one in a hundred obtain from us a simple recommendation to civilities. I hope, therefore, that favourable allowance will be made to my worthy colleague, on account of his situation at the time, as he has long since corrected that mistake, and daily approves himself, to my certain knowledge, an able, faithful, active, and extremely useful servant of the public. A testimony I think it my duty to take this occasion of giving to his merit unasked, as, considering my great age, I may probably not live to give it personally in Congress, and I perceive he has enemies.

"You will see the general news in the papers. In particular, I can only say at present that our affairs go well here, and that I am, with much respect, sir, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. Hutton.*

"PASSY, Feb. 1, 1778.

"MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,—You desired that if I had no proposition to make, I would at least give my advice.

"I think it is Ariosto who says, that all things lost on earth, are to be found in the moon; on which somebody remarked, that there must be a great deal of good advice in the moon. If so there is a good deal of mine formerly given and lost in this business. I will, however, at your request, give a little more, but without the least expectation that it will be followed; for none but God can at the same time give good counsel, and wisdom to make use of it.

"You have lost by this mad war, and the barbarity with which it has been carried on, not only the government and commerce of America, and the public revenues and private wealth arising from that commerce, but what is more, you have lost the esteem, respect, friendship, and affection of all that great and growing people, who consider you at present, and whose posterity will consider you, as the worst and wickedest nation upon earth. A peace you may undoubtedly obtain, by dropping all your pretensions to govern us: and by your superior skill in huckstering negotiation, you may possibly make such an apparently advantageous bargain as shall be applauded in your parliament; but you cannot, with the peace, recover the affections of that people, it will not be a lasting nor a profitable one, nor will it afford you any part of that strength which you once had by your union with them, and might (if you had been wise enough to take advice) have still retained.

"To recover their respect and affection, you must tread back the steps you have taken.

"Instead of honouring and rewarding the American advisers and promoters of this war, you should disgrace them; with all those who have inflamed the nation against America by their malicious writings; and all the ministers and generals who have prosecuted the war with such inhumanity. This would show a national change of disposition, and a disapprobation of what had passed.

"In proposing terms, you should not only grant such as the necessity of your affairs may evidently oblige you to grant, but such additional ones as may show your generosity, and thereby demonstrate your good will. For instance, perhaps you might, by your treaty, retain all Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas. But if you would have a real friendly as well as able ally in America, and avoid all occasion of future discord, which will otherwise be continually arising on your American frontiers, you should throw in those countries. And you may call it if you please an indemnification for the burning of their towns, which indemnification will otherwise be some time or other demanded.

"I know your people will not see the utility of such measures, and will never follow them, and even call it insolence and impudence in me to mention them. I have however complied with your desire, and am, as ever, your affectionate friend,

"B. FRANKLIN."

The same.

"Passy, Feb. 12, 1778.

"Dear old Friend,—I wrote the above some time before I received yours, acquainting me with your speedy and safe return, which gave me pleasure. I doubted after I had written it whether it would be well to send it; for as your proud nation despises us exceedingly, and demands and expects absolute and humble submission, all talk of treaty must appear imprudence, and tend to provoke rather than conciliate. As you still press me by your last to say something, I conclude to send what I had written, for I think the advice is good, though it must be useless; and I cannot, as some amongst you desire, make propositions, having none committed to me to make; but we can treat if any are made to us; which however we do not expect. I abominate with you all murder, and I may add, that the slaughter of men in an unjust cause is nothing less than murder; I therefore never think of your present ministers and their abettors, but with the image strongly painted in my view, of their hands, red, wet, and dropping with the blood of my countrymen, friends, and relations. No peace can be signed by those hands.

"Peace and friendship will nevertheless subsist for ever between Mr. Hutton and his affectionate friend, B. FRANKLIN."

"*D. Hartley, M. P.*

"Passy, Feb. 12, 1778.

"Dear Sir,—A thousand thanks for your so readily engaging in the means of relieving our poor captives, and the pains you have taken, and the advances you have made for that purpose. I received your kind letter of the 3d inst., and send you enclosed a bill of one hundred pounds. I much approve of Mr. Wren's prudent, as well as benevolent conduct, in the disposition of the money, and wish him to continue doing what shall appear to him and to you to be right, which I am persuaded will appear the same to me and my colleagues here. I beg you will present him, when you write, my respectful acknowledgments.

"Your 'earnest caution and request that nothing may ever persuade America to throw themselves into the arms of France; for that times may mend, and that an American must always be a stranger in France, but that Great Britain may for ages to come be their home,' marks the goodness of your heart, your regard for us, and love of your country. But when your nation is hiring all the cut-throats it can collect, of all countries and colours to destroy us, it is hard to persuade us not to ask or accept aid from any power that may be prevailed with to grant it; and this only from the hope, that though you now thirst for our blood, and pursue us with fire and sword, you may in some future time treat us kindly. This is too much patience to be expected of us; indeed I think it is not in human nature. The Americans are received and treated here in France with a cordiality, a respect, and affection they never experienced in England when they most deserved it; and which is now (after all the pains taken to exasperate the English against them, and render them odious as well as contemptible) less to be expected there than ever. And I cannot see why we may not, upon an alliance, hope for a continuance of it, at least as much as the Swiss enjoy, with whom France have maintained a faithful friendship for two hundred years past, and whose people appear to live here in as much esteem as the natives. America has been *forced* and *driven* into the arms of France. She was a dutiful and virtuous daughter. A cruel mother-in-law turned her out of doors, defamed her, and sought her life. All the world knows her innocence, and takes her part; and her friends hope soon to see her honourably married. They can never persuade her return and submission to so barbarous an enemy. In her future prosperity, if she forgets and forgives, 'tis all that can be reasonably expected of her. I believe she will make as good and useful a wife as she did a daughter, that her husband will love and honour her, and that the family from which she was so wickedly expelled, will long regret the loss of her.

"I know not whether a peace with us is desired in England, I rather think it is not at present, unless on the old impossible terms of submission and receiving pardon. Whenever you shall be disposed to make peace upon equal and reasonable terms, you will find little difficulty if you get first an honest ministry. The present have all along acted so deceitfully and treacherously, as well as inhumanly towards the Americans, that I imagine, that the absolute want of confidence in them, will make a treaty at present, between them and the congress, impracticable.

"The subscription for the prisoners will have excellent effects in favour of England and Englishmen. The Scotch subscriptions for raising troops to destroy us, though amounting to much greater sums, will not do their nation half so much good. If you have an opportunity, I wish you would express our respectful acknowledgments and thanks to your committee and contributors, whose benefactions will make our poor people as comfortable as their situation can permit. Adieu, my dear friend. Accept my thanks for the excellent papers you enclosed to me. Your endeavours for peace, though unsuccessful, will always be a comfort to you, and in time, when this mad war shall be universally execrated, will be a solid addition to your reputation.—I am ever with the highest esteem, &c.

"P. S. An old friend of mine, Mr. Hutton, a chief of the Moravians, who is often at the queen's palace, and is sometimes spoken to by the king, was over here lately. He pretended to no commission, but urged me much to propose some terms of peace, which I avoided. He has wrote to me since his return, pressing the same thing, and expressing with some confidence his opinion that we might have every thing short of absolute independence, &c. Enclosed I send my answers; open that you may read them, and if you please copy before you deliver or forward them. They will serve to show you more fully my sentiments, though they serve no other purpose.

To the same.

'Passy, Feb. 26, 1778.

"Dear Sir,—I received yours of the 18th and 20th of this month, with lord North's proposed bills. The more I see of the ideas and projects of your ministry, and their little arts and schemes of amusing and dividing us, the more I admire the prudent, manly, and magnanimous propositions contained in your intended motion for an address to the king. What reliance can we have on an act expressing itself to be only a declaration of the *intention* of parliament concerning the *exercise* of the right of imposing taxes in America, when in the bill itself, as well as in the title, a right is supposed and claimed which never existed; and a *present intention* only is declared not to use it, which may be changed by another act next sessions, with a preamble that this *intention* being found expedient, it is thought proper to repeal this act, and resume the exercise of *the right* in its full extent. If any solid permanent benefit was intended by this, why is it confined to the colonies of North America, and not extended to the loyal ones in the sugar islands? But it is now endless, to criticise, as all acts that suppose your future government of the colonies can be no longer significant.

"In the act for appointing commissioners, instead of full powers to agree upon terms of peace and friendship, with a promise of ratifying such treaty as they shall make in pursuance of those powers; it is declared that their agreements shall have no force nor effect, nor be carried into execution till approved of by parliament; so that every thing of importance will be uncertain. But they are allowed to proclaim a cessation of arms, and revoke their proclamation as soon as, in consequence of it, our militia have been allowed to go home: they may suspend the operation of acts, prohibiting trade, and take off that suspension when our merchants, in consequence of it, have been induced to send their ships to sea; in short, they may do every thing that can have a tendency to divide and distract us, but nothing that can afford us security. Indeed, sir, your ministers do not know us. We may not be quite so cunning as they, but we have really more sense, as well as more courage than they have ever been willing to give us credit for; and I am persuaded these acts will rather obstruct peace than promote it, and that they will not answer in America the mischievous and malevolent ends for which they were intended. In England they may indeed amuse the public creditors, give hopes and expectations that shall be of some present use, and continue the mis-managers a little longer in their places. *Voila tout!*

"In return for your repeated advice to us, not to conclude any treaty with the house of Bourbon, permit me to give (through you) a little advice to the Whigs in England. Let nothing induce them to join with the Tories in supporting and continuing this wicked war against the Whigs of America, whose assistance they may hereafter want to secure their own liberties; or whose country they may be glad to retire to for the enjoyment of them.

"If peace, by a treaty with America upon equal terms, were really desired, your commissioners need not go there for it; supposing, as by the bill they are empowered 'to treat with such person or persons as in their wisdom and discretion they shall think meet,' they should happen to conceive that the commissioners of the congress at Paris might be included in that description.—I am ever, dear sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. Seriously on farther thoughts, I am of opinion, that if wise and honest men, such as sir George Saville, the bishop of St. Asaph, and yourself, were to come over here immediately with powers to treat, you might not only obtain peace with America, but prevent a war with France."

" *Henry Laurens, President of Congress.*

"Passy, near Paris, March 13, 1778.

"Sir,—My colleague, Mr. Deane, being recalled by Congress, and no reasons given that have yet appeared here, it is apprehended to be the effect of some misrepresentations from an enemy or two at Paris or Nantes. I have no doubt that he will be able clearly to justify himself; but having lived with him now fifteen months, the greatest part of the time in the same house, and being a constant witness of his public conduct, I cannot omit giving this testimony, though unasked, in his behalf, that I esteem him a faithful, active, and able minister, who, to my knowledge, has done in various ways, great and important services to his country, whose interests I wish may always, by every one in the employ, be as much and as effectually promoted. With my dutiful respects to the Congress, I have the honour to be, sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. Hutton.*

"PASSY, March 24, 1778.

"MY dear old friend was in the right not 'to call in question the sincerity of my words, where I say, February 12, *we can treat if any propositions are made to us.*' They were true then, and are so still, if Britain has not declared war with France; for in that case we shall undoubtedly think ourselves obliged to continue the war as long as she does. But methinks you should have taken us at our word, and have sent immediately your propositions in order to prevent such a war, if you did not choose it. Still I conceive it would be well to do it, if you have not already rashly begun the war. Assure yourself nobody more sincerely wishes perpetual peace among men than I do; but there is a prior wish, that they would be equitable and just, otherwise such peace is not possible, and indeed wicked men have no right to expect it.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Note from William Pultney, M. P.

"MR. WILLIAMS returned this morning to Paris, and will be glad to see Dr. Franklin, whenever it is convenient for the doctor, at the *Hotel Frasiliere, Rue Tournon.* It is near the hotel where he lodged when the doctor saw him a fortnight ago. He does not propose to go abroad, and therefore the doctor will find him at any hour. He understands that Mr. Alexander is not yet returned from Dijon, which he regrets.

"*Sunday Morning, March* 29, 1778."

[The following letter to Mr. Pultney, was not sent, but contains what was said in a conversation Dr. Franklin had with him in Paris.]

"*William Pultney,*

"PASSY, March 30, 1778.

"SIR,—When I first had the honour of conversing with you on the subject of peace, I mentioned it as my opinion that every proposition which implied our voluntarily agreeing to return to a dependence on Britain, was now become impossible, that a peace on equal terms undoubtedly might be made; and that though we had no particular powers to treat of peace with England, we had general powers to make treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, with any state in Europe, by which I thought we might be authorized to treat with Britain; who, if sincerely disposed to peace, might save time and much bloodshed by treating with us directly.

"I also gave it as my opinion, that in the treaty to be made, Britain should endeavour, by the fairness and generosity of the terms she offered, to recover the esteem, confidence, and affection of America, without which the peace could not be so beneficial, as it was not likely to be lasting: in this I had the pleasure to find you of my opinion.

"But I see by the propositions you have communicated to me, that the ministers cannot yet divest themselves of the idea, that the power of parliament over us is constitutionally absolute and unlimited; and that the limitations they may be willing now to put to it by treaty, are so many favours, or so many benefits, for which we are to make compensation.

"As our opinions in America are totally different, a treaty on the terms proposed appears to me utterly impracticable, either here or there. Here we certainly cannot make it, having not the smallest authority to make even the declaration specified in the proposed letter, without which, if I understood you right, treating with us cannot be commenced.

"I sincerely wish as much for peace as you do, and I have enough remaining of good will for England to wish it for her sake as well as for our own, and for the sake of humanity. In the present state of things, the proper means of obtaining it, in my opinion, are to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and then enter at once into a treaty with us for a suspension of arms, with the usual provisions relating to distances; and another for establishing peace, friendship, and commerce, such as France has made. This might prevent a war between you and that kingdom, which in the present circumstances and temper of the two nations an accident may bring on every day, though contrary to the interest and without the previous intention of either. Such a treaty we might probably now make, with the approbation of our friends; but if you go to war with them, on account of their friendship for us, we are bound by ties, stronger than can be formed by any treaty, to fight against you with them, as long as the war against them shall continue.

"May God at last grant that wisdom to your national councils which he seems long to have denied them, and which only sincere, just, and humane intentions can merit or expect.—With great personal esteem, I have the honour to be, sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN"

Mr. Alexander to Dr. Franklin.

"My dear Sir,—Upon a night's reflection, it is thought right that you be possessed of the enclosed,* to be afterwards returned without taking copy, in case no business be done. Will you let me know by the bearer, if we are to see you in town to-day, and when, that I may be at hand?

"*Saturday Morning, April* 4, 1778."

"*Dr. Bancroft, F. R. S.*

"Passy, April 16, 1778.

"Dear Sir,—I wish you would assure our friend, that Dr. Franklin never gave any such expectations to Mr. Pultney. On the contrary, he told him that the commissioners could not succeed in their mission, whether they went to recover the *dependence* or to *divide*. His opinion is confirmed by the enclosed resolves, which perhaps it may not be amiss to publish in England. Please to send me the newspaper. B. FRANKLIN."

From W. Alexander

"Dear Sir,—I send you adjoined, the certificate you desire; and am perfectly convinced, from conversations I have since had with Mr. Pultney, that nobody was authorized to hold the language which has been imputed to him on that subject; and as I have a high opinion of his candour and worth, I know it must be painful to him to be brought into question in matters of fact with persons he esteems. I could wish that this matter may receive no farther publicity than what is necessary for your justification.—I am, &c.

"W. ALEXANDER.

"*Dr. Franklin, Passy.*"

"*Dr. Franklin, Passy,*

"Paris, April 23, 1778.

"Dear Sir,—I will take care of all your commissions. This moment a second packet of infinite value is received, which I shall cherish as a mark of affection from you. I opened the letter by mistake which came with it, and soon saw it was not for me. I hope you will excuse it. I choose rather to throw myself upon your goodness for the excuse, than any thing else. I shall not set out till between one and two; therefore, if you will be so good as to send me another copy, I will take care of it and deliver it safely.

"God bless you, my dear friend. No exertion or endeavour on my part shall be wanting, that we may some time or other meet again in peace. Your powers are infinitely more influential than mine. To those powers I trust my last hopes. I will conclude, blessed are the peace-makers.—Your affectionate friend, D. HARTLEY."

"If tempestuous times should come, take care of your own safety: events are uncertain, and men may be capricious.—Yours, &c."

Answer.

"I thank you for your kind caution, but having nearly finished a long life, I set but little value on what remains of it. Like a draper, when one chaffers with him for a remnant, I am ready to say, 'As it is only the fag-end, I will not differ with you about it; take it for what you please.' Perhaps the best use such an old fellow can be put to, is to make a martyr of him. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Count de Vergennes, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Versailles.*

"Passy, April 24, 1778.

"Sir,—Mr. Hartley, a member of parliament, an old acquaintance of mine, arrived here from London on Sunday last. He is generally in the opposition, especially on American questions, but has some respect for lord North. In conversation he expressed the strongest anxiety for peace with America, and appeared extremely desirous to know my sentiments of the terms which might probably be acceptable if offered; whether America would not, to obtain peace, grant some superior advantages in trade to Britain, and enter into an alliance offensive and defensive; whether if war should be declared against France, we had obliged ourselves by treaty, to join with her against England. My answers have been, that the United States were not fond of war, and with the advice of their friends, would probably be easily prevailed with to make peace on equitable terms; but we had no terms committed to us to propose, and I did not choose to mention any: that Britain having injured us heavily by making this unjust war upon us, might think herself well off, if *on reparation of those injuries*, we admitted her to *equal* advantages with other nations in commerce; but certainly she had no reason to expect *superior:* that her known fondness for war, and the many instances of her readiness to engage in wars on frivolous occasions, were probably sufficient to cause an immediate rejection of every proposition for an *offensive* alliance with her: and that if she made war against France on our account, a peace with us, at the same time, was impossible; for that having met with friendship from that generous nation, when we were cruelly oppressed by England, we were under ties stronger than treaties could form, to make common cause; which we should certainly do to the utmost of our power. Here has also been with me a Mr. Chapman, who says he is a member of parliament of Ireland, on his way home from Nice, where he had been for the recovery of his health. He pretended to call on me only from motives of respect for my character, &c. But after a few compliments, he entered on a similar discourse, urging much to know what terms would satisfy America, and whether, on having *peace and independence granted* to us, we should not be willing to submit to the navigation act, or give equivalent privileges in trade to Britain. The purport of my answer to him was in short, that *peace* was of *equal* value to England as to us, and *independence* we were already in possession of: that therefore England's offer to grant them to us could not be considered as proposing any favour, or as giving her a right to expect peculiar advantages in commerce. By his importunity, I found his visit was not so occasional as he represented it: and from some expressions I conjectured he might be sent by lord Shelburne to sound me, and collect some information. On the whole, I gather from these conversations, that the opposition as well as the ministry are perplexed with the present situation of affairs, and know not which way to turn themselves, whether it is best to go backward or forward, or what steps to take to extricate that nation from its present dangerous situation.

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* Some proposals on the part of the British ministry, disapproved of by Dr. Franklin and returned.

"I thought it right to give your excellency an account of these interviews, and to acquaint you with my intention of avoiding such hereafter, as I see but little prospect of utility in them, and think they are very liable to hurtful misrepresentations.

"By advices from London we learn, that a fleet for Quebec, with goods valued at five hundred thousand pounds sterling, is to sail about the end of this month, under convoy only of a single frigate of thirty guns, in which is to go governor Haldimand.

"Enclosed I send a paper I have just received from London. It is not subscribed by any name, but I know the hand. It is from an old friend of general and great acquaintance, and marks strongly the present distress and despair of considerate people in England.

"B. FRANKLIN."

The Count's answer.

"Versailles, 25th April, 1778.

"I have made known to the king, sir, the substance of the letter which you did me the honour of writing to me yesterday; and I am directed, by his majesty, to express to you the satisfaction he has experienced from the information which you have communicated on your conferences with Mr. Hartley. The grand principle of the English policy has always been to excite divisions; and it is by such means she expects to sustain her empire; but it is not upon you, nor upon your colleagues, that she can practise such arts with success: I entertain the same sentiments of confidence in the United States: of the rest it is impossible to speak with more dignity, frankness, and firmness, than you have done to Mr. Hartley: he has no reasons to be very well satisfied with his mission. I doubt whether the member of parliament has any mission for us: but he desires to see me, and I expect him in the course of the morning. I should not be at all surprised if his purpose be to sow distrust between us, by proposing a double negotiation: that I can obviate; but whatever passes between us, however trifling it may be, you shall be made acquainted with.

"I have the honour to be, with the most perfect consideration, sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

"DE VERGENNES."

From the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

"May 2, 1777.

"We have presented Marshal Maillebois' sentiments on the mode of war, to Congress, who are highly pleased therewith."

Anonymous Note received by Dr. Franklin.

"20th May, 1778.

"A person who has some matters of a most interesting nature to communicate, is desirous, sir, that you would condescend to afford him a moment to converse with you on affairs which are now in agitation.

"It is known that you sometimes visit the garden of the Fountains; and as the person who addresses you is desirous not to be perceived by any of your domestics, (and for this there are the strongest reasons,) he has removed from Paris to this place, with the hope of having advantage of seeing and speaking with you, on a subject which is the more important, because it concerns some distinguished persons.

"*The Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

"Paris, May 26, 1777

"Every day's experience confirms us, what is indeed pointed out by nature itself, the necessity of rendering America independent in every sense of the word. The present glorious though trying contest, will do more to render this independence fixed and certain, if circumstances are favourably improved, than would otherwise have been effected in an age. The *manufacturing of any one necessary article among ourselves, is like breaking one link of the chains* which have heretofore bound the two worlds together, and which our artful enemies had, under the mask of friendship, been winding round and round us, and binding fast. Thus, as foundries for cannon, iron as well as brass, are erecting, if they are at once erected large enough to cast of any size, we may in future be easy on that important article, and independent on the caprice or interest of our pretended friends for a supply; and to forward this we shall take the liberty of sending over some of the most skilful founders we can meet with."

Answer to a letter from Brussels.

"Passy, July 1, 1778.

"Sir,—I received your letter dated at Brussels the 16th past.

"My vanity might possibly be flattered by your expressions of compliment to my understanding, if your proposals did not more clearly manifest a mean opinion of it.

"You conjure me in the name of the omniscient and just God, before whom I must appear, and by my hopes of future fame, to consider if some expedient cannot be found to put a stop to the desolation of America, and prevent the miseries of a general war. As I am conscious of having taken every step in my power to prevent the breach, and no one to widen it; I can appear cheerfully before that God, fearing nothing from his justice in this particular, though I have much occasion for his mercy in many others. As to my future fame, I am content to rest it on my past and present conduct, without seeking an addition to it in the crooked, dark paths, you propose to me, where I should most certainly lose it. This your solemn address would therefore have been more properly made to your sovereign and his venal parliament. He and they, who wickedly began and madly continue a war, for the desolation of America, are alone accountable for the consequences.

"You endeavour to impress me with a bad opinion of French faith; but the instances of their friendly endeavours to serve a race of weak princes, who by their own imprudence defeated every attempt to promote their interest, weigh but little with me, when I consider the steady friendship of France to the thirteen United States of Switzerland, which has now continued inviolate two hundred years. You tell me, that she will certainly cheat us, and that she despises us already. I do not believe that she will cheat us, and I am not certain that she despises us: but I see clearly that you are endeavouring to cheat us by your conciliatory bills; that you actually despised our understandings when you flattered yourselves those artifices would succeed; and that not only France but all Europe, yourselves included, most certainly, and for ever would despise us if we were weak enough to accept your insiduous propositions.

"Our expectations of the future grandeur of America, are not so magnificent, and therefore not so vain or visionary as you represent them to be. The body of our people are not merchants, but humble husbandmen, who delight in the cultivation of their lands, which from their fertility and the variety of our climates, are capable of furnishing all the necessaries and conveniences of life without external commerce; and we have too much land, to have the least temptation to extend our territory by conquest from peaceable neighbours, as well as too much justice to think of it. Our militia you find by experience are sufficient to defend our lands from invasion; and the commerce with us will be defended by all the nations who find an advantage in it. We therefore have not the occasion you imagine, of fleets, or standing armies, but may leave those expensive machines to be maintained for the pomp of princes, and the wealth of ancient states. We propose, if possible, to live in peace with all mankind; and after you have been convinced, to your cost, that there is nothing to be got by attacking us, we have reason to hope that no other power will judge it prudent to quarrel with us, lest they divert us from our own quiet industry, and turn us into corsairs preying upon theirs. The weight therefore of an independent empire, which you seem certain of our inability to bear, will not be so great as you imagine. The expense of our civil government we have always borne, and can easily bear, because it is small. A virtuous and laborious people may be cheaply governed. Determining as we do to have no offices of profit, nor any sinecures or useless appointments, so common in ancient and corrupted states, we can govern ourselves a year, for the sum you pay in a single department, or for what one jobbing contractor, by the favour of a minister, can cheat you out of in a single article.

"You think we flatter ourselves, and are deceived into an opinion that England *must* acknowledge our independency. We on the other hand think you flatter yourselves in imagining such an acknowledgment a vast boon which we strongly desire, and which you may gain some great advantage by granting or withholding. We have never asked it of you. We only tell you, that you can have no treaty with us but as an independent state; and you may please yourselves and your children with the rattle of your right to govern us, as long as you have done with that of your king's being king of France, without giving us the least concern, if you do not attempt to exercise it. That this pretended right is indisputable, as you say, we utterly deny. Your parliament never had a right to govern us, and your king has forfeited it by his bloody tyranny. But I thank you for letting me know a little of your mind, that even if the parliament should acknowledge our independency, the act would not be binding to posterity, and that your nation would resume and prosecute the claim as soon as they found it convenient from the influence of your passions. and your present malice against us. We suspected before, that you would not be actually bound by your conciliatory acts, longer than till they had served their purpose of inducing us to disband our forces; but we were not certain that you were knaves by principle, and that we ought not to have the least confidence in your offers, promises, or treaties, though confirmed by parliament. I now indeed recollect my being informed, long since, when in England, that a certain very great personage, then young, studied much a certain book, entitled *Arcana imperii.* I had the curiosity to procure the book and read it. There are sensible and good things in it, but some bad ones; for if I remember right, a particular king is applauded for his politically exciting a rebellion among his subjects, at a time when they had not strength to support it, that he might, in subduing them, take away their privileges which were troublesome to him: and a question is formally stated and discussed, *Whether a prince, to appease a revolt, makes promises of indemnity to the revolters, is obliged to fulfil those promises?* Honest and good men would say, aye: but this politician says as you say, no. And he gives this pretty reason, that though it was right to make the promises, because otherwise the revolt would not be suppressed; yet it would be wrong to keep them, because revolters ought to be punished to deter future revolts. If these are the principles of your nation, no confidence can be placed in you; it is in vain to treat with you, and the wars can only end in being reduced to an utter inability of continuing them.

"One main drift of your letter seems to be to impress me with an idea of your own impartiality, by just censures of your ministers and measures, and to draw from me propositions of peace, or approbations of those you have enclosed me, which you intimate may by your means be conveyed to the king directly, without the intervention of those ministers.—Would you have me give them to, or drop them for a stranger I may find next Monday in the church of Notre Dame, to be known by a rose in his hat? You yourself, sir, are quite unknown to me, you have not trusted me with your true name. Our taking the least step towards a treaty with England, through you, might, if you are an enemy, be made use of to ruin us with our new and good friends. I may be indiscreet enough in many things; but certainly, if I were disposed to make propositions (which I cannot do, having none committed to me to make) I should never think of delivering them to the Lord knows who, to be carried to the Lord knows where; to serve no one knows what purposes. Being at this time one of the most remarkable figures in Paris, even my appearance in the church of Notre Dame, where I cannot have any conceivable business, and especially being seen to leave or drop any letter to any person there, would be a matter of some speculation, and might, from the suspicions it must naturally give, have very mischievous consequences to our credit here. The very proposing of a correspondence so to be managed, in a manner not necessary where *fair dealing* is intended, gives just reason to suppose you intend *the contrary.* Besides, as your court has sent commissioners to treat with the congress, with all the powers that would be given them by the crown under the act of parliament, what *good purpose* can be served by privately obtaining propositions from us? Before those commissioners went, we might have treated in virtue of our general powers, (with the knowledge, advice, and approbation of our friends) upon any propositions made to us. But under the present circumstances for us to make propositions, while a treaty is supposed to be actually on foot with the congress, would be extremely improper, highly presumptuous, with regard to our honourable constituents, and answer no good end whatever.

I write this letter to you, notwithstanding (which I think I can convey in a less mysterious manner; and guess it may come to your hands;) I write it because I would let you know our sense of your procedure, which appears as insidious as that of your conciliatory bills. Your true way to obtain peace, if your ministers desire it, is to propose openly to the congress fair and equal terms; and you may possibly come sooner to such a resolution, when you find that personal flatteries, general cajolings, and panegyrics on our *virtue* and *wisdom* are not likely to have the effect you seem to expect; the persuading us to act *basely* and *foolishly* in betraying our country and posterity into the hands of our most bitter enemies; giving up or selling of our arms, and warlike stores, dismissing our ships of war and troops, and putting those enemies in possession of our forts and ports. This proposition of delivering ourselves bound and gagged, ready for hanging, without even a right to complain, and without a friend to be found afterwards among all mankind, you would have us embrace upon the faith of an act of parliament! Good God! an act of your parliament! This demonstrates that you do not yet know us, and that you fancy we do not know you: but it is not merely this flimsy faith that we are to act upon; you offer us *hope*, the hope of PLACES, PENSIONS, and PEERAGE. These, judging from yourselves, you think are motives irresistible. This offer to corrupt us, sir, is with me, your credential, and convinces me, that you are not a private volunteer in you application. It bears the stamp of British court intrigue, and the signature of your king. But think for a moment in what light it must be viewed in America. By PLACES which cannot come among us, for you take care by a special article to keep them to yourselves. We must then pay the salaries in order to enrich ourselves with these places. But you will give us PENSIONS; probably to be paid too out of your expected American revenue; and which none of us can accept without deserving and perhaps obtaining a *suspension.* PEERAGES! alas! sir, our long observation of the vast servile majority of your peers, voting constantly for every measure proposed by a minister, however weak or wicked, leaves us small respect for them, and we consider it as a sort of tar-and-feathered honour, or a mixture of foulness and folly; which every man among us, who should accept from your king, would be obliged to renounce or exchange, for that conferred by the mobs of their own country, or wear it with everlasting shame.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*James Lovell.*

"PASSY, July 22, 1778.

SIR,—I received your favour of May 15, and was glad to find that mine of December 21 had come to hand. Mr. Deane's brother writes that it was not signed, which was an accidental omission. Mr. Deane himself is I hope with you long before this time, and I doubt not but every prejudice against him is removed. It was not alone upon the proceedings of congress I formed my opinion that such prejudices existed. I am glad to understand that opinion was groundless, and that he is like to come back with honour, in the commission to Holland, where matters are already so ripe for his operations, that he cannot fail (with his abilities) of being useful. You mention former letters of the committee, by which we might have seen the apprehensions of the resentment of foreign officers, &c. Those letters never came to hand, and we on our part are amazed to hear that the committee had had no line from us for near a year, during which we had written I believe five or six long and particular letters, and had made it a rule to send triplicates of each, and to replace those that we happened to hear were lost, so that of some there were five copies sent; and as I hear that captain Young is arrived, who had some of them, I think it probable that one at least of each must have come to your hands before this time. Mr. Deane's informations, however, may supply the want of them, whose arrival, as he went with a strong squadron of men of war, is more likely than that of this vessel, or any single one by whom we might send more copies.

"The affair with Mr. Beaumarchais will be best settled by his assistance after his return. We find it recommended to us, but we know too little of it to be able to do it well without him.

"There has been some inaccuracy in sending us the last dispatches of the committee, two copies of the contract with Mr. Francy and the invoices came by the same vessel, captain Niles. And though one of your letters mentions sending enclosed a resolution of congress, relative to two articles of the treaty, that resolution is not come to hand. There are circumstances in the affair of those articles, that make them in my opinion of no consequence if they stand, while the proposing to abrogate them has an unpleasing appearance, as it looks like a desire of having it in our power to make that commercial kind of war, which no honest state can begin, which no good friend or neighbour ever did or will begin, which has always been considered as an act of hostility that provoked as well as justified reprisals, and has generally produced such as have rendered the first project as unprofitable as it was unjust. Commerce among nations as well as between private persons should be fair and equitable, by *equivalent* exchanges, and mutual supplies; the taking unfair advantage of a neighbour's necessities, though attended with a temporary success, always breeds ill blood; to lay duties on a commodity exported which our friends want, is a knavish attempt to get something for nothing. —The statesmen who first invented it, had the genius of a pickpocket, and would have been a pickpocket if fortune had suitably placed him; the nations who have practised it have suffered for it fourfold, as pickpockets ought to suffer. Savoy by a duty on exported wines lost the supplying of Switzerland, which thenceforth raised its own wine, and (to wave other instances) Britain, by her duty on exported tea, has lost the trade of her colonies. But as we produce no commodity that is peculiar to our country, and which may not be obtained elsewhere, the discouraging ours by duties on exportation, and thereby encouraging a rivalship from other nations in the ports we trade to, is absolute folly, which indeed is mixed more or less with some knavery. For my own part, if my protest were of any consequence, I should protest against our ever doing it, even by way of reprisal. It is a meanness with which I would not dirty the conscience or character of my country. The objections stated against the last of the two articles, had all been made, considered here, and were sent, I imagine, from hence, by one who is offended that they were not thought of weight sufficient to stop the signing of the treaty, till the king should, in another council, reconsider those articles, and, after agreeing to omit them, order new copies to be drawn, though all was then ready engrossed on parchment as before settled.' I did not think the articles of much consequence, but I thought of consequence that no delay should be given to the signing of the treaty after it was ready. But if I had known those objections would have been sent to the committee, I should have sent the answers they received, which had been satisfactory to *all* the commissioners, when the treaty was settled, and until the mind of one of them was altered by the opinion of two other persons. 'Tis now too late to send those answers. But I wish for the future, if such a case should again happen, that congress would acquaint their commissioners with such partial objections, and hear their reasons, before they determine they have done wrong. In the mean time, this is only to you in private. It will be of no use to communicate it, as the resolution of congress will probably be received and executed before this letter comes to hand.

"Speaking of commissioners in the plural, puts me in mind of inquiring if it can be the intention of congress to keep *three* embassadors at this court; we have indeed *four*, with the gentleman intended for Tuscany, who continues here, and is very angry that he was not consulted in making the treaty, which he could have mended in several particulars; and perhaps he is angry, with some reason, if the instructions to him do, as he says they do, require us to consult him. We shall soon have a *fifth*, for the envoy to Vienna not being received there, is, I hear, returning hither. The necessary expense of maintaining us all, is, I assure you, enormously great: I wish the utility may equal it: I imagine every one of us spends nearly as much as lord Stormont did. It is true he left behind him the character of a niggard; and when the advertisement appeared for the sale of his household goods, all Paris laughed at an article of it, perhaps very innocently expressed, '*Une grande quantité du linge de table,* QUI N'A JAMAIS SERVI.—*Cela est tres vraisemblable,*' say they, '*car il n'a jamais donné à manger.*'—But as to our number, whatever advantage there might be in the joint counsels of three for framing and adjusting the articles of the treaty, there can be none in managing the common business of a resident here. On the contrary, all the advantages in negotiation that result from secrecy of sentiment, and uniformity in expressing it, and in common business, from despatch, are lost. In a court too, where every word is watched and weighed, if a number of commissioners do not every one hold the same language, in giving their opinion on any public transaction, this lessens their weight; and where it may be prudent to put on or avoid certain appearances, of concern, for example, or indifference, satisfaction, or dislike, where the utmost sincerity and candour should be used, and would gain credit, if no semblance of art showed itself in the inadvertent discourse perhaps of only one of them, the hazard is equal to the number: and where every one must be consulted on every particular of common business, in answering every letter, &c. and one of them is offended if the smallest thing is done without his consent, the difficulty of being often and long enough together, the different opinions, and the time consumed in debating them, the interruption of new applicants in the time by meeting, &c. &c. occasion so much postponing and delay, that correspondence languishes, occasions are lost, and the business is always behind-hand. I have mentioned the difficulty of being often and long enough together: this is considerable, where they cannot all be accommodated in the same house: but to find three people whose tempers are so good, and who like so well one another's company, and manner of living and conversing, as to agree well themselves, though being in one house, and whose servants will not, by their indiscretion quarrel with one another, and by artful misrepresentations draw their masters in to take their parts, to the disturbance of necessary harmony; these are difficulties still greater, and almost insurmountable: and in consideration of the whole, I wish the congress would separate us.

"The Spanish galeons, which have been impatiently expected, are at length happily arrived. The fleet and army returning from Brasil, is still out, but supposed to be on the way homewards. When that and the South Sea ships are arrived, it will appear whether Spain's accession to the treaty has been delayed for the reasons given, or whether the reasons were only given to excuse the delay.

"The English and French fleets, of nearly equal force, are now both at sea. It is not doubted but that if they meet there will be a battle. For though England, through fear, affects to understand it to be still peace, and excuses the depredations she has made on the commerce of France by pretences of illicit trade, &c. yet France considers the war as begun from the time of the king's message to parliament, complaining of the insult France had given by treating with us, and demanding aids to resent it, and the answers of both houses offering their lives and fortunes, and the taking several frigates, are deemed indisputable hostilities. Accordingly orders are given, to all the fleets and armed ships, to return hostilities, and encouragement is offered to privateers, &c. An embassador from Spain is indeed gone to London, and joyfully received there, in the idea that peace may be made by his mediation. But as yet we learn nothing certain of his mission, and doubt his effecting any thing of the kind.

"War in Germany seems to be inevitable, and this occasioning great borrowings of money in Holland and elsewhere, by the powers concerned, makes it more difficult for us to succeed in ours. When we engaged to congress to pay their bills for the interest of the sums they should borrow, we did not dream of their drawing on us for other occasions. We have already paid of congress drafts, to returned officers, eighty-two thousand two hundred and eleven livres, and we know not how much more of that kind we have to pay, because the committee have never let us know the amount of those drafts, or their account of them never reached us, and they still continue coming in: and we are now surprised with advice of drafts from Mr. Bingham, to the amount of one hundred thousand more. If you reduce us to bankruptcy here, by a non-payment of your drafts, consider the consequences. In my humble opinion, no drafts should be made on us, without first learning from us that we shall be able to answer them.

"Mr. Beaumarchais has been out of town ever since the arrival of your power to settle with him. I hope he will be able to furnish the supplies mentioned in the invoice and contract. The settlement may be much better made with the assistance of Mr. Deane; we being not privy to the transactions.

"We have agreed to give Monsieur Dumas two hundred louis a year, thinking that he well deserves it. B. FRANKLIN."

Doctor Richard Price.

"London, January 18, 1779.

"Doctor Price returns his best thanks to the honourable Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and John Adams, esquires, for conveying to him the resolution of congress of the sixth of October last, by which he is invited to become a member of the United States, and to give his assistance in regulating their finances. It is not possible for him to express the sense he has of the honour which this resolution does him, and the satisfaction with which he reflects on the favourable opinion of him, which has occasioned it. But he knows himself not to be sufficiently qualified for giving such assistance, and he is so connected in this country, and also advancing so fast in the evening of life, that he cannot think of a removal. He requests the favour of the honourable commissioners to transmit this reply to congress, with assurances that Doctor Price feels the warmest gratitude for the notice taken of him, and that he looks to the American States as *now the hope, and likely soon to become the refuge of mankind.*"

Answer to propositions for quitting the alliance with France.

"Passy, Feb 3, 1779.

"Dear Sir,—I have just received your favour of the 23d past, in which you mention, 'that the alliance between France and America is the great stumbling-block, in the way of making peace;' and you go on to observe, that 'whatever engagements America may have entered into, they may, at least by consent of parties, *be relinquished*, for the purpose of removing so material an obstacle to any general treaty of free and unengaged parties.' Adding, that 'if the parties could meet for the sake of peace upon *free* and *open* ground, you should think *that* a very fair proposition to be offered to the people of England, and an equitable proposition in itself.' The long, steady, and kind regard you have shown for the welfare of America, by the whole tenor of your conduct in parliament, satisfies me, that this proposition never took its rise with you, but has been suggested from some other quarter; and that your excess of humanity, your love of peace, and your fear for us, that the destruction we are threatened with will certainly be effected, have thrown a mist before your eyes, which hindered you from seeing the malignity and mischief of it. We know that your king hates Whigs and Presbyterians; that he thirsts for our blood; of which has he already drunk large draughts; that weak and unprincipled ministers are ready to execute the wickedest of his orders, and his venal parliament equally ready to vote them just. Not the smallest appearance of a reason can be imagined capable of inducing us to think of relinquishing a solid alliance with one of the most amiable as well as most powerful princes of Europe, for the expectation of unknown terms of peace, to be afterwards offered to us by *such a government:* a government that has already shamefully broken all the compacts it ever made with us. This is worse than advising us to drop the substance for the shadow. The dog after he found his mistake, might possibly have recovered his mutton; but we could never hope to be trusted again by France, or indeed by any other nation under heaven. Nor does there appear any more necessity for dissolving an alliance with France, before you can treat with us, than there would of dissolving your alliance with Holland, or your union with Scotland, before we could treat with you. Ours is therefore no *material obstacle* to a treaty, as you suppose it to be. Had lord North been the author of such a proposition, all the world would have said it was insidious, and meant only to deceive and divide us from our friends, and then to ruin us: supposing our fears might be strong to procure an acceptance of it. But, thanks to God, that is not the case! we have long since settled all the account in our own minds: we know the worst you can do to us, if you have your wish, is to confiscate our estates and take our lives, to rob and murder us; and this you have seen we are ready to hazard, rather than come again under your detested government.

"You must observe, my dear friend, that I am a little warm. Excuse me! 'Tis over. Only let me counsel you, not to think of being sent hither on so fruitless an errand as that of making such a proposition.

"It puts me in mind of the comic farce intitled, *God-send*, or *The Wreckers*. You may have forgotten it; but I will endeavour to amuse you by recollecting a little of it."

SCENE. *Mount's Bay.*

A ship riding at anchor in a great storm. A lee shore full of rocks, and lined with people, furnished with axes and carriages to cut up wrecks, knock the sailors on the head, and carry off the plunder; *according to custom.*

1*st Wrecker.* This ship rides it out longer than I expected: she must have good ground tackle.

2*d Wrecker.* We had better send off a boat to her, and persuade her to take a pilot, who can afterwards run her a-shore, where we can best come at her.

3*d Wrecker.* I doubt whether the boat can live in this sea: but if there are any brave fellows willing to hazard themselves for the good of the public, and a double share—let them say aye.

Several Wreckers. I, I, I, I.

[*The boat goes off, and comes under the ship's stern.*]

Spokesman. So ho, the ship, ahoa!

Captain. Hulloa.

Sp. Would you have a pilot?

Capt. No, no!

Sp. It blows hard, and you are in danger.

Capt. I know it.

Sp. Will you buy a better cable? we have one in the boat here.

Capt. What do you ask for it?

Sp. Cut that you have, and then we'll talk about the price of this.

Capt. I shall do no such foolish thing: I have lived in your parish formerly, and know the heads of ye too well to trust ye: keep off from my cable there: I see you have a mind to cut it yourselves: if you go any nearer to it, I'll fire into you and sink you.

Sp. It is a damn'd rotten French cable, and will part of itself in half an hour. Where will you be then, captain? you had better take our offer.

Capt. You offer nothing, you rogues, but treachery and mischief. My cable is good and strong, and will hold long enough to baulk all your projects.

Sp. You talk unkindly, captain, to people who came here only for your good.

Capt. I know you came for all our *goods*, but, by God's help, you shall have none of them: you shall not serve us as you did the Indiamen.

Sp. Come, my lads, let 's be gone: this fellow is not so great a fool as we took him to be.

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"*David Hartley, M. P.*

"PASSY, Feb. 22, 1779.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your propositions for removing the stumbling-block. Your constant desires of peace ought to endear you to both sides; but this proposition seems to be naturally impracticable. We can never think of quitting a solid alliance, made and ratified, in order to be in a state for receiving unknown proposals of peace, which may vanish in the discussion. The truth is we have no kind of faith in your government, which appears to us as insidious and deceitful as it is unjust and cruel: its character is that of the *Spider* in *Thomson*,

> ——————cunning, and fierce,
> Mixture abhorr'd.

Besides, we cannot see the necessity of our relinquishing our alliance with France in order to a treaty, any more than of your relinquishing yours with Holland.—I am, very affectionately, yours, N. A."*

To the same.

"PASSY, March 21, 1779.

"DEAR SIR,—I received duly yours of the 2d instant. I am sorry you have had so much trouble in the affair of the prisoners. You have been deceived as well as me. No cartel ship has yet appeared; and it is now evident, that the delays have been of design, to give more opportunity of seducing the men by promises and hardships to seek their liberty in engaging against their country: for we learn from those who have escaped, that there are persons continually employed in cajoling and menacing them; representing to them that we neglect them; that your government is willing to exchange them; and that it is our fault it is not done: that all the news from America is bad on their side; we shall be conquered and they will be hanged, if they do not accept the gracious offer of being pardoned, on condition of serving the king, &c. A great part of your prisoners have been kept these six months on board a ship in Brest road, ready to be delivered; where I am afraid they were not so comfortably accommodated as they might have been in the French prisons. They are now ordered on shore. Doctor Bancroft has received your letter here. He did not go to Calais.

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* North America.

"Knowing how earnestly and constantly you wish for peace, I cannot end a letter to you without dropping a word on that subject, to mark that my wishes are still in unison with yours. After the barbarities your nation has exercised against us, I am almost ashamed to own that I feel sometimes for her misfortunes and her insanities. Your veins are open, and your best blood continually running. You have now got a little army into Georgia, and are triumphing in that success. Do you expect ever to see that army again? I know not what general Lincoln or general Thomson may be able to effect against them; but if they stay through the summer, in that climate, there is a certain *general Fever*, that I apprehend will give a good account of most of them. Perhaps you comfort yourselves that our loss of blood is as great as yours. But as physicians say, there is a great difference in the facility of repairing that loss, between an old body and a young one. America adds to her numbers annually one hundred and fifty thousand souls. She therefore grows faster than you can diminish her, and will outgrow all the mischief you can do her. Have you the same prospects? But it is unnecessary for me to represent to you, or you to me, the mischiefs each nation is subjected to by the war: we all see clear enough the nonsense of continuing it; the difficulty is, where to find sense enough to put an end to it.

"B. FRANKLIN."

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"LONDON, April 22, 1779.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—The bearer of this and some other papers (Mr. ——) is a very sensible and worthy gentleman, with whom I had the pleasure of contracting an acquaintance since the commencement of the American troubles, originally upon the business of the American prisoners. It is a satisfaction to me at all times to have found him a friend to the restoration of peace between the two countries. It has likewise been an additional satisfaction and confirmation to me in my own thoughts upon that subject, to find that his sentiments, I think upon most, or all of the subjects upon which we have conversed, have coincided with mine. We both seem possessed of the opinion that some plan of opening a negotiation, upon preliminaries, which each side might find to be a sufficient security to itself, might be practicable: and then, your sentiment, which you gave me in a letter some years ago, might have its free scope and effect, viz. *A little time given for cooling might have excellent effects.*

"The sentiments I have opened to you in my late letters for some months past, and which I have reduced in an enclosed paper, into a more specific shape, seem to me, upon very repeated reflection, to promise the fairest ground of good expectation. These propositions originate from myself, as a mediator: I have communications with both sides, but certainly no authority to make proposals from either; and perhaps neither side, if I were to make the propositions separately to each (being myself unauthorized) might give me positive consent. Each side separately might say, No, from what is called political prudence; and yet each side might secretly wish that the offer could be made, with a *done first*, from the other party. I think the proposition of a truce for five or seven years, leaving all things in the present dispute *in statu quo*, must be advantageous to all parties, if it were only in consideration that a general satisfactory peace to all parties *may* come among the *excellent effects of time given for cooling*. We can but fight it out at last. War never comes too late; wisdom may step in between. These matters have stolen upon us, and have arisen to great and formidable consequences, from small and unexpected beginnings; but henceforward, we should know by experience what to expect. If the rage of war could but be abated, for a sufficient length of time for reason and reflection to operate, I think it would never revive. I cannot pretend to forecast the result of any negotiation, but I think war would not revive; which is all that I want for my argument. Peace is a *bonum in se;* whereas the most favourable events of war are but relatively lesser evils: certainly they are evils: *mala in se*, not *bona in se.*

"I hope that a cessation of hostilities would produce a renewal of reflection: but even to take the argument at the worst advantage, the two parties are at a cooling distance of three thousand miles asunder. If the flames of war could be but once extinguished, does not the Atlantic ocean contain cold water enough to prevent their bursting out again? I am very strongly of opinion, that the two nations of Great Britain and North America, would accord to the proposition of a truce *for cooling*. I cannot say whether a British ministry would accord to it, because they wont tell me: nor can I say whether an American plenipotentiary would accord to it, because, probably, you will not tell me. I put myself into your hands, however, when I tell you frankly I am of opinion that both would accord to it, if there could be a *done first* on either side, to bind the bargain fast. You have the odds of me in this matter, because you know one half of the question; and I cannot give you any proof on the other side, but only my own presumptive judgment, upon observation, and upon a course of reasoning in my own thoughts.

"But for France—my judgment would be, that if the proposition of the proposed preliminaries should be agreeable to America, France would do very unhandsomely to defeat it by their refusal. I likewise think it the interest of France; because their interest leads them to go to a certain point, and no further. There is a disparity in the operation of the terms of the alliance, on the part of France, and on the part of America. The more vigorously France interposes, the better for America; in proportion to their exertions they create, less or more, a diversion of the British force; this reasoning goes straight forward for America; but it is not so with France. There is a certain point, to France, beyond which their work would fail, and recoil upon themselves; if they were to drive the British ministry totally to abandon the American war, it would become totally a French war. The events of a twelvemonth past seem to bear testimony to this course of reasoning. The disadvantage upon the bargain, to America, is, that the efficacy of the French alliance to them presupposes their continuance in the war. The demur to France is, that the liberation of their new ally recoils with double weight of the war upon themselves, without any ulterior points of advantage in view, as dependent upon that alliance. I think the interest of all parties coincides with the proposition of preliminaries. The proposed preliminaries appear to me to be just and equitable to all parties; but the great object with me is to come to some preliminaries; I could almost add, whatever those preliminaries might be, provided a suspension of arms for an adequate term of years were one, I think it would be ten thousand to one against any future renewal of the war. It is not necessary to enter at large into the reasons which induce me to think, that the British ministry, as well the American plenipotentiary, would consent to the terms of the proposed preliminaries; for indeed I do not know that I am founded in that opinion with respect to either, but still I believe it of both. But what can a private person do in such a case, wishing to be a mediator for peace, having access to both parties, but equally uncertain of the reception of his mediation on either side? I must hesitate to take any public step, as by a proposition in parliament, or by any other means to drive the parties to an explanation upon any specific proposals: and yet I am very unwilling to let the session pass without some proposition, upon which the parties may meet, if they should be so inclined, as I suspect them to be. I have been endeavouring to feel pulses for some months, but all is dumb-show. I cannot say that I meet with any thing discouraging, to my apprehension, either as to equitableness or practicability of the proposition for preliminaries If I could but simply receive sufficient encouragement that I should not run any hazard of obstructing any other practicable propositions, by obtruding mine, I should be very much satisfied to come forward, in that case, with mine, to furnish a beginning at least which might lead to peace.

"There is nothing that I wish so much as to have an opportunity of seeing and conversing with you, having many things to say to you; but if that cannot yet happen, I have only to say, that whatever communication you may think proper to make to me, which may lead to peace, you may be assured that I shall be most strenuous in applying it to that end. In all cases of difficulty in human life, there must be confidence somewhere, to enable us to extricate nations from the evils attendant upon national disputes, as they arise out of national passions, interests, jealousies, and points of honour. I am not sure whether the extreme caution and diffidence of persons in political life be not the cause almost as frequently of the unnecessary protraction of the miseries of war, as of the final production of any superior good to any state. Peace *now* is better than peace a twelvemonth hence, at least by all the lives that may be lost in the meanwhile, and by all the accumulated miseries that may intervene by that delay. When I speak of the necessity of confidence, I would not have you to think, that I trust to all professions, promiscuously, with confidence: my thoughts are free respecting all parties; and for myself, if I thought it necessary for the end of attaining any additional confidence in your esteem, to enable me to co-operate the more effectually towards the restoration of peace, there is nothing that I would wish you to be assured of but this; that no fallacious offers of insincerity, nor any pretexts for covering secret designs, or for obtaining unfair advantages, shall ever pass through my hands.

"Believe me truly to be, not only a lover of my country, but a sincere friend to peace, and to the rights of mankind; and ever most affectionately yours, D. HARTLEY."

Lord North consented to Mr. Hartley's proposition, for endeavouring to procure from the American plenipotentiary or plenipotentiaries some opening, that they would be willing to commence a parley, on propositions of peace between Great Britain and America; and supposed the terms which Mr. Hartley had in view, would be something like a tacit cession of independence to America, with a truce for a certain term of years, to serve as a basis for a general treaty of accommodation and final settlement.

This last application (which was made on the 20th of April 1779) of Mr. Hartley's to lord North, after several previous conferences on the subject, is the ground of the present confidential communication with Dr. Franklin, on the part of Mr. Hartley, who states to Dr. Franklin, as he did to lord North, that an auspicious beginning of a negotiation is *dimidium facti.*

Mr. Hartley's ideas of the probable course of the negotiation, would be to the following effect:

1. Five commissioners (or any three of them) to be appointed on the part of his Britannic majesty, to treat, consult, and agree, upon the final settlement and pacification of the present troubles, upon safe, honourable, and permanent terms, subject to ratification by parliament.
2. That any of the aforesaid commissioners may be impowered to agree, as a preliminary, to a suspension of hostilities by sea and land, for a certain term of five or seven years.
3. That any one of the aforesaid commissioners be impowered to agree, as a second preliminary, to suspend the operation and effect of any and all acts of parliament respecting America, for a certain term of five or seven years.
4. That it is expected, as a third preliminary, that America should be released, free and unengaged, from any treaties with foreign powers, which may tend to embarrass or defeat the present proposed negotiation.
5. That a general treaty for negotiation shall be set on foot as soon as may be, after the agreement of the foregoing preliminaries.

N. B. A doubt seeming to arise from lord North, relative to the probability of any explanatory communication on the part of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Hartley expressed, he thought it possible that as a known friend to peace, he might be considered by Dr. Franklin as a depôt of any communications which may serve from time to time to facilitate the terms of peace: which therefore prevents this communication being considered as any direct overture from lord North to Dr. Franklin, or from Dr. Franklin to lord North; but as it is merely a mediatorial proposition of Mr. Hartley, as a private person, for the purpose of bringing the parties to a parley.

'*Dr. Cooper.*

"Passy, April 22, 1779.

"My dear Friend,—I received your valuable letter by the marquis de la Fayette; and another by Mr. Bradford. I can now only write a few words in answer to the latter, the former not being at hand. The depreciation of our money, must, as you observe, greatly affect salary men, widows, and orphans. Methinks this evil deserves the attention of the several legislatures, and ought, if possible, to be remedied by some equitable law particularly adapted to their circumstances. I took all the pains I could in congress to prevent the depreciation, by proposing, first, that the bills should bear interest: this was rejected, and they were struck as you see them. Secondly, after the first emission I proposed that we should stop, strike no more, but borrow on interest those we had issued. This was not then approved of, and more bills were issued. When from the too great quantity they began to depreciate, we agreed to borrow on interest, and I proposed, that in order to fix the value of the principal, the interest should be promised in hard dollars. This was objected to as impracticable: but I still continue of opinion, that by sending out cargoes to purchase it, we might have brought in money sufficient for that purpose, as we brought in powder, &c. &c. And that though the attempt must have been attended with a disadvantage, the loss would have been a less mischief than any measure attending the discredit of the bills, which threatens to take out of our hands the great instrument of our defence. The congress did at last come into the proposal of paying the interest in real money. But when the whole mass of the currency was *under way* in depreciation, the *momentum* of its descent was too great, to be stopt by a power that might at first have been sufficient to prevent the beginning of the motion. The *only remedy* now seems to be a diminution of the quantity by a vigorous taxation, of great *nominal* sums, which the people are more able to pay, in proportion to the quantity and diminished value; and the *only consolation* under the evil is, that the public debt is proportionably diminished with the depreciation: and this by a kind of imperceptible tax, every one having paid a part of it in the fall of value, that took place between the receiving and paying such sums as passed through his hands. For it should always be remembered, that the original intention was to sink the bills by taxes, which would as effectually extinguish the debt as an actual redemption. This effect of paper currency is not understood on this side the water. And indeed the whole is a mystery even to the politicians, how we have been able to continue a war four years without money, and how we could pay with paper, that had no previously fixed fund appropriated specifically to redeem it. This currency as we manage it, is a wonderful machine. It performs its office when we issue it; it pays and clothes troops, and provides victuals and ammunition; and when we are obliged to issue a quantity excessive, it pays itself off by depreciation.

"Our affairs in general stand in a fair light throughout Europe. Our cause is universally approved. Our constitutions of government have been translated and printed in most languages, and are so much admired for the spirit of liberty that reigns in them, that it is generally agreed we shall have a vast accession of national property after the war, from every part of this continent, and particularly from the British islands. We have only to persevere and to be happy.—Yours, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Josiah Quincy,*

"Passy, April 22, 1779.

"Dear Sir,—I received your very kind letter by Mr. Bradford, who appears a very sensible and amiable young gentleman, to whom I should with pleasure render any service here, upon your much respected recommendation; but I understand he returns immediately.

"It is with great sincerity I join you in acknowledging and admiring the dispensation of Providence in our favour. America has only to be thankful and persevere. God will finish his work, and establish their freedom: and the lovers of liberty will flock from all parts of Europe, with their fortunes, to participate with us of that freedom—as soon as peace is restored.

"I am exceedingly pleased with your account of the French politeness and civility, as it appeared among the officers and people of their fleet. They have certainly advanced in those respects many degrees beyond the English. I find them here a most amiable nation to live with. The Spaniards are by common opinion supposed to be cruel, the English proud, the Scotch insolent, the Dutch avaricious, &c. but I think the French have no national vice ascribed to them. They have some frivolities, but they are harmless. To dress their heads so that a hat cannot be put on them, and then wear their hats under their arms, and to fill their noses with tobacco, may be called follies perhaps, but they are not vices, they are only the effects of the tyranny of custom. In short, there is nothing wanting in the character of a Frenchman, that belongs to that of an agreeable and worthy man. They have only some trifles, a surplus of which might be spared.

"Will you permit me, while I do them this justice, to hint a little censure on our own country people? which I do in good will, wishing the cause removed. You know the necessity we are under of supplies from Europe, and the difficulty we have at present in making returns. The interest bills would do a good deal towards purchasing arms, ammunition, clothing, sailcloth, and other necessaries for defence. Upon inquiry of those who present those bills to me for acceptance, what the money is to be laid out in, I find that most of it is for superfluities, and more than half of it for tea! How unhappily in this instance the folly of our people, and the avidity of our merchants, concur to weaken and impoverish our country! I formerly computed that we consumed before the war, in that single article, the value of five hundred thousand pounds sterling annually. Much of this was saved by stopping the use of it. I honoured the virtuous resolution of our women, in foregoing that little gratification, and I lament that such virtue should be of so short duration! Five hundred thousand pounds sterling annually, laid out in defending ourselves, or annoying our enemies, would have great effects. With what face can we ask aids and subsidies from our friends, while we are wasting our own wealth in such prodigality?—With great and sincere esteem, I am, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Instructions to John P. Jones, Esq.

"Instructions to the honourable John Paul Jones, esquire, commander of the American squadron in the service of the United States, now in the port of L'Orient. 1. His majesty having been pleased to grant some troops for a particular expedition, proposed to annoy our common enemy, in which the sea force under your command might have an opportunity of distinguishing itself: you are to receive on board your ships of war, and the other vessels destined for that purpose, the troops that shall present themselves to you, afford them such accommodation as may be most proper for preserving their health, and convey them to such port or place as their commander shall desire to land them at.

"2d. When the troops are landed, you are to aid, by all means in your power, their operations, as they will be instructed in like manner to aid and support those you may make with your ships, that so by this concurrence and union of your different forces, all that such a compounded strength is capable of may be effected.

"3d. You are during the expedition never to depart from the troops so as not to be able to protect them, or to secure their retreat in case of a repulse; and in all events you are to endeavour their complete re-embarkation on board the ships and transports under your command, when the expedition shall be ended.

"4th. You are to bring to France all the English seamen you may happen to take prisoners, in order to complete the good work you have already made such progress in, of delivering, by an exchange, the rest of our countrymen now languishing in the gaols of Great Britain.

"5th. As many of your officers and people have lately escaped from English prisons, either in Europe or America, you are to be particularly attentive to their conduct towards the prisoners, which the fortune of war may throw into your hands, lest resentment of the more than barbarous usage by the English in many places towards the Americans, should occasion a retaliation, and an imitation of what ought rather to be detested and avoided, for the sake of humanity, and for the honour of our country.

"6th. In the same view, although the English have wantonly burnt many defenceless towns in America, you are not to follow this example, unless where a reasonable ransom is refused, in which case, your own generous feelings as well as this instruction, will induce you to give timely notice of your intention, that sick and ancient persons, women and children may be first removed.—Given at Passy, this 28th day of April, 1779.

"B. FRANKLIN,

"Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States at the court of France."

"*Mr. Thomas Viny, Kent.*

"Passy, May 4, 1779.

"Dear Sir,—I received with great pleasure your kind letter, as I learnt by it that my hospitable friend still exists, and that his friendship for me had not abated.

"We have had a hard struggle, but the Almighty has favoured the just cause, and I join most heartily with you in your prayers that he may perfect his work, and establish freedom in the new world, as an asylum for those of the old, who deserve it. I find that many worthy and wealthy families of this continent are determined to remove thither and partake of it, as soon as peace shall make the passage safer; for which peace I also join your prayers most cordially, as I think the war a detestable one; and grieve much at the mischief and misery it occasions to many: my only consolation being that I did all in my power to prevent it.

"When all the bustle is over, if my short remainder of life will permit my return thither, what a pleasure will it be to me to see my old friend and his children settled there! I hope he will find vines and figtrees there for all of them, under which we may sit and converse, enjoying peace and plenty, a good government, good laws and liberty, without which men loose half their value.—I am with much esteem, dear friend, yours, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*David Hartley, M. P.*

"Passy, May 4, 1779.

"Dear Sir,—I received your several favours, viz. one of April the 10th, one of the 20th, and two of the 22d, all on the same day, but by different conveyances.

"I need not repeat, what we have each of us so often repeated, the wish for peace. I will begin by frankly assuring you, that though I think a direct, immediate peace, the best mode of present accommodation, for Britain as well as for America, yet if that *is not* at this time practicable, and a truce is practicable, I should not be against a truce; but this is merely on motives of *general humanity*, to obviate the evils men devilishly inflict on men in time of war, and to lessen, as much as possible, the similarity of earth and hell. For with regard to particular advantages, respecting the states I am connected with, I am persuaded it is theirs to continue the war, till England shall be reduced to that perfect impotence of mischief, which alone can prevail with her to let other nations enjoy "*Peace, Liberty, and Safety.*" I think, however, that a *short* truce, which must, therefore, be an *armed* truce, and put all parties to an almost equal expense with a continued war, is by no means desirable.

"But this proposition of a truce, if made at all, should be made to France, at the same time it is made to America. They have each of them too much honour, as well as too much sense, to listen separately to any propositions which tend to separate them from each other.

"I will now give you my thoughts on your ideas of a negotiation, in the order you have placed them. If you will number them in your copy, you will readily see to which my observations refer, and I may therefore be more concise.

To the 1st, I do not see the necessity or use of five commissioners. A number of talkers lengthen discussions, and often embarrass instead of aiding a settlement. Their different particular views, private interests and jealousies of each other are likewise so many rubs in the way, and it sometimes happens that a number cannot agree to what each privately thinks reasonable, and would have agreed to, or perhaps proposed if alone. But this as the parties please.

"*To the 2d*, The term of twenty-one years would be better for all sides. The suspension of hostilities should be expressed to be, between all parties at war: and that the British troops and ships of war now in any of the United States be withdrawn.

"*To the 3d*, This seems needless, and is a thing that may be done or omitted as you please: America has no concern about those acts of parliament.

To the 4th, The reason of proposing this is not understood, nor the use of it, nor what inducement there can be for us to agree to it. When you come to treat with both your enemies, you may negotiate away as much of these engagements as you can; but powers who have made a firm, solid league, evidently useful to both, can never be prevailed with to dissolve it, for the vague expectation of another *in nubibus;* nor even on the certainty *that* another will be proposed without knowing what are to be its articles. America has no desire of being free from her engagements to France. The chief is that of continuing the war in conjunction with her, and not making a separate peace: and this is an obligation not in the power of America to dissolve, being an obligation of *gratitude and justice,* towards a nation which is engaged in a war on her account, and for her protection; and would be for ever binding, whether such an article existed or not in the treaty; and though it did not exist, an honest American would cut off his right hand rather than sign an agreement with England contrary to the spirit of it.

" *To the* 5*th,* As soon as you please..

" If you had mentioned France in your proposed suspension of arms, I should immediately have shown it to the minister, and have endeavoured to support that idea. As it stands, I am in doubt whether I shall communicate your paper or not, though by your writing it is so fair, it seems as if you intended it. If I do, I shall acquaint you with the result.

" The bill of which you send me a copy was an excellent one at the time, and might have had great and good effects; if instead of telling us haughtily that our humble petition should receive no answer, that the ministry had received and enacted that bill into a law. It might have erected a wall of brass round England, if such a measure had been adopted when Friar Bacon's brazen head cried out, TIME IS? But the wisdom of it was not seen, till after the fatal cry of TIME 'S PAST!

" B. FRANKLIN."

" *Mrs. Wright,* London.*

"Passy, May 4, 1779.

" Dear Madam,—I received your favour of the 14th of March past, and if you should continue in your resolution of returning to America, through France, I shall certainly render you any of the little services in my power: but there are so many difficulties at present in getting passages hence, particularly safe ones for women, that methinks I should advise your stay till more settled times, and, till a more frequent intercourse is established.

" As to the exercise of your art here, I am in doubt whether it would answer your expectations. Here are two or three who profess it, and make a show of their works on the Boulevards; but it is not the taste for persons of fashion to sit to these artists for their portraits: and both house-rent and living at Paris are very expensive.

" I thought that friendship required I should acquaint you with these circumstances; after which you will use your discretion.

" B. FRANKLIN."

[Written in the envelope of the above.]

" P. S. My grandson, whom you may remember when a little saucy boy at school, being my amanuensis in writing the within letter, has been diverting me with his remarks. He conceives that your figures cannot be packed up, without damage from any thing you could fill the boxes with to keep them steady. He supposes therefore, that you must put them into post-chaises, two and two, which will make a long train upon the road, and be a very expensive conveyance; but as they will eat nothing at the inns, you may the better afford it. When they come to Dover, he is sure they are so like life and nature, that the master of the packet will not receive them on board without passes; which you will do well therefore to take out from the secretary's office, before you leave London; where they will cost you *only* the modest price of two guineas and sixpence each, which you will pay without grumbling, because you are sure the money will never be employed against your country. It will require, he says, five or six of the long wicker French stage-coaches to carry them as passengers from Calais to Paris, and a ship with good accommodations to convey them to America; where all the world will wonder at your clemency to lord N——; that having it in your power to hang, or send him to the lighters, you had generously reprieved him for transportation."

General Beckwith.

" Passy, May 17, 1779.

" Sir,—Having assured you verbally that I had no authority to treat or agree with any military person, of any rank whatever to go to America, I understand your expressions that '*you will take your chance if I think*

* " Mrs Mehetabel Wright was altogether a very extraordinary woman. She was the niece of the celebrated John Wesley, but was born at Philadelphia, in which city her parents settled at an early period. Mrs. Wright was greatly distinguished as a modeller in wax; which art she turned to a remarkable account in the American war, by coming to England, and exhibiting her performances. This enabled her to procure much intelligence of importance, which she communicated to Dr. Franklin and others, with whom she corresponded during the whole war. As soon as a general was appointed, or a squadron begun to be fitted out, the old lady found means of access to some family where she could gain information, and thus without being at all suspected, she contrived to transmit an account of the number of the troops, and the place of their destination to her political friends abroad. She at one time had frequent access to Buckingham house; and used, it was said, to speak her sentiments very freely to their majesties, who were amused with her originality The great lord Chatham honoured her with his visits, and she took his likeness which appears in Westminster Abbey. Mrs. Wright died very old in February, 1786.

you may be useful,' to mean that you will go over without making any terms with me, on a supposition, which you also mention, that my recommendation will be regarded by the congress, and that you shall thereupon be employed in our armies.

"Whoever has seen the high character given of you by prince Ferdinand (under whom you served) to lord Chatham, which I saw when in London, must think that so able an officer might have been exceedingly useful to our cause, if he had been in America at the beginning of the war. But there is a great difficulty at this time in introducing one of your rank into our armies, now that they are all arranged and fully officered; and this kind of difficulty has been found so great, and the congress has been so embarrassed with numbers of officers from other countries, who arrived under strong recommendations, that they have been at above 100,000 livres expense to pay the charges of such officers in coming to America and returning to Europe, rather than hazard the discontent, the placing them to the prejudice of our own officers, who had served from the beginning, would have occasioned. Under these circumstances they have not merely left me without authority, but they have in express terms forbid me to agree with, or encourage by any means, the going over of officers to America in expectation of employment. As to my recommendation, whatever weight it might have had formerly, it has in several instances been so improperly employed through the too great confidence I had in recommendations from others, that I think it would at present be of no importance if it were necessary; but after that above mentioned of so great a general, and so good a judge of military merit as prince Ferdinand, a character of you from me would be impertinence.

"Upon the whole, I can only say, that if you choose to go over and settle in our land of liberty, I shall be glad to find you there on my return as a fellow-citizen, because I believe you will be a very good one, and respected there as such by the people. But I cannot advise or countenance your going thither with the expectation you mention.—With great esteem, B. FRANKLIN."

"*The Committee for Foreign Affairs.*

"PASSY, May 26, 1779.

"GENTLEMEN,—The marquis de la Fayette, who arrived here the 11th of February, brought me yours of October 28th, and the new commission, credentials, and instructions the congress have honoured me with. I have not since had an opportunity of writing that I could trust; for I see by several instances, that the orders given to private captains, to throw their despatches into the sea, when likely to be taken, are sometimes neglected, and sometimes so badly executed, that the letters are recovered by the enemy, and much inconvenience has attended their interception. You mention that you should speedily have opportunities of forwarding duplicates and triplicates of these papers: none of them have ever come to hand; nor have I received any other line from you of later date.

"I immediately acquainted the minister for foreign affairs with my appointment, and communicated to him, as usual, a copy of my credential letter, on which a day was named for my reception. A fit of the gout prevented my attendance at that time, and for some weeks after, but as soon as I was able to go through the ceremony, I went to Versailles, and was presented to the king, and received in all the forms. I delivered the letter of the congress into his majesty's own hands, who in the most gracious manner expressed his satisfaction: and I have since constantly attended the levee, every Tuesday, with the other foreign ministers, and have taken every proper occasion of repeating the assurances I am instructed to give, of the grateful sentiments of congress, and their determined resolution to fulfil religiously their engagements. Much pains is constantly taken by the enemy to weaken the confidence of this court in their new allies, by representing our people as weary of the war, and of the government of congress, which body too, they represent as distracted by dissentions, &c. but all this has very little effect; and when on some occasions it has seemed to make a little impression, and create some apprehensions, I have not found it difficult to remove them: and it is my firm opinion, that notwithstanding the great losses suffered by the commerce of this kingdom, since the commencement of the war, the disposition of the court to continue it (till its purpose of establishing our independence is completed) is not in the least changed, nor their regard for us diminished.

"The end of that part of the instructions which relates to American seamen taken by the French in English ships, had already been obtained; captain Jones having had for some time an order from court directed to the keepers of the prisoners, requiring them to deliver to him such Americans as should be found in their hands, that they might be at liberty to serve under his command. Most of them have accordingly been delivered to him, if not all. The minister of the marine having entertained a high opinion of him from his conduct and bravery in taking the Drake, was desirous of employing him in the command of a particular enterprise; and, to that end, requested us to spare him, which we did, and sent the Ranger home under the command of his lieutenant. Various accidents have hitherto postponed his equipment, but he now has the command of a fifty gun ship, with some frigates, all under American commissions and colours, fitted out at the king's expense, and will sail it is said about the first of June. The marquis de la Fayette was, with some land troops, to have gone with him; but I now understand the marquis is not to go, the plan being a little changed. The Alliance being weakly manned at first, and the captain judging it necessary to be freed from thirty-eight of his men, who had been concerned in a conspiracy, and unwilling to take French seamen, I thought it best to send him directly home, as his ship might be of some protection to the vessels then about sailing to America; and Mr. Adams, who was desirous of returning soon, might be accommodated with a passage in a swift sailing vessel. I accordingly offered her as a convoy to the trade at Nantes; but the gentlemen concerned, did not think fit to wait for her getting ready, as a French convoy offered for at least part of the voyage, and the minister requesting she might be added to captain Jones's little squadron, and offering to give a passage to Mr. Adams in the frigate with the new embassador, and to complete the Alliance's complement of men, I thought it best to continue her a little longer in Europe, hoping she may, in the projected cruise, by her extraordinary swiftness, be a means of taking prisoners enough to redeem the rest of our countrymen now in the English gaols. With this view, as well as to oblige the minister, I ordered her to join captain Jones at L'Orient, and obey his orders, where she now is accordingly. There have been great misunderstandings between the officers of that ship and their captain, and great discontents among the latter for want of clothes and money. I have been obliged to make great advances to appease those discontents, and I now hope the authority and prudence of captain Jones will be able to remove, or at least prevent the ill effects of those misunderstandings. The conspirators are detained in prison, and will remain there, subject to such direction as the congress may think fit to give concerning them. The court here would not, because they properly could not, undertake to try them; and we had not captains enough to make a court martial for the purpose. The sending them to America, with evidence to convict them, will be a great trouble and expense, and perhaps their offence cannot be so clearly made out as to justify a punishment sufficient to deter by its exemplary severity: possibly the best use that can be made of them is to give them in exchange for as many Americans, in the cartel now operating here. The perfidious conduct of English and Scotch sailors in our service, a good deal discourages the idea of taking them out of those prisons in order to employ them.

"This cartel is at length brought about by the indefatigable endeavours of an old friend of mine, and a long declared one to America.* The ship employed has already brought us one cargo from the prison at Plymouth. The number was intended for an hundred, but proved ninety-seven, and she is returned with as many in exchange, to bring us a second number from the prison at Portsmouth. This is to continue till all are exchanged. The Americans are chiefly engaged with captains Jones and Landais. This exchange is the more remarkable, as our people were all committed as for high treason.

"Agreeable to the seventh instruction, I have earnestly recommended the reduction of Halifax and Quebec. The marquis de la Fayette joined me warmly in the application for this purpose, and I hope we shall in due time see some good effects from it.

"I have also in various ways, and through various channels, laid before the ministry the distressed state of our finances in America. There seems a great willingness in all of them to help us, except in the comptroller, monsieur Neckar, who is said to be not well disposed towards us, and is supposed to embarrass every measure proposed to relieve us by grants of money. It is certain, that under the resolution perhaps too hastily declared, of the king's imposing no new taxes on his subjects this year, the court has great difficulties in defraying present expense; the vast exertions to put the navy in a condition to equal that of England, having cost immense sums. There is also a prevailing opinion, that the most effectual service to us, is to be expected from rendering their marine superior to that of England. The king has, however, to encourage our loan in Holland, been so good as to engage under his hand, to be security for our payment of the interest of three millions of livres; but that loan has not as yet amounted to more than about eighty thousand florins.

"Doctor Price, whose assistance was requested by congress, has declined that service, as you will see by the copy of his letter enclosed. To me it seems that the measure recommended by the wisdom of congress for diminishing the quantity of paper, by taxes of large nominal sums, must have very salutary effects.

"As to your finances here, it is fit that you should know the state of them. When the commissioners of congress made the proposition of paying the interest at Paris of the money borrowed in America, they understood the loan to be of five millions of dollars. They obtained from government sums more than sufficient for the interest of such a sum. That sum has been increased, and if they could otherwise have provided for it, they have been from time to time drained by a number of unforeseen expenses, of which the congress had no knowledge, and of others occasioned by their orders and drafts; and the cargoes sent to the commissioners by the committees have some of them been treacherously run away with by the seamen, or taken by the enemy, or, when arrived, have been hitherto applied towards the payment of debts, the tobacco to the farmers general according to contract, and the rice and indigo to Messieurs Hortalez & Co. from whom, by the way, we have not yet been able to procure any account. I have lately employed an accountant, the son of our banker, to form complete books of our accounts to be sent to congress. They are not yet ready. When they are, I shall send them by the first safe opportunity. In the mean time, I may just mention some particulars of our disbursements:—great quantities of clothing, arms, ammunition, and naval stores, sent from time to time; payment of bills from Mr. Bingham, one hundred thousand livres; congress bills in favour of Haywood and company, above two hundred thousand; advanced to Mr. Ross, about twenty thousand pounds sterling; paid congress drafts in favour of returned officers, ninety-three thousand and eighty livres; to our prisoners in England, and after their escape to help them home, and to other Americans here in distress, a great sum, I cannot at present say how much; supplies to Mr. Hodge, for fitting out captain Cunningham, very considerable; for the freights of ships to carry over the supplies, great sums; to Mr. William Lee and Mr. Izard, five thousand five hundred pounds sterling; and for fitting the frigates Rawleigh, Alfred, Boston, Providence, Alliance, Ranger, &c. I imagine not less than sixty or seventy thousand livres each, taken one with another: and for maintenance of the English prisoners, I believe when I get in all the accounts, I shall find one hundred thousand livres not sufficient, having already paid above sixty-five thousand on that article; and now the drafts of the treasurer of the loans coming very fast upon me, the anxiety I have suffered, and the distress of mind lest I should not be able to pay them, has for a long time been very great indeed. To apply again to this court for money for a particular purpose, which they had already over and over again provided for and furnished us, was extremely awkward. I therefore repeated the *general* applications, which we had made when together, for aids of money, and received the general answers, that the expense of government for the navy was so great, that at *present* it was exceedingly difficult to furnish supplies. That France, by sending a fleet to America, obliged the enemy to divide their forces, and left them so weak on the continent as to aid us by lessening our expense, if it could not by giving us money, &c. &c. and I was asked if we did not receive money from Spain? I know indeed of some money received from thence, and I have heard of more, but know not how much. Mr. A. Lee, as minister for Spain, having taken to himself all the management of that affair, and will account to congress. I only understand, that there is none of it left to assist in paying congress bills. I at length obtained, as above mentioned, the king's *bon* for payment of the interest of three millions, if I could borrow it in Holland, or elsewhere; but though two eminent houses in Amsterdam have undertaken it, and had hopes of success, they have both lately written to me, that the great demands of money for Germany and for England had raised interest above our limits, and that the successes of the English in Georgia and St. Lucia, and in destroying the French trade, with the supposed divisions in congress, all much magnified by the British minister, and the pressing applications to borrow by several of our states separately, had made the monied people doubtful of our stability, as well as our ability to repay what might be lent us, and that it was necessary to wait a more favourable moment for proceeding with our loan. In this situation I have been applied to by Mr. William Lee, and lately, through our banker, by Mr. Izard, for more money for their expenses, and I am told there is much anger against me for declining to furnish them, and that I am charged with *disobeying an order of congress*, and with cruelty attempting to distress gentlemen who are in the service of their country. They have indeed produced to me a resolve of congress, *empowering them to draw* on the commissioners in France *for their expenses at foreign courts;* and doubtless congress, when that resolve was made, intended to enable us to pay those drafts: but that has not been done, and the gentlemen (except Mr. Lee for a few weeks) *have not incurred any expense at foreign courts*, and if they had, the five thousand five hundred guineas, received by them in about nine months, seemed an ample provision for it; and as both of them might command money from England, I do not conceive that I *disobeyed an order of congress;* and that if I did, the circumstances will excuse it; and I could have no intention to distress them, because I must know it out of my power, as their private fortunes and credit will enable them at all times to pay their own expenses. In short, the dreadful consequences of ruin to our public credit, both in America and Europe, that must attend protesting a single congress draft for interest, after our funds were out, would have weighed with me against the payment of more money to those gentlemen, if the demand had otherwise been well founded. I am, however, in the judgment of congress, and if I have done amiss, must submit dutifully to their censure. Thanks to God, I have this last week got over the difficulty so far as relates to the bills, which will all be punctually paid; but if the navy boards send more ships here to be fitted, or the congress continue to draw for the payment of other debts, the ships will be disappointed, and I shall probably be made a bankrupt; unless funds are, at the same time, sent over to discharge such demands.

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* Supposed to be D. Hartley, member of parliament for Hull.—Ed.

"With regard to the fitting out of ships, receiving and disposing of cargoes, and purchasing of supplies, I beg leave to mention, that besides my being wholly unacquainted with such business, the distance I am from the ports renders my having any thing to do with it extremely inconvenient. Commercial agents have indeed been appointed by Mr. William Lee, but they and the captains are continually writing for my opinion or orders or leave to do this and that, by which much time is lost to them, and much of mine taken up, to little purpose, from my ignorance. I see clearly, however, that many of the captains are exorbitant in their demands, and in some cases I think those demands are too easily complied with by the agents, perhaps because their commissions are in proportion to the expense. I wish, therefore, the congress would appoint the consuls they have a right to appoint by the treaty, and put into their hands all that sort of employment. I have in my desk I suppose not less than fifty applications from different ports, praying the appointment, and offering to serve *gratis*, for the honour of it, and the advantage it gives in trade. But I should imagine if consuls are appointed they will be of our own people from America, who, if they should make fortunes abroad, might return with them to their country. The commissions demanded by the agents seem to me, in some cases, very high. For instance, Mr. Schweighauser, in a late account, charges five per cent. on the simple delivery of the tobaccoes to the officer of the farmers general in the port, and by that means, makes the commission on the delivery of the two last cargoes, amount to about six hundred and thirty pounds sterling. As there was no sale in the case, he has, in order to calculate the commission, valued the tobacco at ninety livres the hundred weight; whereas it was, by our contract with the farmers, to be delivered at about forty livres. I got a friend who was going upon change, to inquire among the merchants what was the custom in such cases of delivery. I send enclosed the result he has given me of his inquiries. In consequence, I have refused to pay the commission of five per cent. on this article; and I know not why it was, as is said, agreed with him, at the time of his appointment, that he should have five per cent. on his transactions, if the custom is only two per cent., as by information.

"I have mentioned above, the application of several states to borrow money in Europe, on which I beg leave to remark, that when the general congress are endeavouring to obtain a loan, these separate attempts do interfere, and are extremly inconvenient, especially where some of the agents are impowered to offer a higher interest, and some have powers in that respect unlimited. We have likewise lately had applications from three several states to this court, to be furnished with great quantities of arms, ammunition, and clothing, or with money upon credit to buy them; and from one state, to be supplied with naval stores and ships of war. These agents, finding that they had not interest to obtain such grants, have severally applied to me, and seem to think it my duty, as minister for the United States, to support and enforce their particular demands. I have endeavoured to do so, but I find the ministers do not like these separate applications, and seem to think that they should properly come only through congress, to whom the several states, in such cases, ought first to make known their wants, and then the congress could instruct their minister accordingly. This would save the king's ministers a good deal of trouble, and the several states the expense of these particular agents, concerning whom I would add a little remark; that we have in America, too readily, in various instances, given faith to the pretensions of strangers from Europe, who offer their services as persons who have powerful friends and great interest in their own country, and by that means obtain contracts, orders, or commissions to procure what we want; and who, when they come here, are totally unknown, and have no other credit but what such commissions give them; or if known, the commissions do not add so much to *their* credit, as they diminish that of their employers.

"I have received two letters from a Frenchman settled in one of the ports of Barbary, offering himself to act as our minister with the emperor, with whom he pretended to be intimate, and acquainting me that his imperial majesty wondered we had never sent to thank him for being the first power on this side the Atlantic that had acknowledged our independence, and opened his ports to us; advising that we should send the emperor a present. On inquiring at the office in whose department Africa is included, I learnt the character of this man to be such, that it was not safe to have any correspondence with him, and therefore did not answer his letter. I suppose congress has received the memoria we presented to this court respecting the Barbary states, and requesting the king's good offices with them agreeable to the treaty, and also the answer expressing the king's readiness to perform those good offices whenever the congress should send us instructions, and make provisions for the necessary presents: or if these papers have not yet got to hand, they will be found among the copies carried over by Mr. Adams, and therefore I only mention them by way of remembrance. Whenever a treaty with the emperor shall be intended, I suppose some of our naval stores will be an acceptable present, and the expectation of continued supplies of such stores, a powerful motive for entering into and continuing a friendship.

"I should send you copies of several other memorials and public papers, but as Mr. Adams goes in the same ship, and has the whole of our transactions during his time, it is not so necessary by this vessel.

"The disposition of this nation, in general, continues friendly towards us and our cause; and I do not see the least diminution of it, except among the West India merchants and planters, whose losses have rendered them a little discontented.

"Spain has been long acting as a mediator, but arming all the time most vigorously. Her naval force is now very great indeed; and as her last proposition of a long truce, in which America should be included and treated with, as independent in fact, though not expressly acknowledged as such, has been lately rejected by England, it is now thought that her open junction with France in the war is not far distant. The commissioners here have a power in general terms to treat of peace, friendship, and commerce with European states, but I apprehend this is scarce explicit enough to authorize one to treat of such a truce, if the proposition should again come upon the *tapis*. I therefore wish the congress to consider of it, and give such powers as may be necessary to whom they may think proper; that if a favourable opportunity of making an advantageous treaty should offer, it may not be slipt.

"Admiral Arbuthnot, who was going to America with a large convoy and some troops, has been detained by a little attempt upon Jersey; and contrary winds since that affair was over, have detained him farther until within these few days.

"Since I began writing this letter I have received a packet from the committee by way of Statia and Holland, sent by Mr. Lovell, containing his letters of December 8, January 29, and Feburary 8, with one from the president, dated January 3. Several papers are mentioned as sent with them, and by other opportunities, but none are come to hand, except the resolution to postpone the attempt upon Canada, and these are the first despatches received here since the date of those sent by the marquis de la Fayette.

"I have also just received a letter from Mr. Bingham, acquainting me that the ships Deane and the General Gates, are just arrived at Martinico, and apply to him to be careened, refitted, and procure a fresh supply of provisions; and that though he has no orders, he must draw upon me for the expense. I think it right to acquaint you thus early that I shall be obliged to protest his bills. I have just obtained from his majesty, orders to the government of Gaudaloupe, to make reasonable reparation to captain Giddins of Newburg, for the loss of this vessel, sunk in mistake by a battery of that island.

"Great preparations are now making here, with much activity in all the sea ports, taking up transports, and building small vessels proper for landing of troops, &c., so that many think an invasion of England or Ireland is intended. The intention, whatever it is, may change; but the opinion of such an intention, which seems to prevail in England, may tend to keep their troops and ships at home.

"General and lord Howe, generals Cornwallis and Grey, colonel Montresor, captain Hammond, and others, have formally given it as their opinion in parliament, that the conquest of America is impracticable. This week, as we hear, John Maxwell, esquire, Joseph Galloway, esquire, Andrew Allen, esquire, John Patterson, Theophilus Morris, Enoch Story, and Jabez Fisher, are to be examined to prove the contrary. One would think the first set were likely to be the best judges. Be pleased to present my dutiful respects to the congress, and assure them of my most faithful services.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Sir Edward Newenham, Dublin.*

"Passy, May 27, 1779.

"Sir,—I should sooner have sent this passport, but that I hoped to have had the other from this court in time to send with it. If you should stay a few days in England, and will let me know how it may be directed to you, I can send it to you per post.

"I received some time since a letter from a person at Belfast, informing me that a great number of people in those parts were desirous of going to settle in America, if passports could be obtained for them and their effects, and referring me to you for future information. I shall always be ready to afford every assistance and security in my power to such undertakings, when they are really meant, and are not merely schemes of trade with views of introducing English manufactures into America, under pretence of their being the substance of persons going there to settle

"I admire the spirit with which I see the Irish are at length determined to claim some share of that freedom of commerce, which is the right of all mankind, but which they have been so long deprived of by the abominable selfishness of their fellow-subjects. To enjoy all the advantages of the climate, soil and situation in which God and nature have placed us, is as clear a right as that of breathing; and can never be justly taken from men but as a punishment for some atrocious crime.

"The English have long seemed to think it a right which none could have but themselves. Their injustice has already cost them dear, and if persisted in, will be their ruin.

"I have the honour to be, with great esteem, sir, B. FRANKLIN."

"*To General Gates.*

"Passy, June 2, 1779.

"Dear Sir,—I received your obliging letter by the chevalier de Ramandis, who appears extremely sensible of the civilities he received at Boston, and very desirous of being serviceable to the American cause; his wound is not yet right, as he tells me there is a part of the bone still to be cut off. But he is otherwise well and cheerful, and has a great respect for you.

"The pride of England was never so humbled by any thing as by your capitulation of Saratoga, (Oct. 17, 1777;) they have not yet got over it, though a little elevated this spring by their success against the French commerce. But the growing apprehension of having Spain too upon their hands, has lately brought them down to a humble seriousness that begins to appear even in ministerial discourses, and the papers of ministerial writers. All the happy effects of that transaction for America, are not generally known; I may some time or other acquaint the world with some of them. When shall we meet again in cheerful converse, talk over our adventures, and finish with a quiet game of chess?

"The little dissentions between particular states in America are much magnified in England, and they once had great hopes from them. I consider them with you as the effects of apparent security; which do not affect the grand points of independence, and adherence to treaties; and which will vanish at a renewed appearance of danger. This court continues heartily our friend, and the whole nation are warm in our favour; excepting only a few West Indians, and merchants in that trade, whose losses make them a little uneasy.

"With sincere and great esteem and affection I am ever, dear sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Richard Bache.*[*]

"Passy, June 2, 1779.

"I am very easy about the efforts Messrs. L. and *** are using (as you tell me) to injure me on that side of the water. I trust in the justice of the congress that they will listen to no accusations against me, that I have not first been acquainted with, and had an opportunity of answering. I know those gentlemen have plenty of ill-will to me, though I have never done to either of them the smallest injury, or given the least just cause of offence. But my too great reputation and the general good-will this people have for me, the respect they show me, and even the compliments they make me, all grieve those unhappy gentlemen; unhappy indeed in their tempers, and in the dark uncomfortable passions of jealousy, anger, suspicion, envy, and malice. It is enough for good minds to be affected at other people's misfortunes; but they that are vexed at every body's good luck, can never be happy: I take no other revenge of such enemies, than to let them remain in the miserable situation in which their malignant natures have placed them, by endeavouring to support an estimable character; and thus by continuing the reputation the world has hitherto indulged me with, I shall continue them in their present state of damnation; and I am not disposed to reverse my conduct for the alleviation of their torments.

"I am surprised to hear that my grandson, Temple Franklin, being with me, should be an objection against me, and that there is a cabal for removing him. Methinks it is rather some merit that I have rescued a valuable young man from the danger of being a Tory, and fixed him in honest republican Whig principles; as I think from the integrity of his disposition, his industry, his early sagacity, and uncommon abilities for business, he may in time become of great service to his country. It is enough that I have lost my *son*, would they add my *grandson!* An old man of 70, I undertook a winter voyage at the command of the congress, and for the public service, with no other attendant to take care of me. I am continued here in a foreign country, where, if I am sick, his filial attention comforts me, and, if I die, I have a child to close my eyes and take care of my remains. His dutiful behaviour towards me, and his diligence and fidelity in business, are both pleasing and useful to me. His conduct as my private secretary has been unexceptionable, and I am confident the congress will never think of separating us.

"I have had a great deal of pleasure in Ben[†] too. 'Tis a good honest lad, and will make, I think, a valuable man. He had made as much proficiency in his learning as the boarding school he was at could well afford him, and after some consideration where to find a better for him I at length fixed on sending him to Geneva. I had a good opportunity by a gentleman of that city, who had a place for him in his chaise, and has a son of about the same age at the same school. He promised to take care of him, and enclosed I send you the letters I have since received relating to him and from him. He went very cheerfully, and I understand is very happy. I miss his company on Sundays at dinner. But if I live and I can find a little leisure, I shall make the journey next spring to see him, and to see at the same time *the old* 13 *United States* of Switzerland.

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[*] Who married Sarah, the only daughter of Dr. Franklin.

[†] His eldest grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache.

"Thanks be to God, I continue well and hearty. Undoubtedly I grow older, but I think the last ten years have made no great difference. I have sometimes the gout, but they say that is not so much a disease or a remedy. God bless you. I am your affectionate father, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mrs. Bache.*

"PASSY, June 3, 1779.

"DEAR SALLY,—I have before me your letters of Oct. 22 and Jan. 17th: they are the only ones I received from you in the course of eighteen months. If you knew how happy your letters make me, and considered how many miscarry, I think you would write oftener.

"I am much obliged to the Miss Cliftons for the kind care they took of my house and furniture.* Present my thankful acknowledgments to them, and tell them I wish them all sorts of happiness.

"The clay medallion of me you say you gave to Mr. Hopkinson was the first of the kind made in France. A variety of others have been made since of different sizes; some to be set in lids of snuff boxes, and some so small as to be worn in rings; and the numbers sold are incredible. These, with the pictures, busts, and prints, (of which copies upon copies are spread every where) have made your father's face as well known as that of the moon, so that he durst not do any thing that would oblige him to run away, as his phiz would discover him wherever he should venture to show it. It is said by learned etymologists that the name *Doll*, for the images children play with, is derived from the word IDOL; from the number of *dolls* now made of him, he may be truly said, *in that sense*, to be *i-doll-ized* in this country.

"I think you did right to stay out of town till the summer was over for the sake of your child's health. I hope you will get out again this summer during the hot months; for I begin to love the little creature from your description of her.

"I was charmed with the account you give me of your industry, the table-cloths of your own spinning, &c. but the latter part of the paragraph, that you had sent for linen from France, because weaving and flax were grown dear; alas, that dissolved the charm; and your sending for long black pins, and lace, and *feathers!* disgusted me as much as if you had put salt into my strawberries. The spinning, I see, is laid aside, and you are to be dressed for the ball! you seem not to know, my dear daughter, that of all the dear things in this world, idleness is the dearest, except mischief.

"The project you mention of removing *Temple* from me was an unkind one; to deprive an old man sent to serve his country in a foreign one, of the comfort of a child to attend him, to assist him in health and take care of him in sickness, would be cruel, if it was practicable. In this case it could not be done; for as the pretended suspicions of him are groundless, and his behaviour in every respect unexceptionable; I should not part with the child, but with the employment.—But I am confident that whatever may be proposed by weak or malicious people, the congress is too wise and too good to think of treating me in that manner.

"*Ben*, if I should live long enough to want it, is like to be another comfort to me: as I intend him for a Presbyterian as well as a Republican, I have sent him to finish his education at Geneva. He is much grown, in very good health, draws a little, as you will see by the enclosed, learns Latin, writing, arithmetic and dancing, and speaks French better than English. He made a translation of your last letter to him, so that some of your works may now appear in a foreign language. He has not been long from me. I send the accounts I have of him, and I shall put him in mind of writing to you. I cannot propose to you to part with your own dear *Will:* I must one of these days go back to see him; happy to be once more all together! but futurities are uncertain. Teach him however in the mean time to direct his worship more properly, for the deity of *Hercules* is now quite out of fashion.

"The present you mention as sent by me, was rather that of a merchant at Bourdeaux, for he would never give me any account of it, and neither Temple nor I know any thing of the particulars.

"When I began to read your account of the high prices of goods, '*a pair of gloves seven dollars, a yard of common gause twenty-four dollars, and that it now required a fortune to maintain a family in a very plain way,*' I expected you would conclude with telling me, that every body as well as yourself was grown frugal and industrious; and I could scarce believe my eyes in reading forward, that, '*there never was so much dressing and pleasure going on*;' and that you yourself wanted *black pins and feathers from France*, to appear, I suppose, in the mode! This leads me to imagine that perhaps, it is not so much that the goods are grown dear, as that the money is grown cheap, as every thing else will do when excessively plenty; and that people are still as easy nearly in their circumstances as when a pair of gloves might be had for half a crown. The war indeed may in some degree raise the prices of goods, and the high taxes which are necessary to support the war may make our frugality necessary; and as I am always preaching that doctrine, I cannot in conscience or in decency encourage the contrary, by my example, in furnishing my children with foolish modes and luxuries. I therefore send all the articles you desire that are useful and necessary, and omit the rest; for as you say you should '*have great pride in wearing any thing I send, and showing it as your father's taste*;' I must avoid giving you an opportunity of doing that with either lace or feathers. If you wear your cambric ruffles as I do, and take care not to mend the holes, they will come in time to be lace; and feathers, my dear girl, may be had in America from every cock's tail.

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* During the occupation of Philadelphia by a British army.

"If you happen again to see general Washington, assure him of my very great and sincere respect, and tell him that all the old generals here amuse themselves in studying the accounts of his operations, and approve highly of his conduct.

"Present my affectionate regards to all friends that inquire after me, particularly Mr. Duffield and family, and write oftener, my dear child, to B. FRANKLIN."

"*Marquis de la Fayette, at Havre-de-Grace.*

"PASSY, August 19, 1779.

"DEAR SIR,—I have just now received your favour of the 17th. I wrote to you a day or two ago, and have little to add. You ask my opinion, what conduct the English will probably hold on this occasion, and whether they will not rather propose a negotiation for a peace: I have but one rule to go by in judging of those people, which is, that whatever is prudent for them to do they will omit; and what is most imprudent to be done, they will do it. This, like all other general rules, may sometime have its exceptions; but I think it will hold good for the most part, at least while the present ministry continues, or rather *while the present madman* has the choice of ministers.

"You desire to know whether I am satisfied with the ministers here! It is impossible for any to be more so. I see they exert themselves greatly in the common cause, and do every thing for us they can. We can wish for nothing more, unless our great want of money should make us wish for a subsidy, to enable us to act more vigorously in expelling the enemy from their remaining posts, and reducing Canada. But their own expenses are so great, that I cannot press such an addition to it. I hope, however, that we shall get some supplies of arms and ammunition; and perhaps, when they can be spared, some ships to aid in reducing New York and Rhode Island. At present I know of no good opportunity of writing to America. There are merchant ships continually going, but they are very uncertain conveyances. I long to hear of your safe arrival in England: but the winds are adverse, and we must have patience.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same, with the sword ordered by congress.

"PASSY, August 24, 1779.

"SIR,—The congress, sensible of your merit towards the United States, but unable adequately to reward it, determined to present you with a sword, as a small mark of their grateful acknowledgment. They directed it to be ornamented with suitable devices. Some of the principal actions of the war, in which you distinguished yourself by your bravery and conduct, are therefore represented upon it. These, with a few emblematic figures, all admirably well executed, make its principal value. By the help of the exquisite artists France affords, I find it easy to express every thing but the sense we have of your worth, and our obligations to you. For this, figures and even words are found insufficient.

"I therefore only add, that with the most perfect esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

"P. S. My grandson goes to Havre with the sword, and will have the honour of presenting it to you."

The Reply.

"HAVRE, August 29, 1779.

"SIR,—Whatever expectations might have been raised from the sense of past favours, the goodness of the United States for me has ever been such, that on every occasion it far surpasses any idea I could have conceived. A new proof of that flattering truth, I find in the noble present, which congress have been pleased to honour me with, and which is offered in such a manner by your excellency as will exceed any thing, but the feelings of my unbounded gratitude. Some of the devices I cannot help finding too honourable a reward for those slight services, which in concert with my fellow-soldiers, and under the god-like American hero's orders, I had the good luck to render. The sight of these actions, where I was a witness of American bravery and patriotic spirit, I shall ever enjoy with that pleasure which becomes a heart glowing with love for the nation, and the most ardent zeal for their glory and happiness.

"Assurances of gratitude, which I beg leave to present to your excellency, are much inadequate to my feelings, and nothing, but those sentiments may properly acknowledge your kindness towards me. The polite manner in which Mr. Temple Franklin was pleased to deliver that inestimable sword, lays me under great obligations to him, and demands my particular thanks.—With the most perfect respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

"LA FAYETTE."

"*James Lovell.*

"Passy, September 30, 1779 2, P. M.

"Sir,—I have received within these few days a number of despatches from you, which have arrived by the Mercury and other vessels. Hearing but this instant of an opportunity from Bourdeaux, and that the courier sets out from Versailles at five this evening, I embrace it just to let you know, that I have delivered the letters from congress to the king, and have laid the invoices of supplies desired (with a translation) before the ministers, and though I have not yet received a positive answer, I have good reason to believe I shall obtain most of them, if not all: but as this demand will cost the court a vast sum, and their expenses in the war is prodigious, I beg I may not be put under the necessity, by occasional drafts on me, to ask for more money than is required to pay our bills for interest. I must protest those I have advice of from Martinico and New Orleans (even if they were drawn by permission of congress) for want of money; and I wish the committee of commerce would caution their correspondents not to embarrass me with their bills. I put into my pocket nothing of the allowance congress has been pleased to make me, I shall pay it all in honouring their drafts, and supporting their credit, but do not let me be burdened with supporting the credit of every one who has claims on the boards of commerce or the navy. I shall write fully by the Mercury; I send you some of the latest newspapers, and have the honour to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. Brigden, London.*

"Passy, October 2, 1779.

"Dear Sir,—I received your favour of the 17th past, and the two samples of copper are since come to hand. The metal seems to be very good, and the price reasonable, but I have not yet received the orders necessary to justify my making the purchase proposed. There has indeed been an intention to strike copper coin, that may not only be useful as small change, but serve other purposes. Instead of repeating continually upon every half-penny the dull story that every body knows, (and what would have been no loss to mankind if nobody had ever known,) that George III. is King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. &c. To put on one side some important Proverb of Solomon, some pious moral, prudential, or economical precept, the frequent inculcation of which, by seeing i every time one receives a piece of money, might make an impression upon the mind, especially of young persons, and tend to regulate their conduct; such as on some, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom;* on others, *Honesty is the best policy;* on others, *He that by the plow would thrive, himself must either hold or drive;* on others, *Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee;* on others, *A penny saved is a penny got;* on others, *He that buys what he has no need of; will soon be forced to sell his necessaries;* on others, *Early to bed and early to rise, will make a man healthy, wealthy, and wise;* and so on to a great variety. The other side it was proposed to fill with good designs, drawn and engraved by the best artists in France, of all the different species of barbarity with which the English have carried on the war in America, expressing every abominable circumstance of their cruelty and inhumanity, that figures can express, to make an impression on the minds of posterity as strong and durable as that on the copper. This resolution has been a long time foreborne, but the late burning of defenceless towns in Connecticut, on the flimsy pretence that the people fired from behind their houses, when it is known to have been premeditated and ordered from England, will probably give the finishing provocation, and may occasion a vast demand for your metal.

"I thank you for your kind wishes respecting my health, I return them most cordially fourfold into your own bosom. Adieu.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*John Jay, Esq. President of Congress.*

"Passy, October 4th, 1779.

"Sir,—I received the letter your excellency did me the honour to write to me of the —— of June last, enclosing acts of congress, respecting bills of exchange for two millions four hundred thousands livres tournois, drawn on me in favour of M. de Beaumarchais. The bills have not yet appeared, but I shall accept them when they do, relying on the care of congress to enable me to pay them. As to the accounts of that gentleman, neither the commissioners when we were all together, nor myself since, have ever been able to obtain a sight of them, though repeatedly promised, and I begin to give over all expectation of them; indeed if I had them, I should not be able to do much with them, or to controvert any thing I might doubt in them, being unacquainted with the transactions and agreements on which they must be founded, and having small skill in accounts. Mr. Ross and Mr. Williams pressing me to examine and settle theirs, I have been obliged to request indifferent persons, expert in such business, to do it for me, subject to the revision of congress; and I should wish that my time and attention were not taken up by any concerns in mercantile affairs, and thereby diverted from others more important.

"The letters of congress to the king were very graciously received; I have earnestly pressed the supplies desired, and the ministers (who are extremly well disposed towards us) are now actually studying the means of furnishing them. The assistance of Spain is hoped for. We expect to hear from thence in a few days. The quantity is great, and will cost a vast sum. I have this day accepted three of your drafts, part of the three hundred and sixty thousand livres drawn for on the 9th of June: but when I ask for money to pay them, I must mention that as they were drawn to purchase military stores, an abatement equal to the value may be made of the quantity demanded from hence. For I am really ashamed to be always worrying the ministers for more money. And as to the private loans expected, I wrote in a former letter that our public credit was not yet sufficiently established, and that the loan in Holland had not exceeded eighty thousand florins, to which there has since been no addition. A Mr. Neufville came from thence to me last spring, proposing to procure great sums if he might be employed for that purpose, and the business taken away from the house that had commenced it. His terms at first were very extravagant, such as that all the estates real and personal in the thirteen provinces should be mortgaged to him, that a fifth part of the capital sum borrowed should every year for five years be laid out in commodities and sent to Holland consigned to him, to remain in his hands till the term (ten years) stipulated for final payment was completed, as a security for the punctuality of it; when he was to draw the usual commissions: that all vessels or merchandize, coming from America to Europe, should be consigned to him or his correspondents, &c. &c. As I rejected these with some indignation, he came down to the more reasonable ones of doing the business as it was done by the other house, who, he said, could do no more, being destitute of the interest which he possessed. I did not care abruptly to change a house, that had in other respects been very friendly and serviceable to us, and thereby throw a slur upon their credit without a certainty of mending our affairs by it; and therefore, told Mr. Neufville that if he could procure and show me a list of subscribers amounting to the sum he mentioned, or near it, I would comply with his proposition. This he readily and confidently undertook to do. But after three months, during which he acquainted me from time to time, that the favourable moment was not yet come, I received instead of the subscription, a new set of propositions, among the terms of which were an additional *one per cent.* and a patent from congress, appointing him and his sons '*commissioners for trade and navigation, and treasurers of the general congress, and of every private state of the thirteen United States of North America, through the seven United Provinces*' with other extravagancies, which I mention, that it may be understood, why I have dropt correspondence on this subject, with a man who seemed to me a vain promiser, extremely self interested, and aiming chiefly to make an appearance without solidity; and who, I understand intends applying directly to congress, some of his friends censuring me as neglecting the public interest in not coming into his measures. The truth is, that I have no expectations from Holland, whilst interest received there from other nations is so high, and our credit there so low; while particular American states offer higher interest than the congress; and even our offering to raise our interest tends to sink our credit. My sole dependence now is upon this court: I think reasonable assistance may be obtained here, but I wish I may not be obliged to fatigue it too much with my applications, lest it should grow tired of the connexion. Mr. Ross has lately demanded of me near twenty thousand pounds sterling, due to him from the committee of commerce, but I have been obliged to refuse him, as well as an application made last week by Mr. Izard for more money, though he has already had 2,500 guineas, and another from Mr. Arthur Lee, though he has had five hundred guineas, since the news of his being out of this commission. He writes me that he will return to America forthwith if I do not undertake to supply his expenses: as I see no likelihood of his being received at Madrid, I could not but approve his resolution.

"We had reason to expect some great events, from the action of the fleets this summer in the Channel, but they are all now in port without having effected any thing. The junction was late, and the length of time the

Brest squadron was at sea, equal to an East India voyage, partly on the hot Spanish coast, occasioned a sickness among the people that made their return necessary: they had chased the English fleet, which refused the combat.—The sick men are recovering fast since they were landed; and the proposed descent on England does not yet seem to be quite given up, as the troops are not withdrawn from the ports. Holland has not yet granted the succours required by the English, nor even given an answer to the requisition presented by sir Joseph York. The aids will be refused, and as the refusal must be disagreeable, it is postponed from time to time. The expectations of assistance from Russia and Prussia seem also to have failed the English, and they are as much at a loss to find effective friends in Europe, as they have been in America. Portugal seems to have a better disposition towards us than heretofore. About thirty of our people taken, and set ashore on one of her islands by the English, were maintained comfortably by the governor during their stay there, furnished with every necessary, and sent to Lisbon, where, on inquiry to whom payment was to be made for the expense they had occasioned, they were told that no reimbursement was expected, that it was the queen's bounty, who had a pleasure in showing hospitality to strangers in distress. I have presented thanks by the Portuguese ambassador here in behalf of the congress: and I am given to understand that probably, in a little time, the ports of that nation will be as open to us as those of Spain. What relates to Spain I suppose Mr. Lee informs you of.

"The sword ordered by congress for the marquis de la Fayette, being at length finished, I sent it down to him at Havre, where he was with the troops intended for the invasion. I wrote a letter with it, and received an answer, copies of both which I enclose, together with a description of the sword, and drawings of the work upon it, which was executed by the best artists in Paris, and cost altogether two hundred guineas. The present has given him great pleasure, and some of the circumstances have been agreeable to the nation.

"Our cartel goes on: a second cargo of American prisoners, one hundred and nineteen in number, being arrived and exchanged. Our privateers have dismissed a great number at sea, taking their written paroles to be given up in exchange for so many of our people in their gaols. This is not yet quite agreed to on the other side, but some expectations are given me that it may take place. Certainly humanity would find its account in the practice of exchanging upon parole, as all the horrors of imprisonment, with the loss of time and health, might be prevented by it.

"We continue to insult the coasts of these *lords of the ocean* with our little cruisers. A small cutter, which was fitted out as a privateer at Dunkirk, called the Black Prince, has taken, ransomed, burnt, and destroyed above thirty sail of their vessels within these three months. The owners are about to give her a consort, called the Black Princess, for whom they ask a commission. The prisoners brought in, serve to exchange our countrymen, which makes me more willing to encourage such armaments, though they occasion a good deal of trouble.

"Captain, now commodore, Jones, put to sea this summer with a little squadron consisting of a ship of forty guns, the Alliance, another frigate of twenty, with some armed cutters, all under American colours, with congress commissions. He has sent in several prizes, has greatly alarmed the coast of Ireland and Scotland; and we just now hear, that going north about, he fell in with a number of ships from the Baltic, convoyed by a fifty gun ship and a twenty-four gun frigate, both of which he took after an obstinate engagement, and forced several of the others ashore. This news is believed, but we wait the confirmation and the particulars.

"The blank commissions remaining of those sent to us here, are all signed by Mr. Hancock, which occasions some difficulty. If congress approves of my continuing to issue such commissions, I wish to have a fresh supply, with the other necessary papers, instructions, rules, bonds, &c. of which none are now left.

"M. le comte de Maillebois, esteemed one of the best generals in this country, and who loves our cause, has given me a memorial, containing a project for raising a corps here for your service, which I promised to lay before congress, and accordingly enclose a copy: I know nothing of the sentiments of congress on the subject of introducing foreign troops among us, and therefore could give no expectation that the plan would be adopted. It will, however, be a pleasure to him to know, that his good will to serve them has been acceptable to congress.

"A major Borre, who has been in America, and some other officers who have quitted our service in disgust, endeavour to give an idea here that our nation does not love the French. I take all occasions to place in view the regard shown by congress to good French officers, as a proof that the slight these gentlemen complain of is particular to themselves, and probably the effect of their own misbehaviour. I wish for the future, whenever any of this sort of people leave our armies to come home, some little sketch of their conduct or character may be sent me, with the real causes of their resigning or departure, that I may be more able to justify our country.

"Here are returned in the last cartel a

number of French sailors, who had engaged with captain Cunningham, were taken in coming home with one of his prizes, and have been near two years in English prisons. They demand their wages and share of prize money. I send their claim as taken before the officers of the classes at Dunkirk. I know nothing of the agreement, they allege was made with them. Mr. Hodge perhaps can settle the affair so that they may have justice done them. These sort of things give me a great deal of trouble. Several of these men have made personal applications to me, and I must hear all their stories though I cannot redress them. I enclose also the claim of two gunners upon a prize made by the Boston, captain Tucker. I am persuaded the congress wish to see justice done to the meanest stranger that has served them: it is justice that establisheth a nation. The Spanish ambassador here delivered me several complaints against our cruizers. I imagine that all the injuries complained of, are not justly chargeable to us; some of the smaller English cruizers having pillaged Spanish vessels under American colours, of which we have proof upon oath. And also that no such American privateers as are said to have committed these robberies after coming out of Nantes, have ever been known there, or in any other part of France, or even to have existed. But if any of the complaints are well founded, I have assured the ambassador, that the guilty will be punished, and reparation made. The Swedish ambassador also complains of the taking of a ship of his nation by captain Landais, the master of which lays his damages at sixty thousand livres. I understand it was his own fault that he was stopt, as he did not show his papers. Perhaps this, if proved, may enable us to avoid the damages.

"Since writing the above, I have received the following farther particulars of the action between commodore Jones and the English men of war. The 44 gun ship is new, having been but six months off the stocks, she is called the Serapis; the other of 20 guns is the Countess of Scarborough. He had before taken a number of valuable prizes, particularly a rich ship bound to Quebec, which we suppose he may have sent to America. The English, from mistaken intelligence, imagining he had a body of troops with him to make descents, have had all their northern coasts alarmed, and been put to very expensive movements of troops, &c. The extravagant luxury of our country in the midst of all its distresses, is to me amazing; when the difficulties are so great to find remittances, to pay for the arms and ammunition necessary for our defence, I am astonished and vexed to find upon inquiry, that much the greatest part of the congress interest bills come to pay for tea, and a great part of the remainder is ordered to be laid out in gewgaws and superfluities. It makes me grudge the trouble of examining, entering, and accepting them, which indeed takes a great deal of time. I yesterday learnt from M. de Monthieu, that every thing necessary for equipping two frigates of 36 guns, such as sailcloth, cordage, anchors, &c. which we sent to the congress from hence two years since, remained stored in the warehouses of his correspondent, Mr. Carrabass, at Cape Francois, having never been called for. Probably by the miscarriage of letters, the navy board never heard of those goods being there. I shall nevertheless leave the application I have lately made for materials for a frigate of 36 guns, to take its course. But I send you herewith copies of two invoices of the cargo of the Therese; one of which is what was sent by us, the other by M. Beaumarchais, to the end that inquiry may be made after the whole. On this occasion give me leave to remark, that of all the vast quantities of goods we have sent you by many different vessels since my being in France, we never were happy enough to receive the least scrip of acknowledgment that they had ever come to hand, except from Mr. Langdon, of a cargo arrived at Portsmouth, and I think of one more. This is doubtless owing to the interruption correspondence has met with, and not altogether to neglect. But as such advices of receipt may be made in short letters, it would be well to send more copies. The following is a matter of less importance. It is two years, I believe, since I sent the monument of general Montgomery. I have heard that the vessel arrived in North Carolina, but nothing more. I should be glad to know of its coming to hand, and whether it is approved. Here it was admired for the goodness and beauty of the marble, and the elegant simplicity of the design, the sculptor has had an engraving made of it, of which I enclose a copy.* It was contrived to be affixed to the wall within some church, or in the great room where the congress meet. Directions for putting it up went with it. All the parts were well packed in strong cases.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. October 28, I kept the packet in hopes of sending a more explicit account of what might be expected in regard to the supplies. The express which was daily looked for from Spain, when I began this letter, arrived but a few days since. I am now informed that court is understood to be in treaty with the congress in America, to furnish a sum of hard money there, and on that account excuses itself from sharing in the expense of furnishing these supplies. This has a little deranged the measures intended to be taken here, and I am now told, that the whole quantity of goods demanded can hardly be furnished, but that as soon as the court returns from Marly, the ministers will consult and do the best they can for us. The arms I hear are in hand at Charleville. I am unwilling to keep the packet any longer, lest she should arrive on our coasts too far in the winter, and be blown off: I therefore send away the despatches. But if I have the result of the council in time to reach her by the post, I will send it in a separate letter. The hearty good will of the ministry may be depended on; but it must be remembered that their present expenses are enormous."

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* The monument is erected in St. Paul's church, Broadway, New York.

"*James Lovel.*

"Passy, October 17, 1779.

"Sir,—The foregoing is a copy of my last. I have now before me your several favours therein mentioned, viz. of June 13, July 9, and 16, and August 6.

"I received the journals of Congress from January 1, to June 12, which you took care to send me: but the volumes 1 and 2, which you mention, are not yet come to hand. I hear they are at Madrid. I know not how they came there, nor how well to get them from thence, perhaps you can easier send me another set.

"As I hear of the arrival of the chevalier de la Luzerne, by whom I wrote a long letter to your committee, I presume you have received it, and that it is not now necessary to send more copies: by this opportunity I write largely to the president.

"You ask will no one under a commission from the United States, &c. enclosed I send you a copy of the instructions I gave to commodore Jones, when it was intended to send with him some transports and troops to make descents in England. Had not the scheme been altered, by the more general one of a grand invasion, I know he would have endeavoured to put some considerable towns to a high ransom or burnt them. He sailed without the troops; but he nevertheless would have attempted Leith, and went into the Firth of Edinburg with that intention, but a sudden hard gale of wind forced him out again.

"The late provocations, by the burning of Fairfield and other towns, added to the preceeding, have at length demolished all my moderation; and were such another expedition to be concerted, I think so much of that disposition would not appear in the instructions. But I see so many inconveniences in mixing the two nations together, that I cannot encourage any further proposal of the kind. This has ended better than I expected; and yet a mortal difference has arisen between captains Jones and Landais, that makes me very uneasy about the consequences; I send you the journal of the cruise.

"I am glad to understand that the Congress will appoint some person here to audit our accounts; mine will give but little trouble, and I wish much to have them settled. And for the future I hope I shall have none to settle but what relate to my expenses.

"The quarrel you mention between Mr. Deane and Mr. Lee I have never meddled with, and have no intention to take any part in it whatever. I had, and still have a very good opinion of Mr. Deane, for his zeal and activity in the service of his country: I also thought him a man of integrity. But if he has embezzled public money, or traded with it on his private account, or employed it in stock-jobbing, all which I understand he is charged with, I give him up. As yet I think him innocent. But he and his accusers are able to plead their own causes, and time will show what we ought to think of them. I send you with this a piece written by a learned friend of mine on the taxation of free states, which I imagine may give you some pleasure. Also a late royal edict for abolishing the remains of slavery in this kingdom. Who would have thought a few years since, that we should live to see a king of France giving freedom to slaves, while a king of England is endeavour-to make slaves of freemen!

"There is much talk all over Europe of an approaching peace by the mediation of Russia and Holland: I have no information of it to be depended on, and I believe we ought to lay our account on another campaign; for which I hope you will receive in time the supplies demanded. Nothing is wanting on my part to forward them: and I have the satisfaction to assure you, that I do not find the regard of this court for the Congress and its servants in any respect diminished.

"We have just heard from Norway that two of the most valuable prizes taken by the Alliance, captain Landais, in the squadron of commodore Jones, are safe arrived at Bergen: viz. the ship from London to Quebec laden with naval stores; and that from Liverpool to New York and Jamaica. They were letters of marque, of 22 guns and 84 men each. I wish we may get them safe to America. The squadron itself is got into Holland with the two prize men of war, where they are all refitting. Great damage has been done to the English coal trade, and four hundred prisoners have been taken, which will more than redeem the rest of our people from their captivity in England; if we can get them safe from Holland to France, but I suppose the English will endeavour to intercept us, and recover their ships if possible.

"With great esteem for yourself and the committee, I have the honour to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Cooper.*

"Passy, Oct 27, 1779.

"Dear Sir,—It is a long time since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you. The intelligence you were used to favour me with, was often useful to our affairs. I hope I have not lost your friendship, together with your correspondence. Our excellent Mr. Winthrop, I see, is gone. He was one of those old friends for the sake of whose society I wished to return and spend the small remnant of my days in New England. A few more such deaths will make me a stranger in my own country. The loss of friends is the tax a man pays for living long himself. I find it a heavy one.

"You will see by the newspapers that we have given some disturbance to the British coasts this year. One little privateer out of Dunkirk, the Black Prince, with a congress commission, and a few Americans mixed with Irish and English smugglers, went round their islands and took thirty-seven prizes in less than three months. The little squadron of commodore Jones, under the same commissions and colours, has alarmed those coasts exceedingly, occasioned a good deal of internal expense, done great damage to their trade, and taken two frigates, with four hundred prisoners. He is now with his principal prizes in Holland, where he is pretty well received, but must quit that neutral country as soon as his damages are repaired. The English watch with a superior force, his coming out, but we hope he will manage so as to escape their vigilance. Few actions at sea have demonstrated such steady, cool, determined bravery as that of Jones in taking the Serapis.

"There has been much rumour this summer throughout Europe, of an approaching peace, through the mediation of Russia and Holland: but it is understood to arise from the invention of stock-jobbers and others interested in propagating such opinions. England seems not to be yet sufficiently humbled, to acknowledge the independence of the American States, or to treat with them on that footing, and our friends will not make a peace on any other. So we shall probably see another campaign.

"By the invoices I have seen and heard of, sent hither with Congress Interest Bills of Exchange to purchase the goods, it would seem that there is not so great a want of necessaries as of superfluities among our people. It is difficult to conceive that your distresses can be great, when one sees that much the greatest part of that money is lavished in modes, gewgaws, and tea! It is impossible for us to become wiser, when by simple economy, and avoiding unnecessary expenses, we might more than defray the charge of the war. We export solid provision of all kinds which is necessary for the sustenance of man, and we import fashions, luxuries, and trifles. Such trade may enrich the traders, but never the country.

"The good will of all Europe to our cause, as being the cause of liberty, which is the cause of mankind, still continues, as does the universal wish to see the English pride humiliated, and their power curtailed. Those circumstances are encouraging, and give hopes of a happy issue. Which may God grant, and that you my friend may live long a blessing to your country. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. B. Vaughan.*

"Passy, Nov. 9, 1779.

"Dear Sir,—I have received several kind letters from you, which I have not regularly answered. They gave me however great pleasure, as they acquainted me with your welfare, and that of your family, and other friends: and I hope you will continue writing to me as often as you can do it conveniently. I thank you much for the great care and pains you have taken in regulating and correcting the edition of those papers. Your friendship for me appears in almost every page; and if the preservation of any of them should prove of use to the public, it is to you that the public will owe the obligation. In looking them over, I have noted some faults of impression that hurt the sense, and some other little matters, which you will find all in a sheet under the title of *errata*. You can best judge whether it may be worth while to add any of them to the *errata* already printed, or whether it may not be as well to reserve the whole for correction in another edition, if such should ever be. Enclosed I send a more perfect copy of the chapter.*

"If I should ever recover the pieces that were in the hands of my son, and those I left among my papers in America, I think there may be enough to make three more such volumes, of which a great part would be more interesting.

"As to the *time* of publishing, of which you ask my opinion, I am not furnished with any reasons, or ideas of reasons on which to form any opinion. Naturally I should suppose the bookseller should be from experience the best judge, and I should be for leaving it to him.

"I did not write the pamphlet you mention. I know nothing of it. I suppose it is the same, concerning which, Dr. Priestley formerly asked me the same question. That for which he took it, was entitled, *A Dissertation on*

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* A parable against persecution.—See Miscellaneous Subjects.

Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain, with these lines in the title-page.

> —— "Whatever is, is right. But purblind man,
> Sees but a part o' the chain, the nearest link:
> His eye not carrying to that equal beam
> That poises all above"—— Dryden.
>
> "London: printed MDCXXV.

"I return the manuscripts you were so obliging as to send me; I am concerned at your having no other copies; I hope these will get safe to your hands; I do not remember the duke de Chartres showing me the letter you mention. I have received Dr. Crawfurd's book, but not your abstract, which I wait for, as you desire.

"I send you also Mr. Dupont's *Table Economique*, which I think an excellent thing, as it contains in a clear method all the principles of that new sect, called here *les economistes.*

"Poor Henley's dying in that manner is inconceivable to me. Is any reason given to account for it, besides insanity?

"Remember me affectionately to all the good family, and believe me with great esteem, my dear friend, yours, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Pere Beccaria.*[*]

"Passy, November 19, 1779.

"Dear Sir,—Having some time since heard of your illness with great concern, it gave me infinite pleasure to learn this day from M. Chantel, (who did me the honour of a visit) that you were so far recovered as to be able to make little excursions on horseback; I pray God that your convalescence may be quick and perfect, and your health be again firmly established: *science* would lose too much in losing one so zealous and active in its cause, and so capable of accelerating its progress, and augmenting its dominions.

"I find myself here immersed in affairs which absorb my attention, and prevent my pursuing those studies in which I always found the highest satisfaction: and I am now grown so old as to hardly hope for a return of that leisure and tranquillity so necessary for philosophical disquisitions. I have however, not long since, thrown a few thoughts on paper relative to the Aurora Borealis, which I would send you, but that I suppose you may have seen them in the journal of the abbé Rozier; if not I will make out a copy and send it to you, perhaps with some corrections.

"Every thing of your writing is always very welcome to me. If, therefore, you have lately published any new experiments or observations in physics, I shall be happy to see them when you have an opportunity of sending them to me. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Count Bernstorff.*

"Passy, near Paris, December 21, 1779

"Sir,—I have received a letter from M. de Chezaulx, consul of France at Bergen in Norway, acquainting me that two ships, viz. the Betsey and the Union, prizes taken from the English on their coasts, by captain Landais, commander of the Alliance frigate, appertaining to the United States of North America, which prizes having met with bad weather at sea, that had damaged their rigging and occasioned leaks, and being weakly manned, had taken shelter in the supposed neutral port of Bergen, in order to repair their damages, procure an additional number of sailors, and the necessary refreshments; that they were in the said port enjoying, as they conceived, the common rights of hospitality, established and practised by civilized nations, under the care of the above said consul, when, on the 28th of October last, the said ships with their cargoes and papers, were suddenly seized by officers of his majesty the king of Denmark, to whom the said port belongs, the American officers and seamen turned out of their possession, and the whole delivered to the English consul. M. de Chezaulx has also sent me the following, as a translation of his majesty's order, by which the above proceedings are said to be authorized, viz. "Le ministre d'Angléterre ayant insisté sur la restitution de deux Batiments dont s'etoit emparé le corsaire Americain nommé l'Alliance commandé par le cap. Landais, et qui ont été conduits à Bergen, savoir, *the Betsey* de Liverpool et *l'Union* de Londres, sa majesté lui a accordé cette demande, sur le fondement qúelle n'a pas encore reconnne l'Independance des colonies associées contre L'Angleterre, et parceque ces batiments à cause de cela, ne peuvent pas être regardés comme bonnes et légitimes prises; c'est pourquoi les dits deux navires seront sans retardement declarés libres, et auront la liberté de partir avec leur chargements."

TRANSLATION.

"The English minister having insisted on the restitution of two vessels which had been taken by the American privateer called the Alliance, commanded by captain Landais, and which were brought into Bergen, viz. the *Betsey* of Liverpool, and the *Union* of London; his majesty has granted this demand, on this account, because he has not as yet acknowledged the independence of the colonies associated against England, and because that these vessels for this reason cannot be considered as good and lawful prizes; therefore the said two ships shall be immediately liberated and allowed to depart with their cargoes.'

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[*] Giovanni Battiste Baccaria, a religious of the school of Piety, was a native of Mondovi, a teacher of mathematics and philosophy at Palermo, at Rome, and at Turin, where he filled the chair of experimental lecturer. His correspondence was sought by men of letters in various countries He imparted to Dr. Franklin many important facts on philosophical subjects. He died at Turin, in an advanced age, in 1781. His "Dissertations on Electricity," have been published; but the most curious of his pieces is an "Essay on the cause of Storms and Tempests." He is frequently mistaken for Cesar Bonesana, marquis of Beccaria, author of the "Essay on Crimes and Punishments," who died in 1794.

"By a subsequent letter from the same consul, I am informed, that a third prize belonging to the United States, viz. the Charming Polly, which arrived at Bergen, after the others, has also been seized and delivered up in the same manner, and that all the people of the three vessels, after being thus stript of their property (for every one of them had an interest in the prizes) were turned on shore to shift for themselves, without money, in a strange place—no provision being made for their subsistence or for sending them back to their country. Permit me, sir, to observe on this occasion, that the United States of America have no war but with the English; they have never done any injury to other nations, particularly none to the Danish nation. On the contrary, they are in some degree its benefactors, as they have opened a trade of which the English made a monopoly, and of which the Danes may now have their share; and by dividing the British empire, have made it less dangerous to its neighbours. They conceived that every nation whom they had not offended, was by the rights of humanity their friend; they confided in the hospitality of Denmark, and thought themselves and their property safe when under the roof of his Danish majesty. But they find themselves stript of that property, and the same given up to their enemies, on this principle only, that no acknowledgment had yet been formally made by Denmark of the independence of the United States: which is to say, that there is no obligation of justice towards any nation, with whom a treaty promising the same, has not been previously made. This was indeed the doctrine of ancient barbarians, a doctrine long since exploded, and which it would not be for the honour of the present age to revive, and it is hoped that Denmark will not, by supporting and persisting in this decision, obtained of his majesty apparently by surprise, be the first modern nation that shall attempt to revive it.* The United States oppressed by, and in war with one of the most powerful nations of Europe, may well be supposed incapable in their present infant state of exacting justice from other nations not disposed to grant it; but it is in human nature that injuries as well as benefits received in times of weakness and distress, national as well as personal, make deep and lasting impressions; and those ministers are wise who look into futurity, and quench the first sparks of misunderstanding between two nations, which, neglected, may, in time grow into a flame, all the consequences whereof no human prudence can foresee, which may produce much mischief to both, and cannot possibly produce any good to either. I beg leave through your excellency to submit these considerations to the wisdom and justice of his Danish majesty, whom I infinitely respect, and who I hope will reconsider and repeal the order above recited; and that if the prizes, which I hereby reclaim in behalf of the United States of America, are not actually gone to England, they may be stopped and re-delivered to Mr. de Chersauld, the consul of France, at Bergen; in whose care they before were with liberty to depart for America when the season shall permit. But if they should be already gone to England, I must then claim from his majesty's equity, the value of the said three prizes, which is estimated at fifty thousand pounds sterling, but which may be regulated by the best information that can by any means be obtained.—With great respect, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN.

"Minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the court of France."

"*Mr. Dumas.*

"Passy, Jan. 27, 1780.

"Dear Sir,—I received yours of the 10th instant. I shall be glad to learn how the taking of the Dutch ships has been accommodated. We have yet no news of the Alliance; but suppose she is cruizing. We are more in pain for the Confederacy, which sailed the 28th of October from the capes of Delaware. There is some hope that she went to Charleston to take in Mr. Laurens; for some passengers arrived in France who left Philadelphia several weeks after her sailing, say, that it was a general opinion she would call there before she departed for Europe. If this was not the case, we fear she must be lost, and the loss will be a very severe one.

"I send you enclosed a translation of a letter, that I think I sent you the original of before. Perhaps it may serve our Leyden friend.

"I am sorry you have any difference with the ambassador, and wish you to accommodate it as soon as possible. Depend upon it that no one ever knew from me that you had spoken or written against any person.. There is one concerning whom I think you sometimes receive erroneous information. In one particular, I know you were misinformed, that of his selling us arms at an enormous profit, the truth is we never bought any of him.

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* "The ancients," says Vattel, &c., "do not conceive themselves bound under any obligation towards a people with whom they were not connected by a treaty of friendship. At length the voice of nature was heard by civilized nations; they acknowledged all mankind as brothers" An injustice of the same kind done a century or two since, by some English in the East Indies, Grotius tells us was not without its partisans, who maintain, "that by the ancient laws of England, no one was liable to punishment in that kingdom for outrages committed against foreigners, when no treaty of alliance had been contracted with them." But this principle he condemns in the strongest terms.—*History of the troubles in the Netherlands, book* 16.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*David Hartley, M. P.*

"Passy, Feb. 2, 1780.

"Dear Friend,—It is some time since I procured the discharge of your captain Stephenson. He did not call here in his way home. I hope he arrived safely, and had a happy meeting with his friends and family.

"I have long postponed answering your letter of the 29th of June. A principal point in it, on which you seemed to desire my opinion, was, the conduct you thought America ought to hold, in case her allies should, from motives of ambition or resentment of former injuries, desire her to continue the war, beyond what should be reasonable and consistent with her particular interests. As often as I took up your letter in order to answer it, this suggestion displeased me, and I laid it down again. I saw no occasion for discussing such a question at present, nor any good end it could serve, to discuss it before the case should happen; and I saw inconveniences in discussing it. I wish therefore you had not mentioned it. For the rest, I am as much for peace as ever I was, and as heartily desirous of seeing the war ended, as I was to prevent its beginning; of which your ministers know I gave a strong proof before I left England, when in order to an accommodation, I offered at my own risk, without orders for so doing, and without knowing whether I should be owned in doing it, to pay the whole damage of destroying the tea at Boston, provided the acts made against that province were repealed. This offer was refused. I still think it would have been wise to have accepted it. If the congress have therefore entrusted to others rather than to me, the negotiations for peace, when such shall be set on foot, as has been reported; it is perhaps because they may have heard of a very singular opinion of mine, that there hardly ever existed such a thing as a bad peace or a good war: and that I might therefore easily be induced to make improper concessions. But at the same time they and you may be assured, that I should think the destruction of our whole country, and the extirpation of our whole people, preferable to the infamy of abandoning our allies.

"As neither you nor I are at present authorized to treat of peace, it seems to little purpose to make or consider propositions relating to it. I have had so many such put into my hands that I am tired of them. I will however give your proposal of a ten years' truce this answer: that, though I think a solid peace made at once, a much better thing; yet, if the truce is practicable and the peace not, I should be for agreeing to it. At least I see at present no sufficient reasons for refusing it, provided our allies approved of it. But this is merely a private opinion of mine, which perhaps may be changed by reasons that at present do not offer themselves. This, however, I am clear in, that withdrawing your troops will be best for you, if you wish a cordial reconciliation, and that the truce should produce a peace. To show that it was not done by compulsion, being required as a condition of the truce, they might be withdrawn beforehand, for various good reasons. But all this is idle chat, as I am persuaded that there is no disposition for peace on your side, and that this war will yet last many years. I know nothing and believe nothing of any terms offered unto sir Henry Clinton.

"The prisoners taken in the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough being all treated for in Holland, and exchanged there, I hope Mr. Brown's son is now safe at home with his father. It grieved me that the exchange there, which you may remember I immediately proposed, was so long delayed. Much human misery might have been prevented by a prompt compliance; and so might a great deal, by the execution of parole promises taken at sea: but since I see no regard is paid to them in England, I must give orders to our armed ships that cruise in Europe, to secure their prisoners as well as they can, and lodge them in French or Spanish prisons. I have written something on this affair to Mr. Hodgson, and sent to him the second passport for a cartel to Morlaix, supposing you to be out of town. The number of prisoners we now have in France is not easily ascertained. I suppose it exceeds one hundred; but you may be assured that the number which may be brought over by the two cartels, shall be fully exchanged by adding to those taken by us as many as will make up the complement out of those taken by the French, with whom we have an account since the exchange in Holland of those we carried in there. I wish therefore you would, as was proposed, clear your prisons of the Americans who have been so long confined there. The cartels that may arrive at Morlaix, will not be detained.

"You may have heard, that accounts upon oath have been taken in America, by order of congress, of the British barbarities committed there. It is expected of me to make a school book of them, and to have thirty-five prints designed here by good artists and engraved, each expressing one or more of the different horrid facts, to be inserted in the book, in order to impress the minds of children and posterity, with a deep sense of your bloody, and insatiable malice and wickedness. Every kindness I hear of, done by an Englishman to an American prisoner, makes me resolve not to proceed in the work: hoping a reconciliation may yet take place. But every fresh instance of your devilism weakens that resolution, and makes me abominate the thought of a reunion with such a people. You, my friend, have often persuaded me, and I believed it, that the war was not theirs, nor approved by them. But their suffering it so long to continue, and the wretched rulers to remain who carry it on, makes me think you have too good an opinion of them. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Price, London.*

"Passy, February 6, 1780.

"Dear Sir,—I received but very lately your kind favour of October 14th. Dr. Ingenhousz, who brought it, having staid long in Holland. I sent the enclosed directly to Mr. L. It gave me great pleasure to understand that you continue well. Your writings, after all the abuse you and they have met with, begin to make serious impressions on those who at first rejected the counsels you gave; and they will acquire new weight every day, and be in high esteem when the cavils against them are dead and forgotten. Please to present my affectionate respects to that honest, sensible, and intelligent society, who did me so long the honour of admitting me to share in their instructive conversations. I never think of the hours I so happily spent in that company, without regretting that they are never to be repeated; for I see no prospect of an end to this unhappy war in my time. Dr. Priestley, you tell me, continues his experiments with success. We make daily great improvements in *natural*—there is one I wish to see in *moral* philosophy; the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats. When will human reason be sufficiently improved to see the advantage of this! When will men be convinced that even successful wars, at length become misfortunes to those who unjustly commenced them, and who triumphed blindly in their success, not seeing all its consequences. Your great comfort and mine in this war is, that we honestly and faithfully did every thing in our power to prevent it. Adieu, and believe me ever, my dear friend, yours, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Priestley.*

"Passy, February 8, 1780.

"Dear Sir,—Your kind letter of September 27th, came to hand but very lately, the bearer having staid long in Holland.

"I always rejoice to hear of your being still employed in experimental researches into nature, and of the success you meet with. The rapid progress *true* science now makes, occasions my regretting sometimes that I was born so soon: it is impossible to imagine the height to which may be carried, in a thousand years, the power of man over matter; we may perhaps learn to deprive large masses of their gravity, and give them absolute levity for the sake of easy transport. Agriculture may diminish its labour and double its produce: all diseases may by sure means be prevented or cured, (not excepting even that of old age) and our lives lengthened at pleasure even beyond the antediluvian standard. O! that moral science were in as fair a way of improvement; that men would cease to be wolves to one another; and that human beings would at length learn what they now improperly call humanity!

"I am glad that my little paper on the Aurora Borealis pleased. If it should occasion farther inquiry, and so produce a better hypothesis, it will not be wholly useless.

"B. FRANKLIN."

[Enclosed in the foregoing letter; being an answer to a separate paper received from Dr. Priestley.]

"I have considered the situation of that person very attentively; I think that with a little help from the *Moral Algebra*, he might form a better judgment than any other person can form for him. But since my opinion seems to be desired, I give it for continuing to the end of the term, under all the present disagreeable circumstances: the connexion will then die a natural death. No reason will be expected to be given for the separation, and of course no offence taken at reasons given; the friendship may still subsist, and in some other way be useful. The time diminishes daily, and is usefully employed. All human situations have their inconveniences; we *feel* those that we find in the present, and we neither *feel* nor *see* those that exist in another. Hence we make frequent and troublesome changes without amendment, and often for the worse. In my youth, I was passenger in a little sloop, descending the river Delaware. There being no wind, we were obliged, when the ebb was spent, to cast anchor, and wait for the next. The heat of the sun on the vessel was excessive, the company strangers to me, and not very agreeable. Near the river-side I saw what I took to be a pleasant green meadow, in the middle of which was a large shady tree, where it struck my fancy I could sit and read, (having a book in my pocket) and pass the time agreeably till the tide turned; I therefore prevailed with the captain to put me ashore. Being landed, I found the greatest part of my meadow was really a marsh, in crossing which, to come at my tree, I was up to my knees in mire: and I had not placed myself under its shade five minutes before the muskitoes in swarms found me out, attacked my legs, hands, and face, and made my reading and my rest impossible; so that I returned to the beach, and called for the boat to come and take me on board again, where I was obliged to bear the heat I had strove to quit, and also the laugh of the company. Similar cases in the affairs of life, have since frequently fallen under my observation.

"I have had thoughts of a college for him in America; I know no one who might be more useful to the public in the institution of youth. But there are possible unpleasantnesses in that situation: it cannot be obtained but by a too hazardous voyage at this time for a family: and the time for experiments would be all otherwise engaged. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Samuel Huntingdon, President of Congress.*

"PASSY, March 4, 1780.

"SIR,—Mr. Gerard, under whose care I understand the despatches from congress to me were forwarded, is not yet arrived here, and I have not received them. I cannot, therefore, at present, answer any thing that may be contained in them. He is, however, expected next week, and I may afterwards have time to write farther by the Alliance. Mr. Adams is come, but did not bring duplicates of those despatches. I have, in obedience to the order of congress, which he produced to me, furnished him with one thousand louis d'ors. I have also given a credit to Mr. Jay, upon the correspondent of our banker at Madrid, for an equal sum. I have not yet heard of his arrival there. His letter to me was of the 28th January, from Cadiz. In my last I gave some account of the success of our little squadron under commodore Jones. Three of their prizes, sent into Bergen in Norway, were at the instance of the British minister seized by order of the court of Denmark, and delivered up to him. I have, with the approbation of the ministry here, drawn up and sent to that court, a memorial reclaiming those prizes. It went through the hands of the French minister residing there, who has delivered it; but I have yet no answer. I understand from the French consul at Bergen, that the prizes remain still in that port, and it is said there is some hope that the order may be reversed. But this is doubtful, and I suppose the congress will immediately consider this important affair, and give me such instructions upon it as they may judge proper. With this I send a copy of the memorial.

"During the cruise a mortal quarrel arose between the commodore and captain Landais. On their arrival in Holland, M. de Sartine, minister of the marine, proposed to me the sending for Landais, in order to inquire into his conduct. I doubted of the propriety of my meddling in the affair, but captain Landais' friends conceiving it a measure that might be serviceable to him, and pressing it, I complied, and he came accordingly to Paris. I send the minutes* of the inquiry for the consideration of congress. I have not presumed to condemn or acquit him, doubting as well my own judgment as my authority. He proposes to demand a court martial in America. In his absence from the ship, the commodore took the command of her, and on quitting the Texel, made a cruise through the channel to Spain, and is since returned to L'Orient, where the ship is now refitting in order to return to America. Captain Landais has not applied to me to be replaced in her, and I imagine has no thought of that kind, having before on several occasions expressed to me and others, his dissatisfaction with his officers, and his inclination, on that account, to quit her. Captain Jones will, therefore, carry her home, unless he should be prevailed with to enter another service, which, however, I think is not likely; though he has gained immense reputation all over Europe for his bravery. As vessels of war under my care create me a vast deal of business, of a kind too that I am unexperienced in, and by my distance from the coast is very difficult to be well executed, I must repeat my earnest request, that some person of skill in such affairs, may be appointed in the character of consul, to take charge of them. I imagine that much would by that means be saved in the expense of their various refittings and supplies, which to me appear enormous. Agreeably to the order of congress, I have employed one of the best artists here in cutting the dies for the medal intended for M. de Fleury. The price of such work is beyond my expectation, being a thousand livres for each die. I shall try if it is not possible to have the others done cheaper.

"Our exchange of prisoners has been for some time at a stand, the English admiralty refusing, after long consideration, to give us any men in return for those who had been dismissed by our armed vessels on parole, and the actual prisoners we had being all exchanged. When the squadron of commodore Jones arrived in the Texel with five hundred English prisoners, I proposed exchanging there; but this was declined, in expectation, as I heard from England, of retaking them in their way to France. The stay of our ships in Holland, through the favour of the states being prolonged, and the squadrons stationed to intercept us, being tired of cruising for us, the British ministry consented at length to a cartel with France, and brought Frenchmen to Holland to exchange for those prisoners instead of Americans. These proceedings have occasioned our poor people to be kept longer in confinement; but the minister of the marine having given orders that I should have as many English, another cartel charged with Americans is now daily expected, and I hope in a few months to see them all at liberty. This for their sakes, and also to save us expense; for their long and hard imprisonment induces many to hazard attempts of escaping, and those who get away through London, and Holland, and come to Paris in their way to some seaport in France, cost one with another I believe near twenty pounds sterling a head. The delays in the exchange, have I think been lengthened by the admiralty, partly with the view of breaking the patience of our people, and inducing them to enter the English service. They have spared no pains for this purpose, and have prevailed with some. The number of these has not indeed been great, and several of them lost their lives in the blowing up of the Quebec. I am also lately informed from London, that the flags of truce with prisoners from Boston, one of which is seized as British property, will obtain no Americans in exchange; the returned English being told that they had no authority or right to make such agreements with the rebels, &c. This is not the only instance in which it appears that a few late successes have given that nation another *hour of insolence.* And yet their affairs upon the whole, wear a very unpromising aspect. They have not yet been able to find any allies in Europe; Holland grows daily less and less disposed to comply with their requisitions; Ireland is not satisfied, but is making new demands; Scotland and the Protestants in England are uneasy; and the associations of counties in England, with the committees of correspondence, to make reforms in the government, all taken together, give a good deal of apprehension at present, even to their mad ministers; while their debt, on the point of amounting to the amazing sum of two hundred millions, hangs as a millstone upon the neck of their credit, and must, ere long, sink it beyond redemption. The disposition of this court continues as favourable as ever, though it cannot comply with all our demands. The supplies required in the invoice sent me by the committee, appeared too great and numerous to be immediately furnished. Three millions of livres were, however, granted me, with which, after deducting what will be necessary to pay the interest bills and other late drafts of congress, I could not venture on ordering more than ten thousand suits of clothes. With these we shall have fifteen thousand arms and accoutrements. A good deal of cloth goes over in the Alliance, purchased by Mr. Ross, which it is computed may make seven or eight thousand suits more. But although we have not obtained that invoice of goods, this court, being at immense expense in the preparations for the next campaign, I have reason to believe that a part of those preparations will be employed in essential assistance to the United States, and I hope effectual, though at present I cannot be more particular.

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* This paper does not appear.

"I have sent to Mr. Johnson the vote of congress, relative to the settlement of the accounts. He has expressed his readiness to enter on the service. Mr. Deane is soon expected here, whose presence is very necessary, and I hope with his help they may be gone through without much difficulty. I could have wished it had suited Mr. Lee to have been here at the same time. The marquis de la Fayette, who during his residence in France, has been extremely zealous in supporting our cause on all occasions, returns again to fight for it. He is infinitely esteemed and beloved here, and I am persuaded will do every thing in his power to merit a continuance of the same affection from America.

"With the greatest respect, I have the honour to be, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To General Washington.*

"PASSY, March 5, 1780.

"SIR,—I received but lately the letter your excellency did me the honour of writing to me in recommendation of the marquis de la Fayette. His modesty detained it long in his own hands. We became acquainted, however, from the time of his arrival at Paris; and his zeal for the honour of our country, his activity in our affairs here, and his firm attachment to our cause, and to you, impressed me with the same regard and esteem for him that your excellency's letter would have done had it been immediately delivered to me.

"Should peace arrive after another campaign or two, and afford us a little leisure, I should be happy to see your excellency in Europe, and to accompany you, if my age and strength would permit, in visiting some of its most ancient and famous kingdoms. You would on this side the sea, enjoy the great reputation you have acquired, pure and free from those little shades that the jealousy and envy of a man's countrymen and cotemporaries are ever endeavouring to cast over living merit. Here you would know, and enjoy, what posterity will say of Washington. For a thousand leagues have nearly the same effect with a thousand years. The feeble voice of those grovelling passions cannot extend so far either in time or distance. At present I enjoy that pleasure for you, as I frequently hear the old generals of this martial country (who study the maps of America, and mark upon them all your operations) speak with sincere approbation and great applause of your conduct, and join in giving you the character of one of the greatest captains of the age.

"I must soon quit the scene, but you may live to see our country flourish, as it will amazingly and rapidly after the war is over. Like a field of young Indian corn, which long fair weather and sunshine had enfeebled and discoloured, and which in that weak state, by a thunder gust of violent wind, hail, and rain seemed to be threatened with absolute destruction; yet the storm being past, it recovers fresh verdure, shoots up with double vigour, and delights the eye not of its owner only, but of every observing traveller.

"The best wishes that can be formed for your health, honour, and happiness, ever attend you, from yours, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To the Chevalier De la Luzerne, Minister from France to the United States.*

"Passy, March 5, 1780.

"Sir,—I received with great pleasure the letter you did me the honour of writing to me from Boston. I rejoiced to hear of your safe arrival, and that the reception you met with in my country, had been agreeable to you. I hope its air will suit you, and that while you reside in it you will enjoy constant health and happiness.

"Your good brother does me sometimes the honour of calling on me, and we converse in English, which he speaks very intelligibly. I suppose that by this time you do the same. Mr. De Malesherbes did me lately the same honour. That great man seems to have no wish of returning into public employment, but amuses himself with planting, and is desirous of obtaining all those trees of North America that have not yet been introduced into France. Your sending him a box of the seeds, would, I am persuaded, much oblige him. They may be obtained of my young friend Bartram, living near Philadelphia.

"You will have heard that Spain has lately met with a little misfortune at sea, but the bravery with which her ships fought a vastly superior force, have gained her great honour. We are anxious here for farther news from that coast, which is daily expected. Great preparations are making here for the ensuing campaign, and we flatter ourselves that it will be more active and successful in Europe than the last.

"One of the advantages of great states, is that the calamity occasioned by a foreign war falls only on a very small part of the community, who happen from their situation and particular circumstances to be exposed to it. Thus as it is always fair weather in our parlours, it is at Paris always peace. The people pursue their respective occupations, the playhouses, the opera, and other public diversions, are as regularly and fully attended, as in times of profoundest tranquillity, and the same small concerns divide us into parties. Within these few weeks we are for or against Jeannot, a new actor. This man's performance, and the marriage of the duke de Richelieu, fills up much more of our present conversation, than any thing that relates to the war. A demonstration this of the public felicity.

"My grandson joins with me in best wishes for your health and prosperity. He is much flattered by your kind remembrance of him. We desire also that Mr. De Marbois* would accept our assurances of esteem.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Count R. Bernstof, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, to Dr. Franklin.*

"Sir,—Were you a person less known and respected, I should have been quite at a loss on the subject of the letter which I have had the honour of receiving from you, which did not come to hand 'till the 31st of January. I should have considered it as a measure calculated to place us under a new embarrassment as painful as the first; but there is no risk with such a sage as you are, sir, generally respected by that universe which you have enlightened, and known for that prevailing love for truth which characterizes the well informed man and true philosopher. These are the titles which will transmit your name to the remotest posterity; and in which I am particularly interested, at the time when the situation of affairs imposes on me the necessity of divesting myself in writing to you of every public character, and only to aspire at appearing to you what I truly am, the passionate friend of peace, truth, and merit. This mode of thinking not only decides my personal sentiments with respect to you, but also those I have respecting the unfortunate affair which you have thought fit to mention to me, and which, from its commencement, has given me the utmost pain. You will readily agree with me, sir, in granting that there are perplexing situations, in which it is impossible to avoid displeasing one party. You are too equitable not to enter into ours. There would be no consolation in such cases, nor would the persons who have led them into them ever be forgiven, were it not that opportunities sometimes presented themselves of being heard, and preventing in future such essential embarrassments.

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* Secretary of the French Legation in the United States.

"The baron de Blome will speak to you in confidence, and with the utmost freedom on this subject; and if my wishes can be accomplished, I shall be recompensed for all my pains, and there will only remain, the agreeable recollection of having had the satisfaction of assuring you from under my hand, of that superior and perfect esteem with which I have the honour of being, sir, &c.

"R. BERNSTORF.

"*Copenhagen, March* 8, 1780."

"*James Lovell.*

"PASSY, March 16, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,—The marquis de la Fayette, our firm and constant friend, returning to America, I have written a long letter by him to the president, of which a copy goes by this ship. M. Gerard is since arrived, and I have received the despatches you mentioned to me, but no letter in answer to mine, a very long one by the chevalier de la Luzerne, nor any acknowledgment that it came to hand.

"By the many newspapers and pamphlets I send, you will see the present state of European affairs in general. Ireland continues to insist on complete liberty, and will probably obtain it. The meetings of counties in England, and the committees of correspondence they appoint, alarm a good deal the ministry, especially since it has been proposed to elect of each committee, a few persons to assemble in London, which if carried into execution, will form a kind of congress, that will have more of the confidence and support of the people than the old parliament. If the nation is not too corrupt, as I rather think it is, some considerable reformation of internal abuses may be expected from this; with regard to us the only advantage to be reasonably expected from it is a peace, the general bent of the nation being for it. The success of admiral Rodney's fleet against our allies, has a little elated our enemies for the present, and probably they will not now think of proposing it. If the approaching campaign, for which great preparations are making here, should end disadvantageously to them, they will be more treatable, for their debts and taxes are daily becoming more burdensome, while their commerce, the source of their wealth, diminishes; and though they have flattered themselves with obtaining assistance from Russia, and other powers, it does not appear that they are likely to succeed; on the contrary, they are in danger of losing the neutrality of Holland.

"Their conduct with regard to the exchange of prisoners, has been very unjust. After long suspense and affected delays, for the purpose of wearing out our poor people, they have finally refused to deliver us a man in exchange for those set at liberty by our cruisers on parole. A letter I send enclosed from captain Mitchell, will show the treatment of the late flags of truce from Boston. There is no gaining any thing upon these barbarians by advances of civility or humanity.

"Enclosed I send for congress, the justification of this court against the accusation published in the late English memorials.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Samuel Huntingdon, President of Congress.*

"PASSY, March 16, 1780.

"SIR,—The bearer of this, captain Hutchins, a native of New Jersey, but many years in the English service, has lately escaped from England, where he suffered considerably for his attachment to the American cause. He is esteemed a good officer and an excellent engineer, and is desirous of being serviceable to his country. I enclose his memorial to me, a great part of which is consistent with my knowledge, and I beg leave to recommend him to the favourable notice of congress, when any affair occurs in which his talents may be useful.—I have the honour to be, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Captain Hutchin's memorial.*

"To his excellency, Benjamin Franklin, Esq. minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America, at the court of France.

"The memorial of Thomas Hutchins, a native of New Jersey, in America, and late a captain and engineer in the British king's service:—HUMBLY SHOWETH—

"THAT your excellency's memorialist was in the month of August last, taken into custody by virtue of a warrant from sir John Fielding, of the city of London, in which your memorialist was charged with high treason, for having conveyed information to, and corresponded with the friends of the United States of America in France. That your memorialist was committed to and kept in Clerkenwell prison, upwards of seven weeks, loaded with irons, put among felons, and treated with every kind of severity and insult, and forbidden to see or write to his friends.

"That after several long examinations at the board of trade, the British ministers thought proper to discharge him from prison, and being reduced to great distress by his pay both as captain and engineer being stopped, and being also refused payment of an account which the British government owed him, (to the amount of eight hundred and sixty-nine pounds, nineteen shillings sterling) he was obliged to take lodgings in a garret, within the verge of the court. Your memorialist was offered two thousand guineas for his captain's commission; but although he had frequently petitioned to sell it from the beginning of the war between the United States and Great Britian, he was as often refused; and about three weeks before he was committed to prison, he was offered a majority in one of the new regiments then raising, which he would not accept, as he would not bear arms against his countrymen. Therefore on the 11th of this month, (February,) finding himself treated with contempt by the British officers, and despairing of obtaining liberty to sell his commission, he sent his resignation to lord Amherst, both as captain and engineer, and in a private manner withdrew from Great Britain and came to France entirely destitute of money; choosing rather to abandon his commission (though the whole of his fortune) and incur a loss of two thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine pounds, nineteen shillings sterling (exclusive of his appointment as engineer) than continue in a service altogether irksome and painful to him. Your memorialist begs leave further to represent, that he has served with reputation as a British officer more than twenty-two years, (eighteen whereof he was constantly employed as an engineer) and that he is most anxiously solicitous of entering into the army of the United States. For these considerations, your memorialist humbly hopes, that your excellency will be pleased to recommend his request, sufferings, and losses to the honourable congress of the United States, and your memorialist as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c. THOS. HUTCHINS."

"*F. Hopkinson.*

"PASSY, March 16, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your political *Squibs*, they are well made. I am glad to find you have such plenty of good powder.

"You propose that *Kill-pig*, the butcher, should operate upon himself. You will find some thoughts on that subject in a little piece called '*A merry Song about Murder*,' in a London newspaper I send herewith.

"The greatest discovery made in Europe for some time past is that of Dr. Ingenhausz's, relating to the great use of the leaves of trees in producing wholesome air: I would send you his book if I had it. A new instrument is lately invented here,* a kind of telescope, which by means of Iceland chrystal occasions the double appearance of an object, and the two appearances being farther distant from each other in proportion to the distance of the object from the eye, by moving an index on a graduated line till the two appearances coincide, you find on the line the real distance of the object. I am not enough master of this instrument to describe it accurately, having seen it but once; but it is very ingeniously contrived.

"Remember me respectfully to your mother and sisters, and believe me ever, my dear friend,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Bond, Philadelphia.*

"PASSY, March 16, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your kind letter of September the 22d, and I thank you for the pleasing account you give me of the health and welfare of my old friends Hugh Roberts, Luke Morris, Philip Syng, Samuel Rhoades, &c. with the same of yourself and family. Shake the old ones by the hand for me, and give the young ones my blessing. For my own part, I do not find that I grow any older. Being arrived at 70, and considering that by travelling further in the same road I should probably be led to the grave, I stopped short, turned about, and walked back again; which having done these four years, you may now call me 66. Advise those old friends of ours to follow my example, keep up your spirits and that will keep up your bodies, you will no more stoop under the weight of age than if you had swallowed a handspike. But it is right to abate a little in the article of labour; and therefore as your demonstrations of midwifery 'are useful, and it is a pity you should give them up for *want of subjects* in the lying-in wards,' I advise you to get some of your young pupils to help you.

"I am glad the Philosophical Society made that compliment to Mr. Gerard.* I wish they would do the same to Mr. Feutry, a worthy gentleman here; and to Dr. Ingenhausz, who has made some great discoveries lately respecting the leaves of trees in improving air for the use of animals: he will send you his book. He is physician to the Empress Queen. I have not yet seen your piece on inoculation.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. I have bought some valuable books, which I intend to present to the society; but shall not send them till safer times."

"*Dr. Cooper, Boston.*

"PASSY, March 16, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your kind favour by captain Chavagnes, which I communicated to the minister of marine, who was much pleased with the character you give of the captain. I have also yours of Nov. 12, by your grandson, who appears a very promising lad, in whom I think you will have much satisfaction. He is in a boarding school just by me, and was well last Sunday, when I had the pleasure of his company to dinner with

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* By the Abbe Rochon, of the French Academy of Sciences.

* Formerly Minister from France to the United States.

Mr. Adams' sons and some other young Americans. He will soon acquire the language; and if God spares his life may make a very serviceable man to his country.

"It gives me infinite satisfaction to find that with you the wisest and best among our people, are so hearty in endeavouring to strengthen the alliance. We certainly owe much to this nation; and we shall obtain much more, if the same prudent conduct towards them continues, for they really and strongly wish our prosperity, and will promote it by every means in their power. But we should at the same time do as much as possible for ourselves, and not ride (as we say) a free horse to death. There are some Americans returning hence, with whom our people should be upon their guard; as carrying with them a spirit of enmity to this country. Not being liked here themselves, they dislike the people; for the same reason, indeed, they ought to dislike all that know them.

"With the sincerest respect and esteem, I am ever my dear friend,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*C. Griffin.*

"Passy, March 16, 1780.

"Sir,—I have just received the letter you have done me the honour to write to me, and shall immediately deliver the packet it recommends to my care. I will take the first opportunity of mentioning to M. Gerard what you hint, relative to our not entertaining strangers so frequently and liberally, as is the custom in France. But he has travelled in Europe, and knows that modes of nations differ. The French are convivial, live much at one another's tables, and are glad to feast travellers. In Italy and Spain a stranger, however recommended, rarely dines at the house of any gentleman, but lives at his inn. The Americans hold a medium.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Joseph Reed, President of the State of Pensylvania.*

"Passy, March 19, 1780.

"Sir,—I have just received the pamphlet you did me the honour to send me by M. Gerard, and have read it with pleasure; not only as the clear state of facts, it does you honour, but as it proves the falsehood of a man,* who also showed no regard to truth in what he said of me, '*that I approved of the propositions he carried over.*' The truth is this, his brother, Mr. Pultney, came here with those propositions; and after stipulating, that if I did not approve of them, I should not speak of them to any person, he communicated them to me. I told him frankly, on his desiring to know my sentiments, that I DID NOT *approve of them, and that I was sure they* WOULD NOT *be accepted in America.* But, I said there are two other commissioners here. I will, if you please, show your propositions to them, and you will hear their opinions. I will also show them to the ministry here, without whose knowledge and concurrence we can take no step in such affairs. No, said he; as you do not approve of them, it can answer no purpose to show them to any body else: the reasons that weigh with you will also weigh with them; therefore I now pray that no mention may be made of my having been here, or my business. To this I agreed, and therefore nothing could be more astonishing to me, than to see in an American newspaper, that direct lie, in a letter from Mr. Johnstone, joined with two other falsehoods, relating to the time of the treaty, and to the opinion of Spain!

"In proof of the above, I enclose a certificate of a friend of Mr. Pultney's, the only person present at our interview; and I do it the rather at this time, because I am informed that another calumniator (the same who formerly in his private letters to particular members, accused you with Messrs. Jay, Duane, Langdon, and Harrison, of betraying the secrets of congress in a correspondence with the ministry) has made this transaction with Mr. Pultney, an article of accusation against me, as having approved the same propositions. He proposes, I understand, to settle in your government. I caution you to beware of him; for in sowing suspicions and jealousies, in creating misunderstandings and quarrels among friends, in malice, subtility, and indefatigable industry, he has, I think, no equal.*

"I am glad to see that you continue to preside in our new state, as it shows that your public conduct is approved by the people. You have had a difficult time, which required abundance of prudence; and you have been equal to the occasion. The disputes about the constitution seem to have subsided. It is much admired here and all over Europe, and will draw over many families of fortune, to settle under it as soon as there is a peace. The defects that may on seven years' trial be found in it, can be amended, when the time comes for considering them.

"With great and sincere esteem and respect I have the honour to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

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* The person here referred to is best known under the title of commodore Johnstone; he it was who offered templations to several distinguished Americans when he was joined in a commission with lord Carlisle and sir William Eden. It was when acting as commissioner he made those false allegations also.

* Who this execrable character is, cannot be discovered from the text.

"*M. Dumas.*

"PASSY, March 29, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,—It is some time since I have written to you, having nothing material to communicate: but I received duly your several letters of Feb. 1, 18, 25; March 2, 11, 13, 17, and 23, and thank you for the intelligence they contain. The last this minute come to hand, and I shall answer it separately.

"I pray you to assure M F L X O P B N L Z P. A A P C of my respect, and that it was only on one packet for him that I put my name, when I thought to have sent it by a friend. The baseness of the post-office in opening it, surprises me. No other letter for him has since past through my hands. If any others come to me for him, I shall send them under cover to you.

"The suite you mentioned is not a North American, but a West Indian; i. e. a native of one of the English sugar islands. 17 is not 21 of 196. X. P. acts only for 824 Ca.

"I forwarded your letter to captain Jones. I do not know which of his English pilots it was that is mentioned in yours to the 647. I know he has been generous to an excess with them. Explain to me, if you please, the fact that is the subject of that letter, and who Mr. Gordon is.

"I am curious to know what the States will do about the confiscation of the goods taken in Byland's convoy.

"I received your large packets. That for captain Jones shall be carefully sent him. I thank you for the philosophical pieces, which I will read attentively as soon as I have a little time. The original acts of confederation are very curious, and will be acceptable to congress. Please to present my thanks to Mr. Enschédé for his curious specimen of characters; and request him to send me the price of the following articles by the pound weight, and what is the proportion between the Holland and the English pound weight.

"Nonparel (Fr. Mignonne) Romein and Curef.

"Caractere de Finance.

"Debbelde Descendiaan Geschreeven Schrift.

"Debbelde Gamond Geschreeven Schrift.

"Descendiaan Duits, No. I.

"Garmont Duits.—Brevier Duits.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"PASSY, March 29 1780.

"DEAR SIR,—I did receive the letter you mentioned to have enclosed for Mr. Carmichael, in yours of the 25th February. I had before received a letter from him dated at Cadiz, acquainting me that he was just setting out for Madrid, and desiring I would send him a credit there for 200 louis. Mr. F. Grande our banker here, had undertaken to do this with his correspondent, a banker there. I not knowing how to address your letter to Mr. Carmichael at Madrid; sent it to Mr. Grand's, to be put under his cover to his banker, who might deliver it to Mr. Carmichael, as he would necessarily find out his lodging to acquaint him with the credit.

"The day after sir George Grand was gone for Holland his brother came to me, and expressing a great deal of concern and vexation, told me that sir George seeing that letter on his desk, said this superscription is M. Dumas's handwriting; and some time afterwards came to him with the letter in his hand open, saying, this letter is full of ingratitude, (or some words to that purpose) and I will carry it to Holland and show it to the ambassador; and that he had accordingly carried it away with him, notwithstanding all that was or could be said to the contrary. That it gave him infinite pain to acquaint me with this action of his brother, but he thought it right I should know the truth. I did not mention this to you before, hoping that upon reflection, sir Geogre would not show the letter to the ambassador, but seal it up again and send it forward; and I was desirous to avoid increasing the misunderstanding between you and sir G. But as I understood by yours to M. Boudoin, that he has actually done it, I see no reason to keep it longer a secret from you.—If I had known it to be a letter of consequence, I should nevertheless have taken the same method of forwarding it, not having the least suspicion that any person in that house would have taken so unwarrantable a liberty with it. But I am now exceedingly sorry that I did not rather send it to the Spanish ambassador's. Let me know in your next what you may think proper to communicate to me of the contents of it.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"PASSY, March 30, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you yesterday, relating to the affair of your letter to Mr. Carmichael, that you might know exactly the truth of the transaction. On reflection I think it proper to add, that what I wrote was for your satisfaction only; and that as the making it public would give infinite pain to a very worthy man, Mr. F. Grand, who would then appear in the light of *délateur de son frère;* and it can serve no other purpose but that of vengeance on sir George, and be of no advantage to you, I must insist on your generosity in keeping it a secret to yourself.—In this you will also very much oblige me, who would by no means have my name publicly mentioned on this occasion; and I depend on your compliance.

"B. FRANKLIN."

The same.

"Passy, April 23, 1780.

"Dear Sir,—I am much pleased with the account you give me of the disposition with which the proposals from the empress of Russia have been received, and desire to be informed, from time to time, of the progress of that interesting business.

"I shall be glad to hear of your reconciliation with the ambassador, because a continuance of your difference will be extremely inconvenient. Permit me to tell you frankly, what I formerly hinted to you, that I apprehend you suffer yourself too easily to be led into personal prejudices by interested people, who would engross all our confidence to themselves. From this source have arisen, I imagine, the charges and suspicions you have insinuated to me against several who have always declared a friendship for us, in Holland. It is right that you should have an opportunity of giving the *carte du pais* to Mr. Laurens, when he arrives in Holland. But if, in order to serve your particular friends, you fill his head with these prejudices, you will hurt him and them, and perhaps yourself. There does not appear to me the least probability, in your supposition, that the ambassador is an enemy to America.

"Here has been with me a gentleman from Holland, who was charged, as he said, with a verbal commission from divers cities, to inquire whether it was true that Amsterdam had, as they heard, made a treaty of commerce with the United States, and to express, in that case, their willingness to enter into a similar treaty. Do you know any thing of this! what is become, or likely to become, of the plan of a treaty, formerly under consideration! By a letter from Middlebourg, to which the enclosed is an answer, a cargo seized and sent to America, as English property, is reclaimed, partly on the supposition that free ships make free goods. They ought to do so between England and Holland, because there is a treaty which stipulates it; but there being yet no treaty between Holland, and America to that purpose, I apprehend that the goods being declared by the captain to be English, a neutral ship will not protect them, the law of nations governing in this case, as it did before the treaty above mentioned. Tell me, if you please, your opinion.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Samuel Huntingdon, President of Congress.*

"Passy, May 3, 1780

"Sir,—I wrote to your excellency the 4th of March past, to go by this ship, (the Alliance) then expected to sail immediately. But the men refusing to go till paid their shares of prize money, and sundry difficulties arising with regard to the sale and division, she has been detained thus long to my great mortification; and I am yet uncertain when I shall be able to get her out. The trouble and vexation these maritime officers give me, is inconceivable; I have often expressed to congress my wish to be released from them, and that some person better acquainted with them, and better situated, might be appointed to manage them. Much money as well as time, would, I am sure, be saved by such an appointment.

"The Alliance is to carry some of the cannon long since ordered, and as much of the powder, arms, and clothing, (furnished by government here) as she, together with a frigate, the Ariel we have borrowed, can take. I hope they may between them take the whole, with what has been provided by Mr. Ross. This gentleman has, by what I can learn, served the congress well in the quality and prices of the goods he has purchased. I wish it had been in my power to have discharged his balance here, for which he has importuned me rather too much. We furnished him with about twenty thousand pounds sterling, to discharge his first accounts, which he was to replace as soon as he received remittances from the committee of commerce. This has not been done, and he now demands another nearly equal sum; urging as before, that the credit of the States, as well as his own, will be hurt by my refusal. Mr. Bingham too complains of me for refusing some of his drafts, as very hurtful to his credit, though he owns he had no orders from congress to authorize those drafts. I never undertook to provide for more than the payment of the interest bills of the first loan. The congress have drawn on me very considerably for other purposes, which has some times greatly embarrassed me; but I have duly accepted and found means to pay their drafts, so that their credit in Europe has been well supported. But if every agent of congress in different parts of the world, is permitted to run in debt, and draw upon me at pleasure, to support his credit, under the idea of its being necessary to do so for the honour of congress, the difficulty upon me will be too great, and I may in time be obliged to protest the interest bills. I therefore beg leave that a stop may be put to such irregular proceedings. Had the loans proposed to be made in Europe, succeeded, these practices might not have been so inconvenient. But the number of agents from separate states, running all over Europe and asking to borrow money, has given such an idea of our distress and poverty, as makes every body afraid to trust us. I am much pleased to find that congress has at length resolved to borrow of our own people, by making their future bills bear interest. The interest duly paid in hard money, to such as require hard money, will fix the value of the principal, and even make the payment of the interest in hard money, for the most part unnecessary, provided always that the quantity of principal be not excessive. A great clamour has lately been made here, by some merchants, who say they have large sums in their hands of paper money in America, and that they are ruined by some resolution of congress, which reduces its value to one part in forty. As I have had no letter explaining this matter, I have only been able to say that it is probably misunderstood, and that I am confident, the congress have not done nor will do any thing unjust towards strangers who have given us credit.

"I have indeed almost been ready to complain, that I hear so little and so seldom from congress, or from the committee of correspondence: but I know the difficulty of communication, and the frequent interruption it meets with in this time of war. I have not yet received a line this year, and the letters wrote by the confederacy, as I suppose some must have been written by her, have not yet come to hand.

"I mentioned in a former letter, my having communicated to Mr. Johnson of Nantes, the order of congress appointing him to examine the accounts, and his acceptance of the appointment. Nothing has yet been done in pursuance of it, for Mr. Deane having wrote that he might have been expected here, by the middle of March, and as his presence would be very necessary in explaining the mercantile transactions, I have waited his arrival, to request Mr. Johnson's coming to Paris, that his detention here from his affairs at Nantes, might be as short as possible. Mr. Deane has not yet come: but as we have heard of the arrival of the Fendant in Martinique, in which ship he took his passage, we imagine he may be here in some of the first ships from that island.

"The medal from M. de Fleury is done, and delivered to his order, he being absent. I shall get the others prepared as soon as possible by the same hand, if I cannot find a cheaper equally good, which I am now inquiring after; two thousand livres appearing to me a great sum for the work.

"With my last I sent a copy of my memorial to the court of Denmark; I have since received an answer from the minister of that court for foreign affairs, a copy of which I enclose; it referred me to the Danish minister here, with whom I have had a conference on the subject. He was full of professions of the good will of his court to the United States, and would excuse the delivery of our prizes to the English, as done in conformity to treaties, which it was necessary to observe.

"He had not the treaty to show me, and I have not been able to find such a treaty on inquiry. After my memorial, our people left at Bergen were treated with the greatest kindness, by an order from court, their expenses during the winter that they had been detained there, all paid; necessaries furnished to them for their voyage to Dunkirk, and a passage thither found for them, all at the king's expense.

"I have not dropt the application for a restitution, but shall continue to push it, not without some hopes of success. I wish however to receive instructions relating to it; and I think a letter from congress to that court might forward the business; for I believe they are sensible they have done wrong, and are apprehensive of the inconveniences that may follow.

"With this I send the protests taken at Bergen against the proceeding.

"The Alliance in her last cruize met with, and sent to America, a Dutch ship, supposed to have on board an English cargo. The owners have made application to me. I have assured them, that they might depend on the justice of the courts; and that if they could prove their property there, it would be restored. Mr. Dumas has written to me about it. I enclose his letter, and wish despatch may be given to the business, as well as to prevent the inconveniences of a misunderstanding with Holland, as for the sake of justice. A ship of that nation has been brought in here by the Black Prince, having an English cargo. I consulted with Messrs. Adams and Dana, who informed me that it was an established rule with us in such cases, to confiscate the cargo, but to release the ship, paying her freight, &c. This I have accordingly ordered in the case of this ship, and hope it may be satisfactory. But it is a critical time with respect to such cases. For whatever may formerly have been the law of nations, all the neutral powers, at the instance of Russia, seem at present disposed to change it, and to enforce the rule, that *free ships shall make free goods*, except in the case of contraband. Denmark, Sweden, and Holland, have already acceded to the propositon, and Portugal is expected to follow. France and Spain in their answers, have also expressed their approbation of it. I have therefore instructed our privateers to bring in no more neutral ships, as such prizes occasion much litigation and create ill blood. The Alliance, captain Landais, took two Swedes in coming hither, who demand of us for damages, one upwards of sixty thousand livres, and the other near five hundred pounds sterling: and I cannot well see how the demand is to be settled. In the newspapers that I send, the congress will see authentic pieces expressing the sense of the European powers on the subject of neutral navigation. I hope to receive the sense of congress for my future government, and for the satisfaction of the neutral nations now entering into the confederacy, which is considered here as a great stroke against England. In truth, that country seems to have no friends on this side the water, no other nation wishes it success in its present war, but rather desires to see it effectually humbled. No one, not even their old friends the Dutch, will afford them any assistance; such is the mischievous effect of pride, insolence, and injustice on the affairs of nations, as well as on those of private persons. The English party in Holland is daily diminishing, and the states are arming vigorously to maintain the freedom of their navigation. The consequences may possibly be a war with England, or a serious disposition in that mad nation to save what they can by a timely peace.

"Our cartel for the exchange of American prisoners has been some time at a stand. When our little squadron brought near five hundred into Holland, England would not at first exchange Americans for them *there*, expecting to take them in their passage to France. But at length an agreement was made between the English and French embassadors, and I was persuaded to give them up, on a promise of having an equal number of English delivered to my order at Morlaix. So those were exchanged for Frenchmen. But the English now refuse to take any English in exchange for Americans, that have not been taken up by American cruisers. They also refuse to send me any Americans in exchange for their prisoners released and sent home by the two flags of truce from Boston. Thus they give up all pretensions to equity and honour, and govern themselves by caprice, passion, and transient views of present interest.

"Be pleased to present my duty to congress, and believe me to be with great respect, &c., B. FRANKLIN."

"*Count de Vergennes to Doctor Franklin.*

"VERSAILLES, May 11, 1780.

"THE baron de Goltz has warmly entreated me, sir, to recommend the baron d'Arendt, a Prussian officer in the service of the United States, to you. I the more readily acquiesce in satisfying his demand, as you will certainly take a pleasure in obliging this minister, as far as in your power.

"The baron d'Arendt will explain himself, the different matters in which he thinks he wants your aid with congress.—I have the honour to be, with great sincerity, &c.

"DE VERGENNES."

"COPY OF THE JUDGMENT.

"*To the Judges of the Admiralty at Cherbourg.*

"PASSY, May 16th, 1780.

"GENTLEMEN,—I have received the *procés verbaux*, and other papers you did me the honour to send me, agreeable to the 11th article of the regulation of the 27th September, 1778. These pieces relate to the taking of the ship Flora, whereof was captain Henry Roodenberg, bound from Rotterdam to Dublin, and arrived at Cherbourg in France, being taken the 7th day of April by captain Dowlin, commander of the American privateer the Black Prince.

"It appears to me from the abovementioned papers, that the said ship Flora is not a good prize, the same belonging to the subjects of a neutral nation: but that the cargo is really the property of the subjects of the king of England, though attempted to be masqued as neutral. I do therefore request that after the cargo shall be landed, you would cause the said ship Flora to be immediately restored to her captain, and that you would oblige the captors to pay him his full freight, according to his bills of lading, and also to make good all the damages he may have sustained by plunder or otherwise; and I farther request, that as the cargo is perishable, you would cause it to be sold immediately, and retain the produce deposited in your hands, to the end that if any of the freighters, being subjects of their high mightiness the states-general, will declare, upon oath, that certain parts of the said cargo were *bona fide* shipped on their own account and risk, and not on the account and risk of any British or Irish subjects, the value of such parts may be restored: or, that if the freighters, or any of them, should think fit to appeal from this judgment to the congress, the produce so deposited may be disposed of according to their final determination. B. FRANKLIN,

"*Minister Plenipotentiary for the United States at the Court of France.*

John Adams to M. Dumas.

"May 21, 1780.

"SIR—His excellency Dr. Franklin lent me the enclosed letter from sir Henry Clinton to lord George Germaine, upon condition that I would send a copy of it to you.—A privateer from Boston, had the good fortune to take the packet, bound to London, and the mails, in which, among others, this letter was found. It was sent from Boston to Philadelphia, and there published in a newspaper of the 8th of April. One of these papers arrived, within a few days, at L'Orient, in a vessel from Philadelphia.

"It is a pity but it should be published in every newspaper in the world, in an opposite column to a late speech of lord George Germaine in the house of commons, as his document in support of his assertions.

"JOHN ADAMS."

"*To an Agent of American Cruisers.*

"Passy, May 30, 1780.

"Sir,—In my last, of the 27th instant, I omitted one thing I had intended, viz. to desire you would give absolute orders to your cruisers not to bring any more Dutch vessels, though charged with enemies' goods, unless contraband. All the neutral states of Europe seem at present disposed to change what had before been deemed the law of nations, to wit: that an enemy's property may be taken wherever found; and to establish a rule that free ships shall make free goods. This rule is itself so reasonable, and of a nature to be so beneficial to mankind, that I cannot but wish it may become general. And I make no doubt but that the congress will agree to it in as full an extent as France and Spain. In the mean time, and until I have received their orders on the subject, it is my intention to condemn no more English goods found in Dutch vessels, unless contraband; of which I thought it right to give you this previous notice; that you may avoid the trouble and expense likely to arise from such captures, and from the detention of them for a decision. With great regard, and best wishes for the success of your enterprise. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Samuel Huntingdon, President of Congress.*

"Passy, June 1, 1780.

"Sir,—Commodore Jones, who by his bravery and conduct, has done great honour to the American flag, desires to have that also, of presenting a line to the hands of your excellency. I cheerfully comply with his request in recommending him to the notice of congress, and to your excellency's protection, though his actions are a more effectual recommendation, and render any from me unnecessary. It gives me, however, an opportunity of showing my readiness to do justice to merit, and of professing the esteem and respect with which I am, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*M. Dumas.*

"Passy, June 5, 1780.

"Dear Sir,—The gentleman whose name you wished to know, in one of your late letters, is *M. Westhuysen, échévin et conseiller de la Ville de Harlem.* I shall probably send an order to that place for some of the types, of which you have sent me the prices, *before I leave Europe.* I think them very good and not dear.

"A Dutch ship belonging to Messrs. Little, Dale, and Co. of Rotterdam, being brought into France as having an English cargo on board, I have followed your opinion with regard to the condemnation of the cargo, which I think the more right, as the English have in the West Indies confiscated several of our cargoes found in Dutch ships. But to show respect to the declaration of the empress of Russia, I have written to the owners of our privateers, a letter of which I enclose a copy, together with a copy of the judgment, for your use, if you hear of any complaint. I approve much of the principles of the confederacy of the neutral powers, and am not only for respecting the ships as the house of a friend, though containing the goods of an enemy, but I even wish for the sake of humanity, that the law of nations may be farther improved, by determining that even in time of war, all those kinds of people who are employed in procuring subsistence for the species, or in exchanging the necessaries or conveniences of life, which is for the common benefit of mankind; such as husbandmen on their lands, fishermen in their barques, and traders in unarmed vessels, shall be permitted to prosecute their several innocent and useful employments without interruption or molestation, and nothing taken from them, even when wanted by an enemy, but on paying a fair price for the same.

"I think you have done well to print the letter of Clinton; for though I have myself had suspicions whether some parts of it were really written by him, yet I have no doubt of the facts stated, and think the piece valuable, as giving a true account of the state of British and American affairs in that quarter. On the whole, it has the appearance of a letter written by a general who did not approve of the expedition he was sent upon,—who had no opinion of the judgment of those who drew up his instructions,—who had observed that preceding commanders, Gage, Burgoyne, Keppel, and the Howes, had all been censured by the ministers for having unsuccessfully attempted to execute injudicious instructions with unequal force,—and he therefore wrote such a letter, not merely to give the information contained in it, but to be produced in his vindication, when he might be recalled, and his want of success charged upon him as a crime; though, in truth, owing to the folly of the ministers who had ordered him on impracticable projects, and persisted in them notwithstanding his faithful informations, without furnishing the necessary number of troops he had demanded.—In this view much of the letter may be accounted for, without supposing it fictitious; and therefore if not genuine it is ingeniously written: but you will easily conceive, that if the state of public facts it contains, were known in America to be false, such a publication there would have been absurd, and of no possible use to the cause of the country. I have written to Mr. Neufville concerning the bills you mention. I have no orders or advice about them, know nothing of them, and therefore cannot prudently meddle with them; especially as the funds in my power are not more than sufficient to answer the congress bills for interest, and other inevitable demands. He desired to know whether I would engage to reimburse him if he should accept and pay them; but as I know not the amount of them, I cannot enter into any such engagement: for though, if they are genuine congress bills, I am persuaded all possible care will be taken by congress to provide for their punctual payment, yet there are so many accidents by which remittances are delayed or intercepted in the time of war, that I dare not hazard for these new bills, the possibility of being rendered unable to pay the others. B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. I cannot prescribe, as you desire, any thing relating to your affair with 62. Your own judgment ought to guide you. I shall be careful to furnish you early with any good news we may receive. If the 732 cannot be immediately made, it may with prudence come on by degrees.

"The copy of the judgment will be sent by next post."

"*John Adams to M. Dumas.*

"June 6, 1780.

"Sir,—I thank you for your letter in answer to mine of 21st May, and for your kind congratulations on my arrival here.

"Mr. Brown, with whom you took your walks in the neighbourhood of Paris, has been gone from hence, some weeks, on his way hence. I should have had much pleasure, if I had been one of the party. I have rambled, in most of the scenes round this city, and find them very pleasant, but much more indebted to art than to nature.—Philadelphia, in the purlieus of which, as well as these of Baltimore, and York Town, I have often sought health and pleasure, in the same way, in company with our venerable secretary Charles Thompson, will, in future times, when the arts shall have established their empire in the new world, present scenes much more striking. But Boston, above all, around which I have much oftener wandered, in company with another venerable character, little known in Europe, but to whose virtues and public merit in the cause of mankind, history will do justice, will one day exhibit scenes of grandeur and beauty, superior to any other place I have ever yet seen.

"The letter of general Clinton, when I transmitted it to you, was not suspected to be an imposition.—There are some circumstances, which are sufficient to raise a question; but I think none of them are conclusive; and, upon the whole, I have little doubt of its authenticity.—I shall be much mortified if it proves a fiction—not on account of the importance of the letter, but the stain that a practice so disengenuous will bring upon America.—When I first left America, such a fiction, with all its ingenuity, would have ruined the reputation of the author of it if discovered, and I think that both he and the printer would have been punished.—With all the freedom of our presses, I really think that not only the government but the populace would have resented it.—I have had opportunities of an extensive acquaintance with Americans, and I must say, in justice to my countrymen, that I know not a man whom I think capable of a forgery at once so able and so base.—Truth is indeed respected in America, and so gross an affront to her I hope will not, and I hope cannot, go unpunished.

"Whether it is genuine or not, I have no doubt of the truth of the facts, in general—and I have reason to believe, that if the secret correspondences of Bernard, Hutchinson, Gage, Howe, and Clinton, could all be brought to light, the world would be equally surprised at the whole thread of it. The British administration and their servants have carried on from the beginning a system of duplicity in the conduct of American affairs, that will appear horrible to the public whenever it shall be known.

"You have seen admiral Rodney's account of the battle of the 17th of April.—The *sceptre* of the ocean is not to be maintained by such actions as this, or by Byrons and Keppels. They must make themselves more terrible upon the ocean to preserve its dominion.—Their empire is founded only in fear—for no nation loves it. JOHN ADAMS."

"*To W. Carmichael, Madrid.*

"Passy, June 17, 1780.

"Dear Sir,—Your favours of the 22d past came duly to hand. Sir J. Dalrymple has been here some time, but I hear nothing of his political operations. The learned talk of the discovery he has made in the Escurial Library, of 40 epistles of Brutus, a missing part of Tacitus, and a piece of Seneca, that have never yet been printed, which excite much curiosity. He has not been with me, and I am told by one of his friends that though he wished to see me, he did not think it prudent.

So I suppose I shall have no communication with him; for I shall not seek it. As Count de Vergennes has mentioned nothing to me of any memorial from him, I suppose he has not presented it;* perhaps discouraged by the reception it met with in Spain.—So I wish, for curiosity's sake, you would send me a copy of it.—The marquis de la Fayette arrived safely at Boston the 28th of April, and it is said gave expectations of the coming of a squadron and troops.—The vessel that brings this, left New-London the 2d of May; her captain reports that the siege of Charlestown was raised, the troops attacked in their retreat, and Clinton killed; but this wants confirmation. London has been in the utmost confusion for 7 or 8 days. The beginning of this month, a mob of fanatics joined by a mob of rogues, burnt and destroyed property to the amount, it is said, of a million sterling. Chapels of foreign ambassadors, houses of members of parliament that had promoted the act for favouring Catholics; and the houses of many private persons of that religion, were pillaged and consumed, or pulled down to the number of 50, among the rest, lord Mansfield's is burnt with all his furniture, pictures, books, and papers. Thus he who approved the burning American houses, has had fire brought home to him. He himself was horribly scared, and governor Hutchinson, it is said, died outright of the fright. The mob, tired with roaring and rioting seven days and nights, were at length suppressed, and quiet restored on the 9th in the evening. Next day lord George Gordon was committed to the tower.

"Enclosed I send you the little piece you desire.† To understand it rightly you should be acquainted with some few circumstances. The person to whom it was addressed is Madame Brillon, a lady of most respectable character and pleasing conversation; mistress of an amiable family in this neighbourhood, with which I spend an evening twice in every week. She has among other elegant accomplishments, that of an excellent musician; and with her daughters who sing prettily, and some friends who play, she kindly entertains me and my grandson with little concerts, a cup of tea, and a game of chess. I call this *my Opera;* for I rarely go to the opera at Paris.—*The Moulin Joli* is a little island in the Seine about 2 leagues hence, part of the country-seat of another friend,‡ where we visit every summer, and spend a day in the pleasing society of the ingenious, learned, and very polite persons who inhabit it. At the time when the letter was written, all conversation at Paris were filled with disputes about the music of *Gluck* and *Picini*, a German and Italian musician, who divided the town into violent parties. A friend of this lady having obtained a copy of it under a promise not to give another, did not observe that promise, so that many have been taken, and it is become as public as such a thing can well be, that is not printed, but I could not dream of its being heard of at Madrid! The thought was partly taken from a little piece of some unknown writer which I met with 50 years since in a newspaper,* and which the sight of the Ephemera brought to my recollection. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Fothergill.*

"Passy, June 19, 1780.

"My dear old friend, Dr. Fothergill, may assure lady H. of my respects, and of any service in my power to render her, or her affairs in America. I believe matters in Georgia cannot much longer continue in their present situation, but will return to that state in which they were when her property, and that of our common friend G. W. received the protection she acknowledges.

"I rejoiced most sincerely to hear of your recovery from the dangerous illness by which I lost my very valuable friend P. Collinson. As I am sometimes apprehensive of the same disorder, I wish to know the means that were used and succeeded in your case; and shall be exceedingly obliged to you for communicating them when you can do it conveniently.

"Be pleased to remember me respectfully to your good sister, and to our worthy friend David Barclay, who I make no doubt laments with you and me, that the true pains we took together to prevent all this horrible mischief proved ineffectual.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*M. Dumas.*

"Passy, June 22, 1780.

"Dear Sir,—I received duly yours of May 23d, June 2, 6, 8, and 15.—Enclosed you have a letter for the gentleman you recommend to me. He seems to be a man of abilities.

"The words *before I leave Europe* had no relation to my particular immediate intention, but to the general one I flatter myself with, of being able to return and spend there the small remains of life that are left me.

"I have written distinctly to Messrs. de Neufville concerning those bills.—I hear that 484 was at Newbern the 12th of April, and soon to sail from thence, or from Virginia for France. Probably he might not sail in some weeks after, as vessels are often longer in fitting out than was expected. If it is the *Fier Roderique*, a 50 gun ship, that he comes in, I have just heard that she would not sail till the middle of May.

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* This memorial appears among the Miscellanies.

† The Ephemera. See Miscellanies.

‡ Monsieur Watelet.

* The original alluded to was his own, and published in his own paper at Philadelphia at the period referred to.

"Herewith you have the judgment relating to the Flora, which I thought had been sent before. The mischiefs done by the mob in London are astonishing! They were, I heard, within an ace of destroying the bank, with all the books relating to the funds, which would have created infinite confusion.

"I am grieved at the loss of Charleston. Let me hope soon to hear better news from the operations of the French and Spanish forces gone to America.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"Passy, June 22, 1780.

"Dear Sir,—As the English do not allow that we can make legal prizes, they certainly cannot detain the Dutch ships the Berkenloos, on pretence that it was become American property before they took it. For the rest, there is no doubt but the congress will do what shall appear to be just, on a proper representation of facts laid before them, which the owners should appoint some persons in America to do. Those gentlemen may depend on my rendering them every service in my power. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To David Hartley, M. P.*

"Passy, June 30, 1781.

"I received my dear friend's kind letter of the 15th instant, and immediately communicated your request of a passport to M. le comte de Vergennes. His answer, which I have but just received, expresses an opinion, that the circumstance of his granting a passport to you, as you mention the purpose of your coming, to be the discoursing with me on the subject of peace, might, considering your character, occasion many inconvenient reports and speculations; but that he would make no difficulty of giving it, if you assured me that you were authorized for such purpose, by your ministry, which he does not think at all likely; otherwise he judges it best that I should not encourage your coming. Thus it seems I cannot have, at present, the pleasure you were so kind as to propose for me. I can only join with you in earnest wishes for peace, a blessing which I shall hardly live to see.

"With the greatest esteem and respect, I am ever, dear sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"*David Hartley, M. P. to Dr. Franklin.*

"London, July 17, 1780.

"My dear Friend,—Enclosed I send you a copy of a conciliatory bill* which was proposed in the house of commons on the 27th of

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* *Draft of a proposed Bill for Conciliation with America.*

"A Bill to invest the crown with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and finally to agree upon the means of restoring peace with the provinces of *North America.*

"Whereas many unfortunate subjects of contest have of late years subsisted between *Great Britain* and the several provinces of *North America*, hereinafter recited, viz *New Hampshire, Massachusetts' Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Three Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina*, and *Georgia*, which have brought on the calamities of war between *Great Britain* and the aforesaid provinces: to the end therefore that the farther effusion of blood may be prevented, and that peace may be restored, may it please your majesty, that it be enacted, and be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same: that it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, by letters patent, under the great seal of *Great Britain*, to authorize and empower any person or persons, to treat, consult, and finally to agree with any person or persons, properly authorized on the part of the aforesaid provinces of *North America*, upon the means of restoring peace between *Great Britain* and the aforesaid provinces, according to the powers in this act contained.

"And be it further enacted, that in order to facilitate the good purposes of this act, his majesty may lawfully enable any such person or persons, so appointed by his majesty's letters patent, as aforesaid, to order and proclaim a cessation of hostilities, on the part of his majesty's forces, by sea and land, for any time, and under any conditions or restrictions.

"And be it further enacted, that in order to lay a good foundation for a cordial reconciliation and lasting peace between *Great Britain* and the aforesaid provinces of *North America*, by restoring an amicable intercourse between the same, as soon as possible, his majesty may lawfully enable any such person or persons, so appointed by his majesty's letters patent, as aforesaid, to enter into, and to ratify, from time to time, any article or articles of intercourse and pacification, which article or articles so entered into and ratified, from time to time, shall remain in full force and effect for the certain term of ten years, from the first day of *August*, one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

"Provided also, and be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that in order to remove any obstructions which may arise to the full and effectual execution of any article or articles of intercourse and pacification, as before mentioned, that it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, by any instrument under his sign manual, countersigned by one or more of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, to authorize and empower any such person or persons, so appointed by his majesty's letters patent, as aforesaid, to suspend for the term of ten years, from the first day of *August*, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, the operation and effect of any act or acts of parliament, which are now in force, respecting the aforesaid provinces of *North America*, or any clause or clauses, proviso or provisoes, in any such act or acts of parliament contained; in as much as they, or any of them, may obstruct the full effect and execution of any such article or articles of intercourse and pacification, which may be entered into and ratified as before mentioned, between *Great Britain* and the aforesaid provinces of *North America*.

"And be it further enacted, that in order to establish perpetual reconcilement and peace between *Great Britain* and the aforesaid provinces of *North America*, it is hereby required, and be it enacted, that all or any article or articles of intercourse and pacification, which shall be entered into and ratified, for the certain term of ten years, as before mentioned, shall from time to time be laid before the two houses of parliament, for their consideration, as the perpetual basis of reconcilement and peace, between *Great Britain* and the aforesaid provinces of *North America;* and that any such article or articles of intercourse and pacification as before mentioned, when the same shall have been confirmed in last month. It was rejected. You and I have had so much intercourse upon the subject of restoring peace between Great Britian and America, that I think there is nothing farther left to be said upon the subject. You will perceive by the general tenor of the bill, that it proposes a general power to treat. It chalks out a line of negotiation in very general terms. I remain in the sentiments which I ever have, and which I believe I ever shall entertain, viz. those seeking of peace upon honourable terms. I shall always be ready and most desirous to conspire in any measures which may facilitate peace.

"D. HARTLEY."

"*Mr. Small*,* *Paris*.

"PASSY, July 22, 1780.

"You see, my dear sir, that I was not afraid my masters would take it amiss if I ran to see an old friend though in the service of their enemy. They are reasonable enough to allow that differing politics should not prevent the intercommunication of philosophers who study and converse for the benefit of mankind. But you have doubts about coming to dine with me. I suppose you will not venture it; your refusal will not indeed do so much honour to the generosity and good nature of your government, as to your sagacity. You know your people, and I do not expect you. I think too that in friendship I ought not to make you more visits as I intended: but I send my grandson to pay his duty to his physician.

"You inquired about my gout, and I forgot to acquaint you, that I had treated it a little cavalierly in its two last accesses. Finding one night that my foot gave me more pain after it was covered warm in bed, I put it out of bed naked; and perceiving it easier, I let it remain longer than I at first designed, and at length fell asleep, leaving it there till morning. The pain did not return, and I grew well. Next winter, having a second attack, I repeated the experiment; not with such immediate success in dismissing the gout, but constantly with the effect of rendering it less painful, so that it permitted me to sleep every night. I should mention, that it was my son,† who gave me the first intimation of this practice. He being in the old opinion, that the gout was to be drawn out by transpiration. And having heard me say that perspiration was carried on more copiously when the body was naked that when clothed, he put his foot out of bed to increase that discharge, and found ease by it, which he thought a confirmation of the doctrine. But this method requires to be confirmed by more experiments, before one can conscientiously recommend it. I give it you, however, in exchange for your receipt of tartar emetic, because the commerce of philosophy as well as other commerce, is best promoted by taking care to make returns.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*M. Dumas.*

"PASSY, July 26, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,—I wrote to Messrs. de Neufville by the last post, in answer to theirs of the 14th. I hope they received my letter. It signified that I could accept the bills drawn on Mr. Laurens. I find, by a vote of congress, on the 4th of March, that they then stopt drawing, and I am informed no more bills have been issued since. I could not relish those gentlemen's proposal of mortgaging *all our estates*, for the little money Holland is likely to lend us. But I am obliged to them for their zeal in our cause.

"I received and thank you for the protest relating to the election of the coadjutor. You seem to be too much affected with the taking of Charleston. It is so far a damage to us, as it will enable the enemy to exchange a great part of the prisoners we had in our hands, otherwise their affairs will not be much advanced by it. They have successively been in possession of the capitals of five provinces, viz. Massachusetts' Bay, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New York, and Georgia; but were not therefore in possession of the provinces themselves. New York and Georgia still continue their operations as free states; and so I suppose will South Carolina. The cannon will be recovered with the place; if not, our furnaces are constantly at work in making more. The destroying of our ships by the English is only like shaving our beards, which will grow again. Their loss of provinces is like the loss of a limb, which can never again be united to their body. I was sorry to hear of your indisposition. Take care of yourself. Honey is a good thing for obstructions in the reins. I hope your health is by this time re-established.

"I am less committed than you imagine in the affair between Jones and Landais. The latter was not dispossessed by me of his command, but quitted it. He afterwards took into his head to resume it, which the former's too long stay at Paris, gave him an opportunity of effecting. Captain Jones is going in the Ariel frigate to America, where they may settle their affairs as they can.

"The captain commandant of Dunkirk, who occasioned the loss of our despatches, is himself taken by the English.—I have no doubt

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parliament, shall remain in full force and effect for ever.

"And be it further enacted, that this act shall continue to be in force until the thirty-first day of *December*, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one."

[*] A surgeon of eminence in the British army, then passing through Paris, brother to colonel Small, who particularly distinguished himself by his humanity at the battle of Bunker's Hill, near Boston.

[†] Governor Franklin.

of the truth of what Mr. White told you about the facility with which the tax was collected.

"That same baron de Wulffen has not pleased me, having left little debts behind him unpaid, though I furnished him with twenty guineas. As he had been with his brother at Venloo, before he saw you, where he might get money, I wonder at his borrowing of you.

"I thank you for the vote of congress you sent me, dated the 23d March.—I imagine 484 went in that vessel to 533, and may have been detained there for convoy.

"Your despatches by M. Gillon, are in the Alliance, which sailed the 7th or 9th instant.

"This will be delivered to you by his excellency John Adams, Esq. whom I earnestly recommend to your best civilities. He has never been in Holland, and your counsels will be of use to him. "B. FRANKLIN."

"*Samuel Huntingdon, President of Congress.*

"Passy, August 9, 1780.

"Sir,—With this your excellency will receive a copy of my last, dated May 31st, the original of which with copies of preceding letters went by the Alliance, captain Landais, who sailed the beginning of last month, and who I wish may arrive safe in America: being apprehensive, that by her long delay in port, from the mutiny of the people, who after she was ready to sail, refused to weigh anchor 'till paid wages, &c. she may fall in the way of the English fleet now out, or that her crew, who have ever been infected with disorder and mutiny, may carry her into England. She had on her first coming out a conspiracy for that purpose, besides which, her officers and captain quarrelled with each other; the captain with commodore Jones; and there have been so many broils among them, that it was impossible to get the business forward while she staid; and she is at length gone without taking the quantity of stores which she was capable of taking, and was ordered to take. I suppose the conduct of that captain will be inquired into by a court martial. Captain Jones goes home in the Ariel, a ship we have borrowed of government here, and carries one hundred and forty-six chests of arms, and four hundred barrels of powder. To take the rest of the stores and clothing, I have been obliged to freight a ship, which being well armed and well manned, will I hope get safe. The clothes for ten thousand men, are I think all made up; there are also arms for fifteen thousand new and good, with two thousand barrels of powder; besides this, there is a great quantity of cloth I have bought, of which you will have the invoices sent by Mr. Williams; and another large quantity purchased by Mr. Ross, all going in the same ship.

"The little authority we have here to govern our armed ships, and the inconvenience of distance from the ports, occasion abundance of irregularities in the conduct of both men and officers. I hope therefore that no more of those vessels will be sent hither, till our code of laws is perfected respecting ships abroad, and proper persons appointed to manage such affairs in the sea ports. They give me infinite trouble, and though I endeavour to act for the best, it is without satisfaction to myself, being unacquainted with that kind of business. I have often mentioned the appointment of a consul or consuls. The congress have perhaps not yet had time to consider that matter.

"Having already sent you by different conveyances, copies of my proceedings with the court of Denmark, relative to the three prizes delivered up to the English, and requested the instructions of congress; I hope soon to receive them. I mentioned a letter from the congress to that court, as what I thought might have a good effect. I have since had more reasons to be of that opinion. The unexpected delay of Mr. Deane's arrival, has retarded the settlement of the joint accounts of the commission, he having had the chief management of the commercial part, and being therefore best able to explain difficulties. I have just now the pleasure to hear that the Fier Rodrique with her convoy from Virginia, is arrived at Bordeaux, all safe, except one tobacco ship that foundered at sea, the men saved. And I have a letter from Mr. Deane, that he is at Rochelle, proposes to stop a few days at Nantes, and then proceed to Paris, when I shall endeavour to see that business completed with all possible expedition.

"Mr. Adams has given offence to the court here, by some sentiments and expressions contained in several of his letters written to the count de Vergennes. I mention this with reluctance, though perhaps it would have been my duty to acquaint you with such a circumstance, even were it not required of me by the minister himself. He has sent me copies of the correspondence, desiring I would communicate them to congress, and I send them herewith. Mr. Adams did not show me his letters before he sent them. I have in a former letter to Mr. Lovell, mentioned some of the inconveniences that attend the having more than one minister at the same court, one of which inconveniences is, that they do not hold the same language, and that the impressions made by the one, and intended for the sense of his constituents, may be effaced by the discourse of the other. It is true that Mr. Adams' proper business is elsewhere, but the time not being come for that business, and having nothing else here wherewith to employ himself, he seems to have endeavoured supplying what he may suppose my negotia tions defective in. He thinks, as he tells me himself, that America has been too free in expressions of gratitude to France, for that she is more obliged to us than we are to her, and that we should show spirit in our applications. I apprehend that he mistakes his ground, and that this court is to be treated with decency and delicacy. The king, a young and virtuous prince, has, I am persuaded, reflected on the generous benevolence of the action in assisting an oppressed people, and proposes it as a part of the glory of his reign. I think it right to increase this pleasure by our thankful acknowledgments, and that such an expression of gratitude, is not only our duty but our interest. A different conduct seems to me what is not only improper and unbecoming, but what may be hurtful to us. Mr. Adams, on the other hand, who at the same time means our welfare and interest as much as I or any man can do, seems to think a little apparent stoutness and greater air of independence and boldness in our demands, will procure us more ample assistance. It is for the congress to judge and regulate their affairs accordingly. M. de Vergennes, who appears much offended, told me yesterday that he would enter into no further discussions with Mr. Adams, nor answer any more of his letters. He is gone to Holland to try, as he told me, whether something might not be done to render us a little less dependent on France. He says the idea of this court and those of the people in America, are so totally different, as that it is impossible for any minister to please both. He ought to know America better than I do, having been there lately, and he may choose to do what he thinks will best please the people of America: but when I consider the expressions of congress in many of their public acts, and particularly in their letter to the chevalier de la Luzerne, of the 24th May last, I cannot but imagine that he mistakes the sentiments of a few for a general opinion. It is my intention while I stay here, to procure what advantages I can for our country, by endeavouring to please this court, and I wish I could prevent any thing being said by any of our countrymen here that may have a contrary effect, and increase an opinion lately showing itself in Paris, that we seek a difference, and with a view of reconciling ourselves to England, some of them have of late been very indiscreet in their conversations.

"I have received, eight months after their date, the instructions of congress relating to a new article for guaranteeing the fisheries. The expected negotiations for a peace appearing of late more remote, and being too much occupied with other affairs, I have not hitherto proposed that article; but I purpose doing it next week. It appears so reasonable and equitable, that I do not foresee any difficulty. In my next I shall give you an account of what passes on the occasion.

"The silver medal ordered for the chevalier de Fleury, has been delivered to his order here, he being gone to America. The others for brigadier general Wayne, and colonel Stuart, I shall send by the next good opportunity.

"The two thousand pounds I furnished to Messrs. Adams and Jay, agreeable to an order of congress for themselves and secretaries, being nearly expended, and no supplies to them arriving, I have thought it my duty to furnish them with further sums, hoping the supplies promised will soon arrive to reimburse me, and to enable me to pay the bills drawn on Mr. Laurens, in Holland, which I have engaged for, to save the public credit; the holders of those bills threatening otherwise to protest them. Messrs. De Neufville of Amsterdam had accepted of them. I have promised those gentlemen to provide for the payment before they become due, and to accept such others as shall be presented to me. I hear, and hope it is true, that the drawing of such bills is stopt, and that their number and value is not very great.

"The bills drawn in favour of M. de Beaumarchais, for the interest of his debt, are paid.

"The German prince who gave me a proposal some months since, for furnishing troops to the congress, has lately desired an answer. I gave no expectation that it was likely you would agree to such a proposal, but they being pressed to send it you, it went with some of my former letters.

"M. Fouquet who was employed by congress, to instruct people in making gunpowder, is arrived here after a long passage; he has requested me to transmit a memorial to congress, which I do enclose.

"The great public event in Europe of this year, is the proposal by Russia of an armed neutrality, for protecting the liberty of commerce. The proposition is accepted now by most of the maritime powers. As it is likely to become the law of nations, that free ships should make free goods, I wish the congress to consider whether it may not be proper to give orders to their cruizers not to molest foreign ships, but to conform to the spirit of that treaty of neutrality.

"The English have been much elated with their success at Charleston. The late news of the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, has a little abated their spirits, and I hope that junction and the arrival of the French troops and ships in North America, will soon produce news that may afford us also in our turn some satisfaction.

"Application has been made here, requesting that I would solicit congress to permit the exchange of William John Mawhood, a lieutenant in the seventeenth regiment, taken prisoner at Stony Point, July 15th, 1779, and confined near Philadelphia: or if the exchange cannot conveniently be made, that he may be permitted to return to England on his parole. By doing this at my request, the congress will enable me to oblige several friends of ours, who are persons of merit and distinction in this country.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. A similar application has been made to me in favour of Richard Croft, lieutenant in the the 20th regiment, a prisoner at Charlotteville. I shall be much obliged by any kindness shown to that young gentleman, and so will some friends of ours in England, who respect his father."

"*James Lovell.*

"Passy, August 10, 1780.

"Sir,—I received on the 12th June, 1780, copies of your several favours of April 29th, 1779; June 13th, 1779; July 9th and 16th, August 6, and September 16th, 1779. You will see by this, what delays our correspondence sometimes meets with. I have lately received two of fresher date, viz. February 24 and May 4. I thank you much for the newspapers and journals you have from time to time sent me. I endeavour to make full returns in the same way. I could furnish a multitude of despatches with confidential information, taken out of the papers I send you, if I chose to deal in that kind of manufacture. I know the whole art of it, for I have had several volunteer correspondents in England, who have in their letters, for years together, communicated to me secrets of state extracted from the newspapers, which sometimes come to hand in those papers by the same post, and sometimes by the post before, you and I send the papers themselves. Our letters may appear the leaner, but what fat they have is their own.

"I wrote to you the 17th of October, and the 16th of March, and have sent duplicates, some of which I hope got to hand. You mention receiving one of September 30th, and one of December 30th, but not that of October the 17th. The cypher you have communicated, either from some defect in your explanation or in my comprehension, is not yet of use to me, for I cannot understand by it the little specimen you have wrote in it. If you have that of M. Dumas, which I left with Mr. Morris, we may correspond by it, when a few sentences only are required to be writ in cypher; but it is too tedious for a whole letter.

"I send herewith copies of the instruments annulling the 11th and 12th articles of the treaty. The treaty printed here by the court omitted them, and numbered the subsequent articles accordingly.

"I write fully to the president. The frequent hinderances the committee of correspondence meet with in writing as a committee, which appears from the excuses in your particular letters, and the many parts of my letters that have long been unanswered, incline me to think that your foreign correspondence would be best managed by one secretary, who could write when he had an opportunity, without waiting for the concurrence or opinions of his brethren, who cannot always be conveniently got together. My chief letters will therefore, for the future, be addressed to the president, till futher orders.

"I send you enclosed some more of——letters. He continues passionately to desire peace with America; but wishes we could be separated from France.

"B. FRANKLIN."

TRANSLATION.

Instrument annulling the 11*th and* 12*th articles of the treaty of commerce with France.*

"The general congress of the United States of North America, having represented to the king, that the execution of the 11th article of the treaty of amity and commerce, signed the 6th of February last, might be productive of inconveniences, and having therefore desired the suppression of this article, consenting in return, that the 12th article shall be considered likewise of no effect. His majesty in order to give a new proof of his affection, as also his desire to consolidate the union and good correspondence established between the two states, has been pleased to consider their representations. His majesty has consequently declared, and does declare by these presents, that he consents to the suppression of the 11th and 12th articles aforementioned, and that it is his intention that they be considered as having never been comprehended in the treaty signed the 6th February last.

"Done at Versailles, the 1st day of the month of September, 1778.

"GRAVIER DE VERGENNES."

TRANSLATION.

Instrument annulling the 11*th and* 12*th articles.*

"The most christian king, having been pleased to regard the representations made to him by the general congress of North America, relating to the 11th article of the treaty of commerce, signed the 6th of February in the present year; and his majesty having therefore consented, that the said article should be suppressed, on condition that the 12th article of the same treaty be equally regarded as of none effect: the above said general congress hath declared on their part, and do declare, that they consent to the suppression of the 11th and 12th articles of the abovementioned treaty; and that their intention is, that these articles be regarded as having never been comprised in the treaty signed the 6th of February. In faith whereof, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN.
"ARTHUR LEE.
"JOHN ADAMS."

"*M. Dumas.*

"Passy, October 2, 1780.

"Dear Sir,—I received duly your several letters of the 12th, 15th, 17th, 19th, and 21st of September. I am much pleased with the intelligence you sent me, and with the papers you have had printed.

"Mr. Searle is a military officer in the Pennsylvania troops, and a member of congress. He has some commission to execute for that province, but none that I know of from congress. He has an open letter for you from Mr. Lovell, which he has shown me. It is full of expressions of his esteem; and I understand from Mr. Searle, that you stand exceeding well with the committee and with the congress in general. I am sorry to see any marks of uneasiness and apprehension in your letters. Mr. Chaumont tells me that you want some assurance of being continued. The congress itself is changeable at the pleasure of their electors, and none of their servants have, or can have any such assurance. If, therefore, any thing better for you, and more substantial should offer, no body can blame you for accepting it, however satisfied they may be with your services. But as to the continuance of what you may enjoy, or of something as valuable in the service of the congress, I think you may make yourself easy, for that your appointment seems more likely to be increased than diminished, though it does not belong to me to promise any thing.

"Mr. Laurens was to sail three days after Mr. Searle, who begins to fear he must be lost, as it was a small vessel he intended to embark in.—He was bound directly to Holland.

"I enclose some extracts of letters from two French officers of distinction in the army of M. de Rochambeau, which are pleasing, as they mark the good intelligence that subsists between the troops, contrary to the reports circulated by the English.

"They will do perhaps for your Leyden Gazette. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Miss Georgiana Shipley.**

"Passy, October 8, 1780.

"It is long, very long, my dear friend, since I had the great pleasure of hearing from you, and receiving any of your very pleasing letters. But it is my fault. I have long omitted my part of the correspondence. Those who love to receive letters should write letters. I wish I could safely promise an amendment of that fault. But besides the indolence attending age, and growing upon us with it, my time is engrossed by too much business, and I have too many inducements to postpone doing, what I feel I ought to do for my own sake, and what I can never resolve to omit entirely.

"Your translations from Horace, as far as I can judge of poetry and translations, are very good. That of the *Quo quo ruitis* is so suitable to the times, that the conclusion (in your version) seems to threaten like a prophecy; and methinks there is at least some appearance of danger that it may be fulfilled.—I am unhappily an enemy, yet I think there has been enough of blood spilt, and I wish what is left in the veins of that once loved people, may be spared; by a peace solid and everlasting.

"It is great while since I have heard any thing of the *good Bishop.* Strange that so simple a character should sufficiently distinguish one of that sacred body! *Donnez moi de ses Nouvelles.*—I have been sometime flattered with the expectation of seeing the countenance of that most honoured and ever beloved friend, delineated by your pencil. The portrait is said to have been long on the way, but is not yet arrived: nor can I hear where it is.

"Indolent as I have confessed myself to be, I could not, you see, miss this good and safe opportunity of sending you a few lines, with my best wishes for your happiness, and that of the whole dear and amiable family in whose sweet society I have spent so many happy hours. Mr. Jones* tells me he shall have a pleasure in being the bearer of my letter, of which I make no doubt; I learn from him, that to your drawing, and music, and painting, and poetry, and Latin, you have added a proficiency in chess; so that you are, as the French say, *remplie de Talens.* May they and you fall to the lot of one that shall duly value them, and love you as much as I do. B. FRANKLIN."

"*M. Dumas.*

"Passy, Oct. 9, 1780.

"Dear Sir,—I received yours of 29th September, and 3d October.—It is a very good addition you made to your memoir for the ministers of Russia and Sweden. I am glad to find you are again on such good terms with the ambassador, as to be invited to his comedy. I doubt not of your continuing to cultivate that good understanding.—I like much your insertions in the gazettes. Such things have good effects.

"Your information relative to the transactions at Petersburg, and in Denmark, are very interesting, and afforded me a good deal of satisfaction; particularly the former.—Mr. Searle will have the pleasure of seeing you. I recommend him warmly to your civilities. He is much your friend, and will advise Mr. Laurens to make you his secretary, which I hope you will accept. I have given it as my opinion, that Mr. L. can no where find one better qualified, or more deserving. The choice is left to that minister, and he is impowered to give a salary of £500 sterling a year. I am in pain on account of his not being yet arrived; but hope you will see him soon.—I request you would find means to introduce Mr. Searle to the Portuguese ambassador.—Pray consider the enclosed papers, and after advising with your friend, give me your opinion as to the manner of the application to the states general, whether I should make it through their ambassador, or directly with a letter to the Grand Pensionary, or in what other manner. You know we wrote to him formerly, and received no answer. B. FRANKLIN."

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* Daughter of Dr. Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph.

* Afterwards sir William Jones, who married into the bishop of St. Asaph's family.

"You say nothing of Mr. Adams? How do you stand with him? What is he doing?"

"*To Dr. Rushton, London.*

"PASSY, Oct. 9, 1780.

"SIR,—I received and read with pleasure your thoughts on American Finance, and your scheme of a Bank. I communicated them to the Abbé Morellet, who is a good judge of the subject, and he has translated them into French. He thinks them generally very just, and very clearly expressed; I shall forward them to a friend in the congress. That body is, as you suppose, not well skilled in financing. But their deficiency in knowledge has been amply supplied by good luck. They issued an immense quantity of paper-bills, to pay, clothe, arm, and feed their troops, and fit out ships; and with this paper, without taxes for the first three years, they fought and baffled one of the most powerful nations of Europe. They hoped, notwithstanding its quantity, to have kept up the value of their paper. In this they were mistaken. It depreciated gradually. But this depreciation, though in some circumstances inconvenient, has had the general good and great effect, of operating as a tax, and perhaps the most equal of all taxes, since it depreciated in the hands of the holders of money, and thereby taxed them in proportion to the sums they held and the time they held it, which generally is in proportion to men's wealth. Thus, after having done its business, the paper is reduced to the sixtieth part of its original value. Having issued 200 millions of dollars, the congress stopped, and supplied themselves by borrowing. These sums were borrowed at different periods during the progress of the depreciation; those who lent to the public, thereby fixed the value of the paper they lent, since it is to be repaid in silver according to its value at the time of the loan. The rest went on depreciating; and the depreciation is at length only stopped by the vast nominal sums called in easily by taxes, and which will be by that means destroyed. Thus so much of the public debt has been in this manner insensibly paid, that the remainder, which you desire to know, does not exceed six millions sterling. And now they are working with new paper expressed to be equal in value to silver, which they have made to bear interest; and I have provided such funds to pay that interest, that probably its original value will be supported. In the meantime the vigour of their military operations is again revived, and they are now as able, with respect to money, to carry on the war, as they were at the beginning, and much more so with regard to troops, arms, and discipline. It is also an increasing nation, sixty thousand children having been born annually in the United States since the beginning of the war; while their enemies are said to be diminishing. I am, sir, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Price.*

"PASSY, October 9, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,—Besides the pleasure of their company, I had the great satisfaction of hearing by your two valuable friends, and learning from your letter, that you enjoy a good state of health. May God continue it, as well for the good of mankind, as for your comfort. I thank you much for the second edition of your excellent pamphlet: I forwarded that you sent to Mr. Dana, he being in Holland. I wish also to see the piece you have written, (as Mr. Jones tells me) on toleration: I do not expect that your new parliament will be either wiser or honester than the last. All projects to procure an honest one, by place bills, &c. appear to me vain and impracticable. The true cure I imagine is to be found only in rendering all places unprofitable, and the king too poor to give bribes and pensions. 'Till this is done, which can only be by a revolution, and I think you have not virtue enough left to procure one, your nation will always be plundered; and obliged to pay by taxes the plunderers for plundering and ruining. Liberty and virtue therefore join in the call, COME OUT OF HER, MY PEOPLE! I am fully of your opinion respecting religious tests; but though the people of Massachusetts have not in their new constitution kept quite clear of them; yet if we consider what that people were one hundred years ago, we must allow they have gone greater lengths in liberality of sentiment, on religious subjects: and we may hope for greater degrees of perfection, when their constitution some years hence shall be revised. If christian preachers had continued to teach as Christ and his apostles did, without salaries, and as the Quakers now do, I imagine tests would never have existed: for I think they were invented not so much to secure religion itself as the emoluments of it. When a religion is good, I conceive that it will support itself; and when it cannot support itself, and God does not take care to support it, so that its professors are obliged to call for the help of the civil power, 'tis a sign, I apprehend, of its being a bad one. But I shall be out of my depth if I wade any deeper in theology, and I will not trouble you with politics, nor with news which are almost as uncertain: but conclude with a heartfelt wish to embrace you once more, and enjoy your sweet society in peace, among our honest, worthy, ingenious friends at the *London.*—Adieu, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

Dr. Franklin, from Newport, Rhode Island.

"October 10, 1780.

"By this ship you will receive an account of the treason and apostacy of one of our greatest generals (who went over from us to the enemy 25th September last) and the happy detection of it before the treason was carried into execution. General Arnold has buried all his military glory, and sent his name down in history execrated with contempt and infamy. He will be despised not only by us in the United States, but by all the nations of Europe, and in all future ages. There is reason to believe that he meditated with the reduction of West-Point on the 27th September, the betraying at the same time of general Washington and the minister of France into the hands of the enemy; for his excellency the chevalier de la Luzerne told me, that passing through West-Point on his way hither on the 24th, the day before the detection, general Arnold importuned him even to indecency to tarry and rest there four or five days. And Arnold also knew that general Washington would meet there about the same time on his return from an interview with the French officers at Hartford. General Arnold is a loss. But America is so fertile in patriots, that we can afford to lose a capital patriot or two every year without any essential injury to the glorious cause of *liberty* and *independence.* The greatest injury he can do us will be in information. However the present state of the American army is now so good, as that the most thorough knowledge of it will rather do us benefit that an injury. The seasonable execution of major Andre (the seducer) adjutant-general of the British army, on the 2d instant, will probably deter such adventurers for the future.

"Congress and the assemblies through the states continue firm and unshaken; and they have a cordial support in the union of the main body of the people at large, notwithstanding the efforts of *tories* and governmental connexions intermixt in all parts, whose Sysiphean labours only pull ruin upon themselves.

"The storm still blows heavy. But our ship will ride it through. With joy we look forward, and with undoubting assurance anticipate the sweets and the final triumph of the American liberty.

From Dr. Jebb.

"LONDON, Oct. 11, 1780.

"THE consciousness of a sincere desire to promote the interests of human kind, as far as my confined abilities and humble station will permit, induce me to give you my sentiments upon a subject which, I have no doubt, is ever present to your thoughts. Excuse the presumption; the intention is honest; let this consideration compensate for the want of every other qualification. Independent in my principles and unconnected with party, I speak those sentiments, which circumstances appear to me to dictate, and I speak them without reserve.

"A federal union between America and England, upon the broad basis of mutual convenience, appears to me a point of so much consequence, that I cannot conceive, in the present circumstances, how either country can fully enjoy the means of happiness, which indulgent Providence has poured forth on each with so much profusion, unless such union immediately take place.

"I also am persuaded, that the present war between this country and the house of Bourbon, is of so peculiar a kind, that no solid reason can be assigned for its continuance, a moment after America and England shall cordially agree upon a termination of their dispute.

"It is obviously for the advantage of England, that America should employ her manufacturers, and that her fleets should have free access to the shores, from whence she derived those various sources of strength, which enabled her so long to reign the unrivalled mistress of the deep.

"On the other hand, the rising states of America, wisely intent on such measures, as tend to increase their population, and perfect those forms of civil polity, which, at the same time that they promise internal security and happiness, will probably establish an asylum for the rest of mankind, must derive considerable advantage from the free importation of those articles, which, in their present circumstances, they cannot with convenience manufacture themselves.

"And why should England envy to France and Spain, nay, to all the world, that portion of trade, whatever that be, which suits the circumstances of each power; and from which all deriving the sources of rational enjoyment would, perhaps, remain in the same ratio as at present, with respect to relative strength?

"How strange therefore to persevere in an appeal to arms, when neutral interest, and the ties of blood; the sameness of religion, language, and laws, so loudly call for peace! We might reasonably have hoped, that in the course of eighteen centuries the gospel of peace might have suggested to us a more rational mode of terminating our contests.

"As it never was the interest, so neither was it in fact the inclination of the English people, to break the bonds of union with their American brethren, until seduced thereto by the arts of designing men. Their motives I leave to themselves—they will be revealed in their day.

"Had the English people been equally represented in an annual parliament, that parliament, acting in strict conformity with the interests of its constituents, would have seen that every consideration required, that the bond of union between the countries should be preserved inviolate.—It would have perceived, that those restrictions, which were the offspring of the occasion, or suggested by narrow systems of policy, ought to have been removed the moment that they occasioned the first murmur of complaint.—But unhappily for England, the love of arbitrary sway so far operated upon those, who most are exposed to its temptations, as to engage them in the desperate measure of deluding one half of the empire, in order to subjugate the rest.

"The period of this delusion, however, is now rapidly advancing to its termination. Calamity has brought home the perception of the consequences, attendant upon national error, to every private breast.—It has taught us wisdom—and has begun to humanize our hearts.—The many are now ready to exclaim, in the expressive language of scripture, 'We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear; *therefore is this evil come upon us.*'

"But although the people are disposed to accommodation, a mighty power continues to oppose itself to the general wish.

"And were the aristocratic strength of our constitution to prevail in its conflict with that power, I am far from being satisfied, that a general and permanent pacification would be the result.

"The restoration of the English constitution to its primeval purity, appears to be an essential preliminary to an honourable and lasting peace.

"Peace and war are relations which the inhabitants of different countries stand in to each other. In this sense the people of America are not at war with the people of England. The latter having lost their power of self-government, are merely the instruments of administration. *The present war is a war between the people of America and the administration of this country.* Were the inhabitants of this country restored to their elective rights, and other constitutional franchises, a state of peace would immediately ensue.

"Upon this idea alone can America have a proper security for the due observance of that solemn compact, which I should rejoice to see established between my native country, and her free and independent states.

"The supporters of the septennial bill, at the time that ruinous and unconstitutional measure took place, strongly insisted upon the advantage that would ensue from that increased confidence, which foreign nations would thenceforth repose in us, on account of the consequent stability of our public counsels.

"Experience has shown this measure to have been founded in policy the most unwise.

"Reason surely dictates, that the confidence, which nations repose in each other's public counsels, must be the greatest, when the agents speak the real sentiments of their constitutent bodies.

"It is also to be considered, that the changes of sentiment, in the constituent body of the nation, must unavoidably be gradual, as general interest, always slowly unveiling itself, shall direct. Whereas the agent, who has a permanent estate in his office, will vary his conduct in conformity to the quick revolutions of those numerous temptations, to which views of private interest, and prospects of power hourly expose him.

"For England therefore to be free, and to regain the confidence of nations, her parliaments must be free and independent: and the same measure which gives independency to the English parliament, will, under God's providence, restore to us peace with America, and with all the world.

"I write not thus, induced thereto solely from an attachment to my native soil—the world is my country—and the region which is the seat of freedom has in my eyes charms more attractive than my native soil. I write not thus from an attachment to a favourite measure, but from a full conviction that such a preliminary as I have mentioned, being inserted in every proposition for peace on the part of America, would lay a lasting foundation for that peace—and would be a perpetual security that the independence, which America so justly claims, and in the establishment of which every nation under heaven is interested, would never be brought into question to the end of time.

"The sum and substance of what I urge is this—That as a more equal representation of the English people, in annual parliaments, is a point essential to the restoration of our freedom; it is equally essential, as a foundation for a federal union with the American states.

"After all—the changes in the affairs of men, whether they be revolutions in the fortunes of nations, or of individuals, are in the hands of Providence; and are directed by its resistless power to the general good. That good will finally prevail, whatever the hearts and heads of politicians may devise. The only differences will be, a difference in the time and manner in which the ends of Providence are brought to pass; and a difference in the final fate of those who are employed as the means of their accomplishment.

"The fell destroyers of their species shall see their measures, though planned with Machiavelian policy, and for a time successful, finally abortive—failing in the attainment of the end wished for, and productive of the good they hate.

"On the contrary, if virtue, honour, zeal for the interests of our country and of humankind, form the outline of the character, the agent of Heaven will be renowned in his day; and long futurity, through every successive age, shall impart increase of glory. The joys of self-complacency shall gild the evening of his days. They will also be the earnest of an happiness which will know no bounds.

"JOHN JEBB."

"*M. Dumas.*

"Passy, 6th November, 1780.

"Dear Sir,—My grandfather has been for a long time past laid up with the gout, and is so still. He directs me to inform you that he has received several of your letters, which he has not as yet been able to answer; he hopes however, that in a few days he shall be able to do it, as his sufferings are much diminished.

"You have heard, I suppose, of the arrival at Brest of M. de Guichen.

"W. T. FRANKLIN."

"*Sir Grey Cooper.*

"Passy, November 7, 1780.

Sir,—I understand that Mr. Laurens, an American gentleman, for whom I have a great esteem, is a prisoner in the Tower, and that his health suffers by the closeness and rigour of his confinement. As I do not think that your affairs receive any advantage from the harshness of this proceeding, I take the freedom of requesting your kind interposition, to obtain for him such a degree of air and liberty on his parole or otherwise, as may be necessary for his health and comfort. The fortune of war, which is daily changing, may possibly put it in my power to do the like good office for some friend of yours, which I shall perform with much pleasure, not only for the sake of humanity, but in respect to the ashes of our former friendship.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Sir Grey Cooper to Dr. Franklin.

"London, November 29, 1780.

"Sir,—I have received the honour of your letter, in which you acquainted me, that you understood that the health of Mr. Laurens suffered by the closeness and rigour of his confinement in the Tower, and after complaining of the harshness of this proceeding, you request me to endeavour to obtain for Mr. Laurens, such a degree of air and liberty as may be necessary for his health and comfort. The enclosed letter, which I received from the lieutenant-governor of the Tower, will show that I have not been inattentive to your request, and at the same time prove that the intelligence you receive of what passes in this country, is not always what is to be depended on for its accuracy and correctness.

"GREY COOPER."

[enclosed in the foregoing.]

From the Lieutenant-Governor of the Tower of London, to Sir Grey Cooper.

"Hampstead, Nov. 27, 1780.

"Dear Sir,—I am much ashamed to think I shall appear so dilatory in answering the favour of your letter, but the truth is, I was not in town when the messenger left it in Cork-street, and by the neglect of my servants, I received it only on Sunday last. I went immediately to the Tower, to know from Mr. Laurens himself, if he had any cause of complaint, and if he had availed himself of the indulgence allowed him by the secretary of state, of walking within the Tower whenever it was agreeable to himself; his answer to me was full and frank to the questions, that he had received every reasonable indulgence since his confinement: and that by the liberty allowed him of walking, he found his health much mended. He said at the same time, he had always thought himself highly honoured, by the distinguished place of his confinement, and regretted much it was not in his power, to make known to all the world the acknowledgments he had more than once made to me upon this subject.*

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* The tenor of the foregoing does not quadrate with the sentiments expressed by Mr. Laurens, about a year

"I beg you will do me the favour to communicate these particulars to lord George Germaine as soon as convenient.

"CH. VERNON."

James Lovell.

"Passy, December 2, 1780.

"Sir,—I duly received your several favours of August the 15th and September 7th, with the resolves of congress, for drawing on me bills extraordinary to the amount of near three hundred thousand dollars; to keep up the credit of congress, I had already engaged for those drawn on Mr. Laurens; you cannot conceive how much these things perplex and distress me. For the practice of this government, being yearly to apportion the revenue to the several expected services, any after-demands made which the treasury is not furnished to supply, meet with great difficulty, and are very disagreeable to the ministers. To enable me to look these drafts in the face, I have agreed to a proposal contained in the enclosed letter, to the president of furnishing provisions to the king's forces in America, which proposal I hope will be approved and executed, and that the congress will strictly comply with the assurances you have given me, not to draw on me any more without first knowing that they have funds in my hands.

"I wrote to you more fully by captain Jones; he sailed some time since in the Ariel; but met with a severe storm, that entirely dismasted him, and obliged him to put back for France. He has been long re-fitting, but will sail again soon, every thing goes well here.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Samuel Huntingdon, President of Congress.*

"Passy, December 2, 1780.

"Sir,—The many mutual advantages that must arise from carrying into execution, the proposition already communicated to congress, of furnishing provisions to the king's forces in America, to be paid for here, have, I make no doubt, already induced them to begin the operation. But as the proposition has lately been renewed to me, on occasion of my requesting further aids of money to answer the unexpected drafts upon me, ordered by the resolutions of May and August last, which drafts it is absolutely necessary I should find funds to pay, and as the congress have long desired to have the means of forming funds in Europe, and an easier, cheaper, and safer method cannot possibly be conceived; and as I see by the journals of February, that the several states were to furnish provisions in quantities instead of supplies in money, whereby much will be in the disposition of congress; I flatter myself, that they will not disapprove of my engaging in their behalf, with the minister of the finances here; that they will cause to be delivered for the king's land and sea forces in North America, such provisions as may be wanted from time to time, to the amount of four hundred thousand dollars, value of five livres Tournois, per dollar the said provisions to be furnished at the current prices for which they might be bought for silver specie. I have constantly done my utmost to support the credit of congress, by procuring wherewith punctually to pay all their drafts, and I have no doubt of their care to support mine in this instance, by fulfilling honourably my engagement, in which case, receipts in due form should be taken of the persons to whom the provisions are delivered in the several states, and those receipts sent to me here." B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. This value of four hundred thousand dollars, is to be considered as exclusive of any provisions already furnished: but the receipts for those should also be sent me if not paid for there."

To the same.

"Passy, December 3, 1780.

"Sir,—I duly received the letter your excellency did me the honour of writing to me, the 12th of July past, by Mr. Searle, and have paid the bills drawn on me by order of congress, in favour of the president and council of Pennsylvania, for one thousand pounds sterling, which were presented by him. He is at present in Holland.

"The news of Mr. Laurens being taken must have reached you long since. He is confined in the Tower, but of late has some more liberty for taking air and exercise than first was allowed him. Certain papers found with him relating to the drafts of a treaty proposed in Holland, have been sent over to the stadtholder, who laid them before their high mightinesses, who communicated them to the government of the city of Amsterdam; which justified the transaction. This has drawn from England, a memorial delivered by sir Jo-

afterwards in his petition to the house of commons, written by himself in the Tower, with a black lead pencil, on a blank leaf of an octavo book, and privately conveyed to Mr. Burke, who presented it in that state to the house. In this petition, dated Dec. 7, 1781, he expressly states: "That he was captured on the American coast, and committed to the Tower on the 6th of October, 1780, being then dangerously ill: that in the meantime he has in many respects, particularly by being deprived (with very little exception) of the visits and consolations of his children and other relations and friends, suffered under a degree of rigour, almost, if not altogether, unexampled in modern British history

"That from long confinement, and the want of proper exercise, and other obvious causes, his bodily health is greatly impaired, and that he is now in a languishing state," &c. &c. (See Dodsley's Annual Register for 1781 and 1782.)

seph Yorke, demanding that the pensionary and magistrates of that city, should be punished; and declaring that the king will resent a refusal of the states to comply with this demand. What answer will be given to this insolent memorial we do not yet know. But I hear it has produced much displeasure in Holland, and it is thought to have occasioned a more prompt accession to the armed neutrality which had before met with obstructions from the English party there.

"We have met with a variety of unaccountable delays and difficulties in the affair of shipping the clothing and stores. The Alliance went away without taking her part. The Ariel sailed, but met a storm at sea that dismasted her, and obliged her to return to France. She is nearly again ready to sail. Mr. Ross, with his cargo of clothes in the duke of Leinster, sailed under convoy of the Ariel, but did not return with her, and I hope may get safe to America. The great ship we hired to come to L'Orient, and take in the rest of what we had to send, has been long unexpectedly detained at Bourdeaux. I am afraid the army has suffered for want of the clothes, but it has been as impossible for me to avoid, as it was to foresee these delays.

"The late minister of the marine here, M. de Sartine, is removed, and his place supplied by M. le marquis de Castries. But this change does not affect the general system of the court, which continues favourable to us.

"I have received a copy of the resolutions of congress of the 19th of May, and the 9th, 15th, 23d, and 30th of August, directing bills to be drawn on me for near 300,000 dollars. I shall accept the bills, hoping the congress will approve of, and readily comply with the proposition contained in a letter to your excellency accompanying this, dated the 2d instant. Probably an answer may arrive here before many of those bills shall become due, as few of them are yet arrived. If that answer ratifies the agreement I have made, I shall have no difficulty in finding means to pay the rest. If not, I shall scarce be able to bear the reproaches of merchants, that I have misled them to their loss, by my acceptations, which gave a promise of payment, that not being fulfilled, has deranged their affairs, to say nothing of the power I am told the consul's court here has over the persons even of ministers, in cases of bills of exchange. Let me therefore beg your excellency to use your endeavours with congress, that this matter may be immediately attended to.

"Mr. Jay, no doubt, has made you acquainted with his difficulties respecting the drafts upon him. I am sorry I cannot extricate him, but I hope he will still find means.

"The Mars, an armed ship belonging to the state of Massachusetts, in her way to France, took, and sent to New England, a Portuguese ship, bound to Cork, with salt, belonging to some merchant there. The Portuguese captain, who is brought in here, complains heavily of ill usage and plunder, besides taking his vessel, and the ambassador of that nation has communicated to me these complaints, together with all the papers, proving the property of the vessel; representing, at the same time, the good disposition of the queen to our states, and his wishes that nothing might lessen it, or tend to prevent or delay a complete good understanding between the two nations. I advised that the owners should send over their claim, and impower some persons to prosecute it, in which case, I did not doubt our courts would do them justice. I hope the congress may think fit to take some notice of this affair, and not only forward a speedy decision, but give orders to our cruizers not to meddle with neutral ships for the future, it being a practice apt to produce ill blood, and contrary to the spirit of the new league which is approved by all Europe; and the English property found in such vessels will hardly pay the damages brought on us by the irregular proceedings of our captains, in endeavouring to get at such property.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*M. Dumas.*

"Passy, December 3, 1780.

"Dear Sir,—I have before me yours of the 9th and 16th of November, which I think are the last I received from you.

"With regard to the augmentation of your salary, I would not have you place too great a dependence on it, lest a disappointment should thereby be rendered more afflicting.

"If a good peace were once established, we should soon be richer, and better able to reward those that serve us.—At present the expense of the war hangs heavy on the United States, and we cannot pay like old and rich kingdoms.

"Mr. W. Lee has, as you observe, acted very imprudently in that affair: but perhaps some good may come of it.

"Mr. Adams has written to me for a copy of a letter I formerly wrote to 873, 373, 657. If you have such a one please to give it to him. I remember of but one, which went with a copy of 873, 897, 948, 337. I imagine that he rather means a letter I wrote to you, in which I represented our girl as a jolly one, and who would be a good fortune in time, &c. I have no copy of that. If you still have that letter, please to give Mr. Adams a copy of that also.

"I wish much to see the answer, that their high mightinesses will give to the insolent memorial presented by sir Joseph Yorke. If they comply with it, and punish or censure the pensionary of Amsterdam, I shall think it a *pièrre de touche* for the stadtholder as well as for the king of England; and that neither Mr. Adams will be safe at Amsterdam, nor our ships in any port of Holland. Let me therefore know by the earliest means the turn this affair is like to take, that I may advertise our government and our merchants.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"Passy, Jan. 18, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—Since my last I have been favoured by yours of December 1, 7, 14, 21, 25, and January 1, by which you have kept me constantly well informed of the state of affairs. Accept my thanks. You may depend on my mentioning your diligence and services to congress in the manner they merit.

"Though I have been some weeks free from the gout, my feet are still tender, and my knees feeble, so that going up and down stairs is exceedingly difficult and inconvenient to me. This has prevented my going much out, so that I had not the honour I wished of waiting on the ambassador when he was here, and paying the respects I owe him; and he returned suddenly.

"I much approve of the step you took the 16th of December, before Messrs. Adams and Searle. I received the copy. I wondered to find that you had not in Holland, on the 28th, received the declaration of war, but have since learnt how it happened. Surely there never was a more unjust war; it is manifestly such from their own manifesto. The spirit of rapine dictated it; and in my opinion every man in England who fits out a privateer to take advantage of it, has the same spirit, and would rob on the highway in his own country, if he was not restrained by fear of the gallows. They have qualified poor captain Jones, with the title of pirate, who was only at war with England: but if it be a good definition of a pirate that he is *hostis humani generis*, they are much more pirates than he, having already made great progress towards being at war with all the world. If God governs, as I firmly believe, it is impossible such wickedness should long prosper.

"You will receive this by Mr. Deane, who has a great regard for you, and whom I recommend to your civilities; though the gentleman at present with you may be prejudiced against him: prejudices that time will cause to vanish, by showing they were groundless. I enclose a packet for Leyden, which I shall be glad to hear is delivered safe, and therefore desire your care of it.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. Jan. 20. Since writing the above, I have received yours of the 12th instant. I am glad to hear that the affairs of the republic have taken so good a turn in Russia. If not inconvenient or improper, I should be glad to hear what passed relating to public affairs while 67 was at your 31, and whether he saw 25, &c.

"With this you will receive three letters for Mr. Laurens, which I request you would forward to Mr. Adams.

"Be of good courage, and keep up your spirits. Your last letter has a melancholy turn. Do you take sufficient bodily exercise? Walking is an excellent thing for those whose employment is chiefly sedentary."

"*Sir Edward Newenham, Dublin.*

"Passy, Feb. 12, 1781.

"Sir,—I have received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me the 12th ult. Enclosed with this, I send you the passport desired, which I hope will be respected and effectual. With great esteem I have the honour to be, B. FRANKLIN."

"To all captains and commanders of vessels of war belonging to the thirteen United States of America, or either of them, or to any of the citizens of the said States, or to any of the allies thereof.

"Gentlemen,—It being authentically represented to me, that the worthy citizens of Dublin, touched with the general calamities with which Divine providence has thought fit lately to visit the West India Islands, have charitably resolved to contribute to their relief, by sending them some provisions and clothing; and as the principles of common humanity require of us to assist our fellow-creatures, though enemies, when distressed by the hand of God, and by no means to impede the benevolence of those who commiserate their distresses, and would alleviate them; I do hereby earnestly recommend it to you, that if the ship or vessel in which the said charitable supplies will be sent to the said islands, should by fortune of war fall into any of your hands, and it shall appear to you by her authentic papers that the cargo is *bona fide* composed of such beneficent donations only, and not of merchandise intended to be sold for the profit of the shippers; you would kindly and generously permit the said vessel to pass to the place of her destination: in doing of which, you will not only have the present and lasting satisfaction of having gratified your own humane and pious feelings as men and as Christians, but will undoubtedly recommend yourselves to the favour of God, of the congress, of your employers, and of your country.

"Wishing you success in your cruises, I have the honour to be, gentlemen, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN.

"Minister plenipotentiary from the United States at the Court of France."

"*Count de Vergennes.*

"Passy, February 13, 1781.

"Sir,—I have just received from congress their letter for the king, which I have the honour of putting herewith into the hands of your excellency.

"I am charged at the same time to represent, in the strongest terms, the unalterable resolution of the United States, to maintain their liberties and independence, and inviolably to adhere to the alliance at every hazard, and in every event; and that the misfortunes of the last campaign, instead of repressing, have redoubled their ardour; that congress are resolved to employ every resource in their power to expel the enemy from every part of the United States, by the most vigorous and decisive co-operation with the marine and other forces of their illustrious ally: that they have accordingly called on the several states, for a powerful army and ample supplies of provisions; and that the states are disposed effectually to comply with their requisitions.

"That if in aid of their own exertions, the court of France can be prevailed on to assume a naval superiority in the American seas, to furnish the arms, ammunition, and clothing specified in the estimate heretofore transmitted, and to assist with the loan mentioned in the letter, they flatter themselves that under the Divine blessings, the war must speedily be terminated with glory and advantage to both nations. By several letters to me from intelligent persons, it appears, that the great and expensive exertions of the last year, by which a force was assembled capable of facing the enemy, and which accordingly drew towards New York and lay long near that city, was rendered ineffectual by the superiority of the enemy at sea, and that their success in Carolina had been chiefly owing to that superiority, and to the want of the necessary means for furnishing, marching, and paying the expense of troops, sufficient to defend that province.

"The marquis de la Fayette writes to me, that it is impossible to conceive, without seeing it, the distress the troops have suffered for want of clothing; and the following is a paragraph of a letter from general Washington, which I ought not to keep back from your excellency, viz.

"'I doubt not you are so fully informed by congress of our political and military state, that it would be superfluous to trouble you with any thing relative to either. If I were to speak on topics of the kind, it would be to show, that our present situation makes one of two things essential to us—a *peace*—or the most vigorous aid of our allies, particularly in the article of *money;* of their disposition to serve us we cannot doubt: their generosity will do every thing, their means will permit.'

"They had in America great expectations, I know not on what foundation, that a considerable supply of money would be obtained from Spain, but that expectation has failed: and the force of that nation in those seas has been employed to reduce small forts in Florida, without rendering any direct assistance to the United States; and indeed the long delay of that court, in acceding to the treaty of commerce, begins to have the appearance of its not inclining to have any connexion with us; so that, for effectual friendship, and for the aid so necessary in the present conjuncture, we can rely on France alone, and in the continuance of the king's goodness towards us.

"I am grown old, I feel myself much enfeebled by my late long illness, and it is probable I shall not long have any more concern in these affairs. I therefore take this occasion to express my opinion to your excellency, that the present conjuncture is critical; that there is some danger lest the congress should lose its influence over the people, if it is found unable to procure the aids that are wanted; and that the whole system of the new government in America may thereby be shaken.

"That if the English are suffered once to recover that country, such an opportunity of effectual separation as the present, may not occur again in the course of ages; and that the possession of those fertile and extensive regions, and that vast sea-coast, will afford them so broad a basis for future greatness, by the rapid growth of their commerce, and breed of seamen and soldiers, as will enable them to become the terror of Europe, and to exercise with impunity that insolence which is so natural to their nation, and which will increase enormously with the increase of their power. B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"Passy, March 6, 1781.

"Sir,—By perceiving the enclosed instructions to colonel Laurens and myself, your excellency will see the necessity I am under, of being importunate for an answer to the application lately made for aids of stores and money.

"As vessels are about to depart for America, it is of the utmost importance that congress should receive advice by some of them, of what may or may not be expected.—

I therefore earnestly entreat your excellency to communicate to me as soon as possible the necessary information.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mons. Nogaret.*

"Passy, March 8, 1781

"Sir,—I received the letter you have done me the honour of writing to me the 2d instant, wherein, after overwhelming me with a flood of compliments, which I can never hope to merit, you request my opinion of your translation of a Latin verse, that has been applied to me.* If I were, which I really am not, sufficiently skilled in your excellent language to be a proper judge of its poesy, the supposition of my being the subject must restrain me from giving any opinion on that line, except that it ascribes too much to me, especially in what relates to the tyrant; the revolution having been the work of many able and brave men, wherein it is sufficient honour for me if I am allowed a small share.

"I am much obliged by the favourable sentiments you are pleased to entertain of me; and I shall be glad to see your remarks on Gay's Fan, as well as your own poem on the same subject. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Memorial to the States-General of the Low Countries.*

"High and Mighty Lords,—The subscriber, a minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America, has the honour to lay before your high mightinesses, as one of the high contracting parties to the maritime treaty lately concluded, relative to the rights of neutral vessels, a resolution of congress of the fifth of October last, concerning the same subject.

"As the American resolution furnished the occasion of a reformation in the maritime law of nations, of so much importance to a free communication among mankind by sea, the subscriber hopes it may not be thought improper, that the United States should become parties to it, entitled to its benefits, and subjected to its duties—to this end, the subscriber has the honour of requesting, that the resolution of congress may be taken into the consideration of your high mightinesses, and transmitted to the courts of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.

"The subscriber begs leave to subjoin, that he should esteem it one of the most fortunate events of his life, if this proposition should meet with the approbation of your high mightinesses, and the other powers who are parties to the neutral confederacy, and he should be admitted, as the instrument of pledging the faith of the United States, to the observance of regulations, which do so much honour to the present age. JOHN ADAMS.

"*The Hague, 8th March*, 1781."

"*John Adams to Prince Gallitzin.*

"Leyden, March 8, 1781.

"Sir,—I have lately received from congress, as one of their ministers plenipotentiary, their resolution of the 5th of October last, relative to the rights of neutral vessels, a copy of which I do myself the honour to enclose to your excellency, as the representative of one of the high contracting parties to the maritime treaty lately concluded, concerning this subject.

"As I am fixed by my duty, for the present, to this part of Europe, I have no other way of communicating this measure of congress to the northern courts, but by the favour of their ministers in this republic. I must therefore request of your excellency, if their is no impropriety in it, to transmit the resolution to the minister of foreign affairs of her imperial majesty.

"Your excellency will permit me to add, that I should esteem myself very fortunate, to be the instrument of pledging, in form, the faith of the United States of America to a reformation, in the maritime law of nations, which does so much honour to the present age. JOHN ADAMS."

"*M. Rayneval, secretary to the council of state.*

"Passy, March 11, 1781.

"Sir,—I have examined the list of supplies wanted in America, which I received yesterday from you, in order to mark, as desired, what may be most necessary to forward thither. As that list is of old date, and I do not know what part of it may have been already procured by other channels, and I understand by my letters, that a new list has been made out, which is given to colonel Laurens, and though mentioned to be sent to me also, is not yet come to my hands, I have thought it may be well for the present to order the making of a quantity of soldiers' and officers' clothing, equal to one third part of what has been demanded from page 31 to page 42, inclusive; and to collect and get ready also one third of the other articles mentioned in the said pages, which I have marked with a red line in the margin; the whole to be sent by the first good opportunity. I think it would be well also to send five thousand more good fusils, with fifty tons of lead, and two hundred thousand flints for fusils. If these could go with the fleet, it would be of great service. More powder is not necessary to be sent at present, as there goes in the marquis de la Fayette the remainder of the two thousand barrels granted last year, and also two hundred tons of salt petre, which they will make into powder. For the other articles that may be wanted, as colonel Laurens will come fully instructed, as well by the list given to him, as from his own observation and experience in the army, and from the informations he will receive from general Washington, with whom and the marquis de la Fayette, he was to consult before his departure, I conceive it will be best to wait a little for his arrival.

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* Eripuit Cœlo, Fulmen, Sceptrumque Tyrannis.

Thus translated by D'Alembert:—

"Tu vois le sage courageux
Dont l'heureux et male genie;
Arracha le tonnerre aux Dieux,
Et le sceptre a la tyrannei."

English translation by James Elphinston:—

"He snatcht the bolt from Heaven's avenging hand,
Disarm'd and drove the tyrant from the land."

Another:—

"He snatch'd thunder from the heavens,
And the sceptre from the hands of tyrants."

"I return the lists, and having by some unaccountable accident mislaid and lost the paper* you gave me containing what count de Vergennes said to me yesterday, I must beg the favour of you to report it, and send it by the bearer. I am ashamed to give you this trouble, but I wish to be exact in what I am writing of it to congress. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Samuel Huntingdon, President of Congress.*

"Passy, March 12, 1781.

"Sir,—I had the honour of receiving, on the 13th of last month, your excellency's letter of the first of January, together with the instructions of November 28th and December 27th, a copy of those to colonel Laurens, and the letter to the king. I immediately drew up a memorial, enforcing as strongly as I could, the request contained in that letter, and directed by the instructions, and delivered the same with the letter, which were both well received; but the ministry being extremely occupied with other weighty affairs, and I obtaining for some time only general answers, that something would be done for us, &c. and Mr. Laurens not arriving, I wrote again, and pressed strongly for a decision on the subject, that I might be able to write explicitly by this opportunity, what aids the congress were or were not to expect—the regulation of their operations for the campaign depending on the information I should be enabled to give. Upon this I received a note appointing Saturday last for a meeting with the minister, which I attended punctually. He assured me of the king's good will to the United States; remarking, however, that being on the spot, I must be sensible of the great expense France was actually engaged in, and the difficulty of providing for it, which rendered the lending us twenty-five millions at present impracticable, but he informed me that the letter from the congress, and my memorial, had been under his majesty's consideration, and observed, as to loans in general, that the sum we wanted to borrow in Europe was large, and that the depreciation of our paper, hurt our paper on this side of the water, adding that the king could not possibly favour a loan for us in his dominions, because it would interfere with, and be a prejudice to those he was under the necessity of obtaining himself to support the war; but in order to justice, states a signal proof of his friendship, his majesty had resolved to grant them the sum of six millions, not as a loan, but as a free gift; this sum, the minister informed me, was exclusive of the three millions which he had before obtained for me, to pay the congress drafts, for interest, &c. expected in the current year. He added, that as it was understood the clothing, &c. with which our army had been heretofore supplied from France, was often of bad quality, and dear, the ministers themselves would take care of the purchase of such articles as should be immediately wanted, and send them over, and it was desired of me to look over the great invoice that had been sent hither last year, and mark out those articles; that as to the money remaining after such purchases, it was to be drawn for by general Washington, upon M. d'Harvelay, *garde du tresor royal*, and the bills would be duly honoured, but it was desired that they might be drawn gradually, as the money should be wanted, and as much time given for the payment, after sight, as could be conveniently, that the payment might be the more easy. I assured the minister, that the congress would be very sensible of this token of his majesty's continued goodness towards the United States, but remarked, that it was not the usage with us for the general to draw, and proposed that it might be our treasurer, who should draw the bills for the remainder, but was told that it was his majesty's order. And I afterwards understood from the secretary of the council, that as the sum was intended for the supply of the army, and could not be so large as we had demanded for general occasions, it was thought best to put it in the general's hands, that it might not get into those of the different boards or committees, who might think themselves under the necessity of diverting it to other purposes. There was no room to dispute on this point, every donor having the right of qualifying his gifts with such terms as he thinks proper. I took with me the invoice, and having examined it, I returned it immediately with a letter, of which a copy is enclosed, and I suppose its contents will be followed, unless colonel Laurens, on his arrival, should make any changes. I hope he and colonel Palfrey are safe, though as yet not heard of.

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* The paper was found soon after this letter was sent.

"After the discourse relating to the aid was ended, the minister proceeded to inform me, that the courts of Petersburg and Vienna had offered their mediation, that the king had answered it would to him personally be agreeable, but that he could not yet accept it, because he had allies whose concurrence was necessary. And that his majesty desired that I would acquaint the congress with this offer and answer, and urge their sending such instructions as they may think proper to their plenipotentiary, it being not doubted that they would readily accept the proposed mediation, from their own sense of its being both useful and necessary. I mentioned that I did suppose Mr. Adams was already furnished with instructions relating to any treaty of peace that might be proposed.

"I must now beg leave to say something relating to myself, a subject with which I have not often troubled the congress. I have passed my seventy-fifth year, and I find that the long and severe fit of the gout which I had the last winter, has shaken me exceedingly; and I am yet far from having recovered the bodily strength I before enjoyed. I do not know that my mental faculties are impaired. Perhaps I shall be the last to discover that; but I am sensible of great diminution in my activity, a quality, I think particularly necessary in your minister at this court. I am afraid therefore, that your affairs may some time or other suffer by my deficiency. I find also that the business is too heavy for me, and too confining. The constant attendance at home which is necessary for receiving and accepting your bills of exchange, (a matter foreign to my *ministerial functions*) to answer letters, and perform other parts of my employment, prevents my taking the air and exercise which my annual journies formerly used to afford me, and which contributed much to the preservation of my health. There are many other little personal attentions which the infirmities of age render necessary to an old man's comfort, even in some degree to the continuance of his existence, and with which business often interferes. I have been engaged in public affairs, and enjoyed public confidence in some shape or other during the long term of fifty years, an honour sufficient to satisfy any reasonable ambition, and I have no other left but that of repose, which I hope the congress will grant me by sending some person to supply my place.

"At the same time I beg they may be assured, that it is not any the least doubt of their success in the glorious cause, nor any disgust received in their service, that induces me to decline it, but purely and simply the reasons abovementioned; and as I cannot at present undergo the fatigues of a sea voyage, (the last having been almost too much for me) and would not again expose myself to the hazard of capture and imprisonment in this time of war, I purpose to remain here at least till the peace; perhaps it may be for the remainder of my life; and if any knowledge or experience I have acquired here, may be thought of use to my successor, I shall freely communicate it, and assist him with any influence I may be supposed to have, or counsel that may be desired of me.

"I have one request more to make, which, if I have served the congress to their satisfaction, I hope they will not refuse me. It is, that they will be pleased to take under their protection my grandson, William Temple Franklin. I have educated him from his infancy, and I brought him over with an intention of placing him where he might be qualified for the profession of the law, but the constant occasion I had for his services as a private secretary, during the time of the commissioners, and more extensively since their departure, has induced me to keep him always with me; and indeed being continually disappointed of the secretary congress had at different times intended me, it would have been impossible for me, without this young gentleman's assistance, to have gone through the business incumbent on me; he has thereby lost so much of the time necessary to law studies, that I think it rather advisable for him to continue, if it may be, in the line of public foreign affairs, for which he seems qualified by a sagacity and judgment above his years. Great diligence and exact probity, a genteel address, a facility in speaking well the French tongue, and all the knowledge of business to be obtained by a four years' constant employment in the secretary's office; where he may be said to have served a kind of apprenticeship. After all the allowance I am capable of making for the partiality of a parent to his offspring, I cannot but think he may in time make a very able foreign minister for the congress, in whose service his fidelity may be relied on; but I do not at present propose him as such, as a few years more of experience will not be amiss. In the mean time, if they shall think fit to employ him as a secretary to their minister at any European court, I am persuaded they will have reason to be satisfied with his conduct, and I shall be thankful for his appointment as a favour to me."

"*M. Dumas.*

"Passy, March 14, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—I have duly received your late letters, and thank you for the intelligence they contained. Your three letters to the president of congress, will go by different ships, and I hope you will succeed in your application for a farther allowance, which I think you merit, though I do not know what the difficulties are which you mention, as being involved in them by the congress. Please to explain them to me, that I may write about them more exactly. Your last news from Russia is very good, if true, that the independence of America is to be a fundamental article.

"The bearer, Mr. Hazlehurst, is a merchant of Philadelphia, who visits Holland with commercial views. He is a gentleman of excellent character and much esteemed there. I recommend him warmly to your civilities. Please to let me know how the loan goes on, and believe me ever. B. FRANKLIN."

"*M. Lafayette.*

(EXTRACT.)

"PASSY, March 14, 1781.

"You mention my having enemies in America. You are luckier, for I think you have none here, nor any where. Your friends have heard of your being gone against the traitor Arnold, and are anxious to hear of your success, and that you have brought him to justice. Enclosed is a copy of a letter from his agent in England, by which the price of his treason may be nearly guessed at. Judas sold only one man, Arnold three millions; Judas got for his one man 30 pieces of silver, Arnold not a half penny a head. A miserable bargainer! Especially when one considers the quantity of infamy he has acquired to himself, and entailed on his family.

"The English are in a fair way of gaining still more enemies; they play a desperate game. Fortune may favour them, as it sometimes does a drunken dicer; but by their tyranny in the east they have at lenth roused the powers there against them; and I do not know that they have in the west a single friend. If they loose their India commerce, which is one of their present great supports, and one battle at sea, their credit is gone, and the power follows. Thus empires by pride, and folly, and extravagance, ruin themselves like individuals. M. la Motte Piquet has snatched from between their teeth, a good deal of their West India prey, having taken 22 sail of their homeward bound prizes; one of our American privateers has taken two more, and brought them into Brest; and two were burnt. There were thirty-four in company, with two men of war of the line and two frigates; who saved themselves by flight, but we do not hear of their being yet got in.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Francis Lewis, and the board of admiralty.

"PASSY, March 17, 1781.

"GENTLEMEN,— I received the honour of yours, dated January the 2d, containing sundry questions relating to the ship Alliance, and the expedition under the command of John Paul Jones, esquire.

"I apprehend that the letters and papers sent by the Alliance, if they came to your hands, and those which went in the Ariel, taken together, would pretty well inform you of most of the particulars you inquire about, and the deficiencies might be supplied by captain Jones himself, and others who were engaged in the expedition. But as I learn from colonel Laurens, that his arrival was not heard of at Boston, the 11th of February, though he sailed the 18th of December, and possibly he may have miscarried, I shall endeavour to answer, as well as I can, your several queries, and will hereafter send you duplicates of the papers that may be lost. But I would previously remark, as to the expedition in general, that this court having, I suppose, some enterprise in view, which captain Jones, who had signalized his bravery in taking the Drake, was thought a proper person to conduct, had soon after the action requested we could spare him to them, which was the more readily agreed to, as a difference subsisted between him and his lieutenant, which laid us under a difficulty that was by that means got over. Some time passed, however, before any steps were taken to employ him in a manner agreeable to him, and possibly the first project was laid aside, many difficulties attending any attempt of introducing a foreign officer into the French marine, as it disturbs the order of their promotion, &c.; and he himself choosing to act rather under the commission of congress. However, a project was at length formed, of furnishing him with some of the king's ships, the officers of which were to have temporary American commissions, which being posterior in date to his commission, would put them naturally under his command for the time, and the final intention, after various changes, was to intercept the Baltic fleet. The Alliance was at that time under orders to carry Mr. Adams back to America, but the minister of the marine, by a written letter, requesting I would lend her to strengthen the little squadron, and offering a passage for Mr. Adams in one of the king's ships, I consented to the request, hoping, that besides obliging the minister, I might obtain the disposition of some prisoners, to exchange for our countrymen in England.

Questions of the Admiralty Board respecting the squadron under chevalier Jones, answered.

Question 1st. "Whether the ships with which the frigate Alliance was concerted in an expedition, of which captain John Paul Jones had the command, were the property of private persons, and if so, who were the owners of those ships?"

Answer. The ships with which the Alliance was concerted, were, 1st. the Bonhomme Richard, bought and fitted by the king on purpose for captain Jones. 2d. The Pallas frigate. 3d. The Vengeance, a corvette. 4th. The Cerf, a cutter, all belonging to the king, and the property of no private person whatever, as far as I have ever heard or believe.

Two privateers, the *Monsieur* and the *Granville*, were indeed with the little squadron on going out. I suppose to take advantage of its convoy, but being on their own account, and at their own discretion, the *Monsieur* quitted company on the coast of Ireland, and the *Granville* returned about the same time to France. I have not heard that the Monsieur ever claimed any part of the prizes; the Granville has made some claim on account, not only of what were taken while she was with the squadron, but of the whole taken after her departure, on this pretence, that some prisoners being put on board her, and losing company, she found herself obliged to go back with them, not having wherewith to maintain them, &c. but this claim is opposed by the other ships, being regarded as frivolous, as she was not concerted; the claim, however, is not yet decided; but hangs in the courts. These circumstances show that the vessels were not considered as a part of the armament. But it appears more plainly by the *concordat* of the captains, whereof I send you a copy. Who the owners were of those privateers, I have not heard. I suppose they may be inhabitants of Bourdeaux and Granville.

Question 2d. "Whether any agreement was made by you, or any person in your behalf, with the owners of the ships, connected with the Alliance, in that expedition respecting the shares they were severally to draw, of the prizes which might be taken during said expedition?"

Answer. I never made any such agreement, nor any person in my behalf. I lent the vessel to the king, simply at the minister's request, supposing it would be agreeable to congress to oblige their ally, and that the division, if there should be any thing to divide, would be according to the laws of France, or of America, as should be found most equitable. But the captains, before they sailed, entered into an agreement, called the *concordat* abovementioned, to divide, according to the rules of America, as they acted under American commissions and colours.

Question 3d. "Whether the Serapis and the Scarborough, and other captures made during said expedition, were divided among the captors, and the distribution made according to the resolutions of congress; and if not, what mode was pursued in making the distributions?"

Answer. No division has yet been made of the Serapis and Scarborough. It is but lately that I have heard of the money being ready for division at L'Orient. I suppose the mode will be, that agreed on by the captains.

Question 4th. "What were the neat proceeds of the Serapis, Scarborough, and the other prizes taken during the said expedition?"

Answer. I have not yet heard what were the neat proceeds of the prizes, nor have seen any account. As soon as such shall come to my hands, I will transmit it to you, and will endeavour to obtain it speedily. No satisfaction has yet been obtained for the prizes carried into Norway, and delivered up by the king of Denmark.

Question 5th. "What benefit the United States of America have received from the prisoners made during said expedition."

Answer. I did expect to have had all the prisoners taken by the squadron, to exchange for Americans, in consideration of my having lent the Alliance; and captain Pearson, engaged in behalf of the British government, by a written instrument, that those set on shore in Holland, should be considered as prisoners of war to the United States, and exchanged accordingly. But I was, nevertheless, disappointed in this expectation. For an exchange of all the prisoners being proposed to be made in Holland, it was found necessary, at that time, by the Dutch government, in order to avoid embroiling their state with England, that those prisoners should be considered as taken by France, and they were accordingly exchanged for Frenchmen, on the footing of the French cartel with England. This I agreed to, on the request of the French ambassador at the Hague, and also to avoid the risk of sending them by sea to France, (the English cruising, with seven ships, off the Texal, to retake them) and as it would be more convenient and certain for us to have an equal number of English, delivered to me by France, at or near Morlaix, to be sent over in the cartel. But the English government afterwards refused, very unjustly, to give any Americans in exchange for English that had not been taken by Americans. So we did not reap the benefit we hoped for.

Question 6th. "What orders were given to captain Landais?"

Answer. That we should obey the orders of captain Jones.

Question 7th. "What was the ground of the dispute between captain Jones and him?"

Answer. That when at sea together he refused to obey captain Jones's orders.

Question 8th. "What the disbursements were on the Alliance, from the time of her first arrival in France, until she left that kingdom?".

Answer. The disbursements on the Alliance, from the time of her first arrival in France till the commencement of the cruise under captain Jones, as appears by the accounts of Mr. Schweighauser, agent appointed by William Lee, Esq. amounted to——— ———which I paid. The disbursements on her refit in Holland were paid by the king, as were also those on her second refit, after her return to L'Orient, as long as she was under the care of captain Jones. But captain Landais, when he re-assumed the command of her, thought fit to take what he wanted, of Mr. Schweighauser's agent, to the amount of £31,668 12*s.* 3*d.* for which, it being contrary to my orders given to Mr. Schweighauser, on his asking them upon the occasion, I refused to pay, (my correspondence with him on the occasion will show you my reasons) and of those paid by the king I have no account.

Question 9th. "Why the Alliance lay so long at port L'Orient, after her arrival there from Texel, and in general, every information in your power respecting the Alliance, and the expedition referred to?"

Answer. Her laying so long at L'Orient, was first occasioned by the mutinous disposition of the officers and men, who refused to raise the anchors till they should receive wages and prize money. I did not conceive they had a right to demand payment of wages in a foreign country, or any where but at the port they came from, no one here knowing on what terms they were engaged, what they had received, or what was due to them. The prize money I wished them to have, but as that could not soon be obtained, I thought it wrong in them to detain the vessel on that account, and as I was informed many of them were in want of necessaries, I advanced twenty-four thousand livres on account, and put it into captain Jones's hands, to relieve and pacify them, that they might go more willingly. But they were encouraged by some meddling passengers to persist. The king would have taken the prizes, and paid for them, at the rate per gun, &c. as he pays for warlike vessels, taken by his ships, but they raised a clamour at this, it being put into their heads that it was a project for cheating them, and they demanded a sale by auction. The minister, who usually gives more, when ships are taken for the king, than they will produce by auction, readily consented to this, when I asked it of him; but then this method required time to have them inventoried, advertised in different ports, to create a fuller concurrence of buyers, &c. Captain Jones came up to Paris, to hasten the proceedings; in his absence, captain Landais, by the advice of Mr. Lee and commodore Gillon, took possession of the ship, and kept her long in writing up to Paris, waiting answers, &c. I have often mentioned to congress the inconvenience of putting their vessels under the care of persons, living perhaps one hundred leagues from the port they arrive at, which necessarily creates delays, and of course enormous expenses, and for a remedy, I have as often recommended the appointment of consuls, being very sensible of my own insufficiency in maritime affairs, which have taken up a vast deal of my time, and given me abundance of trouble, to the hindrance, sometimes, of more important business. I hope these inconveniences will now be soon removed, by the arrival of Mr. Palfrey.

"As the ministry have reasons, if some of the first plans had been pursued, to wish the expedition might be understood as American, the instructions were to be given by me, and the outfit was committed to Monsieur de Chaumont, known to be one of our friends, and well acquainted with such affairs. Monsieur le marquis de la Fayette, who was to have been concerned in the execution, can probably acquaint you with those reasons; if not, I shall do it hereafter. It afterwards continued in the hands of M. de Chaumont to the end. I never paid or received a farthing, directly or indirectly, on account of the expedition, and the captains having made him their trustee and agent, it is to him they are to apply for their proportions of the captures. There may be something, though I believe very little, coming to the United States, from the Alliance's share of a small ransom made contrary to orders. No account has been rendered to me of that ransom, therefore I cannot say how much, but I will inquire about it, and inform you hereafter. Most of the colliers taken were burnt or sunk; the ships of war taken, I understand, belong wholly to the captors.

"If any particulars remain, on which you desire information, be pleased to mention them. I think it my duty to give you all the satisfaction in my power, and shall do it willingly.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Charter party made between captain John Paul Jones, and the officers of the squadron.*

"Agreement between Messieurs John Paul Jones, captain of the Bonhomme Richard; Pierre Landais, captain of the Alliance; Dennis Nicolas Cottineau, captain of the Pallas; Joseph Verage, captain of the Stag; and Philip Nicolas Ricot, captain of the Vengeance; composing a squadron that shall be commanded by the oldest officer of the highest grade, and so on in succession in case of death or retreat. None of the said commanders, whilst they are not separated from the said squadron, by order of the minister, shall act but by virtue of the brevet, which they shall have obtained from the United States of America, and it is agreed that the flag of the United States shall be displayed.

"The division of prizes to the superior officers and crews of the said squadron, shall be made agreeable to the American laws: but it is agreed that the proportion of the whole, coming to each vessel in the squadron, shall be regulated by the minister of the marine department of France, and the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

"A copy of the American laws shall be annexed to the present agreement, after having been certified by the commander of the Bonhomme Richard: but as the said laws cannot foresee nor determine as to what may concern the vessels and subjects of other nations; it is expressly agreed, that whatever may be contrary to them, shall be regulated by the minister of the French marine, and the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

"It is likewise agreed that the orders given by the minister of the French marine, and the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America shall be executed.

"Considering the necessity there is of preserving the interests of each individual, the prizes that shall be taken shall be remitted to the orders of Monsieur le Ray de Chaumont, honorary intendant of the royal Hotel of Invalids, who has furnished the expenses of the armament of the said squadron.

"It has been agreed, that Mr. le Ray de Chaumont be requested not to give up the part of the prizes coming to all the crews, and to each individual of the said squadron, but to their order, and to be responsible for the same in his own and proper name.

"Whereas the said squadron has been formed for the purpose of injuring the common enemies of France and America: it has been agreed that such armed vessels, whether French or American, may be associated therewith as by common consent shall be found suitable for the purpose, and that they shall have such proportion of the prizes which shall be taken, as the laws of their respective countries allow them.

"In case of the death of the beforementioned commanders of vessels, he shall be replaced agreeably to the order of the tariff, with liberty however, for the success, or to choose whether he will remain on board his own vessel, and give up to the next in order, the command of the vacant ship.

"It has moreover been agreed, that the commander of the Stag shall be excepted from the last article of this present agreement, because in case of a disaster to Mr. de Varage, he shall be replaced by his second in command, and so on by the other officers of his cutter the Stag.

"J. P. JONES,
"P. LANDAIS,
"DE COTTINEAU,
"VARAGE.
"LE RAY DE CHAUMONT,
"P. RICOT."

"*Mr. Hodgson, London.*

"Passy, April 1, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—I received your respected favour of the 20th past, and am shocked exceedingly at the account you give me of Digges. He that robs the rich even of a single guinea is a villain, but what is he who can break his sacred trust, by robbing a poor man and a prisoner of eighteen pence given charitably for his relief, and repeat that crime as often as there are weeks in a winter, and multiply it by robbing as many poor men every week as make up the number of near 600! We have no name in our language for such atrocious wickedness. If such a fellow is not damned, 'tis not worth while to keep a devil.*

"I am sorry you have been obliged to advance money. I desired Mr. Grand some time since to order £200 to be paid you in London. If that is not done, draw on him for the sum £250 payable at 30 days' sight, and your bill shall be duly honoured.

"I enclose a copy of Digges's last letter to me in which he acknowledges the drafts made on me, (omitting one of £75,) and pretends that he only draws as he is drawn upon by his friends, who hand the money to the prisoners, and that those friends are almost tired of the charitable employment, but he encourages them, &c. Be so good as to let them know of this letter. I wish with you, and with all good men, for peace: proposals of mediation have been made, but the effect is yet uncertain. I shall be mindful of your request, and you may depend on my doing any thing in my power that may be serviceable to you.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*W. Carmichael, Madrid.*

"Passy, April 12, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—I received your favour by M. Cabarrus, and should have been glad if I

**Extract of a Letter to J. Jay, dated Passy, Aug.* 20, 1781.

———"Digges, a Maryland merchant, residing in London, who pretended to be a zealous American, and to have much concern for our poor people in the English prisons, drew upon me for their relief at different times last winter to the amount of £495 sterling, which he said had been drawn for upon him by the gentlemen at Portsmouth and Plymouth, who had the care of the distribution. To my utter astonishment, I have since learnt, that the villain had not applied above £30 of the money to that use, and that he has failed and absconded."

could have rendered him any service here. He appears an amiable man, and expert in affairs. I have also your obliging letters of the 28th of February, and the 12th and 30th of March. I thank you much for your friendly hints of the operations of my enemies, and of the means I might use to defeat them. Having in view at present no other point to gain but that of rest, I do not take their malice so much amiss, as it may farther my project, and perhaps be some advantage to you. * * * and * * * are open and so far honourable enemies; the * * * if enemies, are more covered. I never did any of them the least injury, and can conceive no other source of their malice but envy. To be sure, the excessive respect shown me here by all ranks of people, and the little notice taken of them, was a mortifying circumstance; but it was what I could neither prevent or remedy. Those who feel pain at seeing others enjoy pleasure, and are unhappy, must meet daily with so many causes of torment, that I conceive them to be already in a state of damnation; and on that account, I ought to drop all resentment with regard to those two gentlemen. But I cannot help being concerned at the mischief their ill tempers will be continually doing in our public affairs, whenever they have any concern in them.

"I remember the maxim you mention of Charles V., *yo y el Tiempo;* and have somewhere met with an answer to it in this distich,

I and Time 'gainst any two,
Chance and I, 'gainst Time and you:

and I think the gentlemen you have at present to deal with, would do wisely to guard a little more against certain chances.

"The price of the *Biblioteca Hispana* is too high for me. I thank you for the gazettes you sent me by the ambassador's courier. I received none by the last. I shall be exceedingly glad to receive the memoirs of the *Sociedad Economica,* and the works on political Œconomy of its Founder. The prince of Maceran, with several other persons of his nation, did me the honour of breakfasting with me on Monday last, when I presented the compliments you charged me with.

"Mr. Cumberland has not yet arrived at Paris, as far as I have heard.

"The discontents in our army have been quieted. There was in them not the least disposition of revolting to the enemy.

"I thank you for the Maryland Captain's news, which I hope will be confirmed. They have heard something of it in England, as you will see by the papers, and are very uneasy about it, as well as about their news from the East Indies. B. FRANKLIN."

John Jay to the President of Congress.

"Madrid, April 21, 1781.

(PRIVATE.)

"By the letter from Doctor Franklin, herewith enclosed, and which he was so obliging as to leave open for my perusal, I find he has requested permission to retire on account of his age, infirmities, &c.: how far his health may be impaired I know not. The letters I have received from him, bear no marks of age, and there is an acuteness and sententious brevity in them, which do not indicate an understanding injured by years. I have many reasons to think our country much indebted to him, and I confess it would mortify my pride as an American, if his constituents should be the only people to whom his character is known, that should deny his merit and services. The testimony given them by other nations, justice demands of me to assure you, that his reputation and respectability are acknowledged, and have weight here, and that I have received from him all that uniform attention and aid which was due to the importance of the affairs committed to me.

"The affectionate mention he makes of his only descendant, on whom the support of his name and family will devolve, is extremely amiable, and flows in a delicate manner from that virtuous sensibility by which nature kindly extends the benefits of parental affection, to a period beyond the limits of our lives; this is an affectionate subject, and minds susceptible of the finer sensations, are insensibly led at least to wish that the feelings of an ancient patriot, going in the evening of a long life early devoted to the public, to enjoy repose in the bosom of philosophic retirement, may be gratified by seeing some little sparks of the affection of his country rest on the only support of his age and hope of his family. Such are the effusions of my heart on this occasion, and I pour them into yours from a persuasion that they will meet with a hospitable reception from congenial emotions."

From John Jay.

"Madrid, April 25, 1781.

"The letters herewith enclosed from Doctor Franklin, were left open for my perusal; the short stay of my courier at Paris not allowing time for copies to be made of the information conveyed in and with it.

"I perceive that Doctor Franklin desires to retire; this circumstance calls upon me to assure congress, that I have reason to be perfectly satisfied with his conduct towards me, and that I have received from him all the aid and attention I could wish or expect; his character is very high here, and I really believe that the respectability he enjoys throughout Europe, has been of general use to our cause and country."

"*To His Excellency John Adams, Esq.*

(EXTRACT.)

"PASSY, April 29, 1781.

"I ENCLOSE you extracts of two letters ministerial, found in the same packet with the former, written in the fond belief that the States were on the point of submitting, and cautioning the commissioners for peace not to promise too much respecting the future constitutions. They are indeed cautiously worded, but easily understood, when explained by two court maxims or assertions, the one of lord Granville's, late President of the Council. that *the king is the legislator of the colonies;* the other of the present Chancellor, when in the House of Commons, that *the Quebec constitution was the only proper constitution for colonies, ought to have been given to them all when first planted, and what all ought now to be reduced to.* We may hence see the danger of listening to any of their deceitful propositions, though piqued by the negligence of some of those European powers who will be much benefited by our revolution. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*M. Dumas.*

"PASSY, May 4, 1781.

"DEAR SIR,—It is so long since I heard from you that I begin to fear you are ill.—Pray write to me, and let me know the state of your health. I enclose Morgan's account of his engagement with Tarleton. If he has not already received it, it may be agreeable to our friend the gazetteer of Leyden.

"Every thing goes well here, and I am ever, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To M. Court de Gebelin,* Paris.*

"PASSY, May 7, 1781.

"DEAR SIR,—I am glad the little book† proved acceptable. It does not appear to me intended for a grammar to teach the language. It is rather what we call in English a *spelling-book*, in which the only method observed, is, to arrange the words according to their number of syllables, placing those of one syllable together, then those of two syllables, and so on. And it is to be observed, that *Sa ki ma* for instance, is not three words, but one word of three syllables; and the reason that *hyphens* are not placed between the syllables is, that the printer had not enough of them.

"As the Indians had no letters, they had no orthography. The Delaware language being differently spelt from the Virginian, may not always arise from a difference in the languages; for strangers who learn the language of an Indian nation, finding no orthography, are at liberty in writing the language to use such compositions of letters as they think will best produce the sounds of the words. I have observed that our Europeans of different nations, who learn the same Indian language, form each his own orthography according to the usual sounds given to the letters in his own language. Thus the same words of the Mohock language written by an English, a French, and a German interpreter, often differ very much in the spelling; and without knowing the usual powers of the letters in the language of the interpreter, one cannot come at the pronunciation of the Indian words. The spelling book in question was, I think, written by a German.

"You mention a Virginian Bible. Is it not the Bible of the Massachusetts language, translated by Elliot, and printed in New England, about the middle of the last century? I know this Bible, but have never heard of one in the Virginian language. Your observation of the similitude between many of the words, and those of the ancient world, are indeed very curious.

"This inscription which you find to be Phenician, is, I think, near *Taunton* (not Jannston, as you write it.) There is some account of it in the old Philosophical Transactions; I have never been at the place, but shall be glad to see your remarks on it.

"The compass appears to have been long known in China, before it was known in Europe; unless we suppose it known to Homer, who makes the prince, that lent ships to Ulysses, boast that they had a *spirit* in them by whose directions they could find their way in a cloudy day, or the darkest night. If any Phenicians arrived in America, I should rather think it was not by the accident of a storm, but in the course of their long and adventurous voyages; and that they coasted from Denmark and Norway, over to Greenland, and down southward by Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, &c. to New England; as the Danes themselves certainly did some ages before Columbus.

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* Antoine Court de Gebelin, born at Nismes, in 1725, became a minister of a protestant communion in the Cevenhes, then at Lausane: he quitted the clerical function for literature, at Paris, where he acquired so great a reputation as an antiquary and philologer, that he was appointed to superintend one of the museums. His reputation suffered by his zeal in favour of animal magnetism. He died at Paris, May 13, 1784. His great work is entitled, "Monde Primitif, analysé et compare avec le Monde Moderne," 9 tom. 4to. The excellency of his character may be appreciated from the fact, that on quitting Switzerland, he voluntarily gave to his sister the principle part of his patrimony, reserving but little for himself, and relying for a maintenance upon the exercise of his talents.

† A Vocabulary of the Language of one of the Indian Tribes in North America.

"Our new American society will be happy in the correspondence you mention, and when it is possible for me, I shall be glad to attend the meetings of your society,* which I am sure must be very instructive.

"B. FRANKLIN."

" *Samuel Huntingdon, President of Congress.*

"Passy, May 14, 1781.

"Sir,—I did myself the honour of writing to your excellency pretty fully on the 12th of March, to which I beg leave to refer. Colonel Laurens arriving soon after, we renewed the application for more money. His indefatigable endeavours have brought the good dispositions of this court to a more speedy determination of making an addition, than could well have been expected so soon after the former grant. As he will have an opportunity of acquainting you personally with all the particulars of importance, a circumstantial account of the transaction from me is unnecessary. I would only mention, that as it is the practice here to consider early in the year, the probable expenses of the campaign, and appropriate the revenues to the several necessary services, all subsequent and unexpected demands are extremely inconvenient and disagreeable, as they cannot be answered without difficulty, occasion much embarrassment, and are sometimes impracticable. If therefore, the congress have not on this occasion obtained all they wished, they will impute it to the right cause, and not suppose a want of good-will in our friends, who indeed are such, most firmly and sincerely. The whole supply for the current year now amounts to twenty millions, but out of this are to be paid your usual drafts for interest money, those in favour of M. Beaumarchais, and those heretofore drawn on Mr. Jay and Mr. Laurens, which I have already either paid or engaged for, with the support of your several ministers, &c. which I mention, that the congress may avoid the embarrassing my successor with drafts which perhaps he may not have the means in his hands of honouring.

"Besides paying the second year's salaries of Messieurs Adams and Dana, Jay and Carmichael, I have furnished Mr. Dana with £1500 sterling credit on Petersburg, for which place I suppose he is now on his way. You will receive from Holland advices of the late declaration of that court, with regard to the English refusal of its mediation, and of the assistance requested by the States-General. I hope Mr. Dana will find it well disposed towards us.

"I have received no answer yet to my letters relating to the proposed mode of lodging funds here, by supplying the French fleet and army.

"Having as yet heard nothing of colonel Palfrey, and it being now more than four months since he sailed, there is a great reason to fear he may be lost. If that should unhappily be the case, the congress cannot too soon appoint another consul, such an officer being really necessary here. Your minister plenipotentiary has hitherto had all that sort of business upon his hands, and as I do not now speak for myself, I may speak more freely, I think he should be freed from the burden of such affairs, from all concerns in making contracts for furnishing supplies, and from all your bill of exchange business, &c. that he may be more at liberty to attend to the duties of his political functions.

"The prisoners in England are increasing by the late practice of sending our people from New York, and the refusal of the English admiralty to exchange any Americans for Englishmen not taken by American armed vessels. I would mention it for the consideration of congress, whether it may not be well to set apart five or six hundred English prisoners, and refuse them all exchange in America, but for our countrymen now confined in England.

"Agreeable to the vote of congress, and your excellency's letter of the 4th of January, I have requested the assistance of this court for obtaining the release of Mr. President Laurens: it does not yet appear that the thing is practicable. What the present situation is of that unfortunate gentleman, may be gathered from the enclosed letters.

"I hope the Alliance, with the ship Marquis de la Fayette under her convoy, are by this time arrived, as they sailed the twenty-seventh of March. I flatter myself that the supplies of clothing, &c. which they carry will be found good of the kind, and well bought.

"I have by several late opportunities, sent copies of the government letters, taken in the New York packet. Your excellency will see that they are written in the perfect persuasion of our submitting speedily, and that the commissioners are cautioned not to promise too much with regard to the future constitutions to be given us, as many changes of the old may be necessary, &c. One cannot read those letters from the American secretary of state and his under secretary Knox, without a variety of reflections on the state we should necessarily be in, if obliged to make the submission they so fondly hope for, but which I trust in God they will never see.

"Their affairs in the East Indies by the late accounts grow worse and worse. And twenty-two ships of the prey they made in the west, are wrenched out of their jaws by the squadron of M. de la Motte Piquet.

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* L'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

"I mentioned in a former letter, my purpose of remaining here for some time after I should be superseded. I mean it with the permission of congress, and on the supposition of no orders being sent me to the contrary, and I hope it will be so understood.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Cooper, Boston.*

"Passy, May 15, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—I received your kind letter of Feburary 1st, by colonel Johonnot. Your sentiments of the present state of our affairs appear to me very judicious, and I am much obliged by your free communication of them. They are often of use here; for you have a name and character among us, that give weight to your opinions.

"It gives me great pleasure to learn that your new constitution is at length settled with so great a degree of unanimity and general satisfaction. It seems to me upon the whole an excellent one; and that if there are some particulars that one might have wished a little different, they are such as could not in the present state of things have been well obtained otherwise than they are, and if by experience found inconvenient will probably be changed hereafter. I would only mention at present one article, that of maintenance for the clergy. It seems to me, that by the constitution, the Quakers may be obliged to pay the tax for that purpose. But as the great end in imposing it is professedly the promotion of piety, religion, and morality, and those people have found means of securing that end among themselves, without a regular clergy, and their teachers are not allowed to receive money; I should think it not right to tax them, and give the money to the teacher of the parish, but I imagine that in the laws to be made for levying parish taxes, this matter may be regulated to their contentment.

"I am very sensible of the honour done me by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, in choosing me one of their members. I wish I could be of some utility in promoting the noble design of their institution. Perhaps I may, by sending them from time to time some of the best publications that appear here. I shall begin to make a collection for them.

"Your excellent sermon gave me abundance of pleasure, and is much admired by several of my friends who understand English. I propose to get it translated and printed at Geneva, at the end of a translation of your new Constitution. Nothing could be happier than your choice of a text, and your application of it. It was not necessary in New England, where every body reads the Bible, and is acquainted with Scripture phrases, that you should note the texts from which you took them; but I have observed in England, as well as in France, that verses and expressions taken from the sacred writings, and not known to be such, appear very strange and awkward to some readers; and I shall therefore in my edition, take the liberty of marking the quoted texts in the margin.

"I know not whether a *belly-full* has been given to any body by the picking of *my bones*, but picked they now are, and I think it time they should be *at rest*. I am taking measures to obtain that rest for them; happy if before I die, I can find a few days absolutely at my own disposal. I often form pleasing imaginations of the pleasure I should enjoy as a private person among my friends and compatriots in my native Boston. God only knows whether this pleasure is reserved for me. With the greatest and most sincere esteem, I am, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Francis Lewis.*

"Passy, May 16, 1781.

"Sir,—I received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me the 1st January. The bill for four thousand four hundred and forty-four Mexican dollars, which you remitted to Mr. Schweighauser, being refused payment by Mr. Jay, for want of a regular endorsement by Mr. Laurens, in whose favour it was drawn, and which endorsement could not now be obtained, Mr. Schweighauser applied to me, informing me that he should not send the things ordered by your board, unless the bill was paid; and it appearing on the face of the bill that it was drawn for public service, I concluded to take it up, on which he has purchased the things and shipped them. Colonel Laurens has put on board some other supplies for the army, and I suppose she will now sail directly.

"The drafts from congress upon me for various services, and those on Mr. Jay and Mr. Laurens, all coming upon me for payment, together with the expenses on the ships, &c. have made it impracticable for me to advance more for loading the Active; but as we have obtained lately, promises of a considerable aid for this year, I shall now try what I can do, as the money comes in, towards supplying what is demanded in the invoice you mention. You will receive, I hope, twenty-eight cannon, and a large quantity of powder and saltpetre, by the ship Marquis de la Fayette.

"I have by several opportunities written in answer to your questions, relative to the ship Alliance." B. FRANKLIN."

"*To John Adams.*

"Passy, May 19, 1781.

"I have with you no doubt that America will be easily able to pay off not only the interest but the principal of all the debt she may contract in this war. But whether duties upon her exports will be the best method of doing it, is a question I am not so clear in. England raised indeed a great revenue by duties on tobacco. But it was by virtue of a prohibition of foreign tobaccoes, and thereby obliging the internal consumer to pay those duties. If America were to lay a duty of five pence sterling per lb. on the exportation of her tobacco, would any European nation buy it? Would not the colonies of Spain and Portugal, and ukraine of Russia furnish it much cheaper? Was not England herself obliged for such reasons to drop the duty on tobacco she furnished to France? Would it not cost an immense sum in officers, &c. to guard our long coast against smuggling of tobacco, and running it out to avoid a duty? and would not many even of those officers be corrupted and connive at it? It is possibly an erroneous opinion, but I find myself rather inclined to adopt that modern one, which supposes it best for every country to leave its trade entirely free from all incumbrances. Perhaps no country does this at present: Holland comes the nearest to it; and her commercial wealth seems to have increased in proportion.

"Your excellency has done me the honour of announcing to me your appointment: I hope soon to return the compliment by informing you of my demission. I find the various employments of merchant, banker, judge of admiralty, consul, &c. &c. besides my ministerial function, too multifarious and too heavy for my old shoulders; and have therefore requested congress that I may be relieved: for in this point I agree even with my enemies, that another may easily be found who can better execute them. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Dr. Cooper.*

"Passy, May 25, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—It gives me great pleasure to learn that your new constitution is at length settled with so great a degree of unanimity and general satisfaction. It seems to me upon the whole an excellent one; and that if there are some particulars that one might have wished a little different, they are such as could not in the present state of things have been well obtained otherwise than they are, and if by experience found inconvenient, will probably be changed hereafter. I would only mention at present one article, that of maintenance for the clergy. It seems to me that by the constitution, the Quakers may be obliged to pay the tax for that purpose. But as the great end in imposing it is professedly the promotion of piety, religion, and morality, and those people have found means of securing that end among themselves without a regular clergy, and their teachers are not allowed to receive money; I should think it not right to tax them and give the money to the teacher of the parish; but I imagine that in the laws to be made for levying parish taxes, this matter may be regulated to their contentment. Yours, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"Passy, July 6, 1781.

"The following paper was delivered this day to M. de Rayneval to be by him communicated to count Vergennes in order to correct some wrong ideas of that minister.

"B. F."

(TRANSLATION.)

Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"Versailles, June 8, 1781.

"Sir,—I have received the letter you did me the honour to write me the 4th instant. I do not know whether Mr. Laurens has purchased the clothing in Holland on account of congress; I only know, and you were likewise informed of it at the same time, that this officer was *to employ for his purchases in France*, part of the six millions the king has granted to the congress; and that the residue of this sum was intended to be sent to America, with a view of re-establishing the credit of the United States. If Mr. Laurens, instead of paying ready money in Holland, has contented himself with giving bills on you, I have no concern in it, and the king can furnish no means for your reimbursement.

"As to the monies arising from the loan opened in Holland, we have no pretensions to regulate the employment of them, as they belong to the United States. You must therefore, sir, apply to congress for the power of disposing of them, in discharge of the drafts drawn on you from all quarters.

"DE VERGENNES."

To Dr. Wendorp and Hope Heyhger.

"Passy, June 8, 1781.

"Gentlemen,—I received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me the 31st past, relating to your ship supposed to be retaken from the English by an American privateeer, and carried into Morlaix. I apprehend that you have been misinformed, as I do not know of any American privateer at present in these seas. I have the same sentiments with you of the injustice of the English, in their treatment of your nation. They seem at present to have renounced all pretension to any other honour than that of being the first piratical state in the world. There are three employments which I wish the law of nations would protect, so that they should never be molested or interrupted by enemies even in time of war; I mean farmers, fishermen, and merchants; because their employments are not only innocent, but for the common subsistence and benefit of the human species in general. As men grow more enlightened, we may hope that this will in time be the case. Till then we must submit as well as we can to the evils we cannot remedy. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, &c. &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Col. J. Laurens to Dr. Franklin.

"——leagues W. of Ortegal, June 9, 1781.

"I snatch a moment to pay my last respects to your excellency, and to mention a matter which has occurred to me since my being on board. I have frequently reflected upon the mention which your excellency has made of retiring from your present important station, and have never varied the opinion which I took the liberty of giving you once at the count de Vergennes', viz. that the best arrangement would be to give your excellency an active, intelligent secretary of the embassy, who might relieve you from the drudgery of office; and that your country should not be deprived of the advantages of your wisdom and influence. The difficulty hitherto has been to find a person properly qualified. The advantages which your grandson derives from his knowledge of the language, and manners of the people, and his having been so long in your office, and with your excellency, are very great. The prejudices which have been entertained against him (owing to his father's politics and situation) may be removed by a personal introduction to congress, especially if it is combined with rendering a popular service. I take the liberty therefore," &c.

"*Samuel Huntingdon, President of Congress.*

"Passy, June 11, 1781.

Sir,—I have lately done myself the honour of writing largely to your excellency, by divers conveyances, to which I beg leave to refer. This is chiefly to cover the copy of a letter I have just received from the minister, relative to the disposition of the late loans, by which will be seen the situation I am in, with respect to my acceptances of the quantity of bills drawn by congress on Mr. Jay, Mr. Laurens, Mr. Adams, and self, which I entered into, in the expectation both colonel Laurens and myself entertained, that a part of these loans might be applied to the payment of these bills, but which I am now told cannot be done without an express order from congress. I shall endeavour to change the sentiments of the court in this respect, but am not sure of succeeding.

"I must therefore request that a resolution of congress may immediately be sent, impowering me to apply as much of those loans as shall be necessary for the discharge of all such drafts of congress, or for the repayment of such sums as I may in the mean time be obliged to borrow for the discharge of those drafts. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To John Adams.*

"Passy, June 11, 1781.

"Sir,—Mr. Grand has communicated to me a letter from your excellency to him, relating to certain charges in your account, on which you seem to desire to have my opinion.

"As we are all new in these matters, I consulted, when I was making up my accounts, one of the oldest foreign ministers here, as to the custom in such cases. He informed me, that it was not perfectly uniform with the ministers of all courts; but that in general, where a salary was given for service and expense, the expenses understood were merely those necessary to the man, such as housekeeping, clothing, and coach; but that the rent of the hotel in which he dwells, the payment of couriers, the postage of letters, the salary of clerks, the stationary for his bureau, with the feasts and illuminations made on public ocasions, were esteemed expenses of the prince or state that appointed him, being for the service or honour of the prince or nation, and either entirely, or in great part expenses, that as a private man he would have been under no necessity of incurring; these therefore were to be charged in his accounts. He remarked, that it was true, the minister's housekeeping, as well as his house, was usually and in some sort necessarily more expensive than those of a private person; but this he said was considered in his salary, to avoid trouble in accounts; but that where the prince or state had not purchased, or built a house for their minister, which was sometimes the case, they always paid his house rent. I have stated my own accounts according to these informations; and I mention them, that if they seem to you reasonable, we may be uniform in our charges, by your charging in the same manner; or if objections to any of them occur to you, you would communicate them to me for the same reason.

"Thus you see my opinion, that the articles you mention of courtage, commission, and portes de lettres, are expenses that ought to be borne, not by you, but by the United States. Yet it seems to me more proper, that you should pay them, and charge them with the other articles above-mentioned, than that they should be paid by me, who not knowing the circumstances, cannot judge as you can, of the truth or justice of such an account when presented, and who besides have no orders to pay more on your account than your net salary.

"With regard to that salary, though your receipts to Fizeaux and Grand, shown to me, might be quite sufficient to prove they had paid you the sums therein mentioned; yet as there are vouchers for them, and which they have a right to retain, I imagine that it will be clearest if you draw upon me agreeable to the order of congress, and if this is quarterly it will be most convenient to me.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Major W. Jackson.*

"Passy, June 28, 1781.

"Sir,—Since my acceptance of your bills, I have applied to the ministry for more money to discharge the other engagements I entered into for payment of the congress bills drawn on Holland and Spain. I find so much difficulty, and even impossibility of obtaining it at this time, that I am under the absolute necessity of stopping the cash that is in Holland, or of ruining all the credit of the states in Europe, and even in America, by stopping payment.

"This is therefore to order, that in case the said cash has been delivered to you by Messieurs Fizeaux and Grand, you would immediately return it into their hands to remain there at my disposal.

"I am sorry that this operation is necessary, but it must be done, or the consequences will be terrible.—I have the honour to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Major Jackson to Dr. Franklin.

"Amsterdam, June 29, 1781.

"Sir,—I have the honour to inform your excellency, that I got to Amsterdam on Tuesday morning. It has been thought advisable to wait a few days, that we may sail with a Dutch squadron of fourteen sail, destined as a convoy to the Baltic. The loss of the ship Marquis de la Fayette, which is confirmed by Lloyd's list, renders every precaution necessary, and essential to prevent a farther disappointment in supplies.

"I hope your excellency will approve of the reasons for delaying our departure, which must be amply compensated by the benefit of a convoy through the North Sea. I beg leave to request, that colonel Laurens's servant may be informed, should he apply to your excellency, that, if he leaves Paris immediately, and travels with despatch, he will reach this place in time to embark with us for America. Any commands which your excellency may please to honour me with, and which may be transmitted by him, will be faithfully attended to.

"I beg you will present my best respects to your grandson. W. JACKSON."

"*To David Hartley, Esq.*

"Passy, June 30, 1781.

"I received my dear friend's kind letter of the 15th instant, and immediately communicated your request of a passport to M. le Comte de Vergennes. His answer, which I have but just received, expresses an opinion, that the circumstance of his granting a passport to you, as you mention the purpose of your coming to be the discoursing with me on the subject of peace, might, considering your character, occasion many inconvenient reports and speculations: but that he would make no difficulty of giving it, if you assured me that you were authorized for such purpose by your ministry, which he does not think at all likely; otherwise he judges it best that I should not encourage your coming. Thus it seems I cannot have at present the pleasure you were so kind as to propose for me. I can only join with you in earnest wishes for peace, a blessing which I shall hardly live to see.

"With the greatest esteem and respect, I am ever, dear sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

Major Jackson to Dr. Franklin.

"Amsterdam, July 2, 1781.

"Sir,—I was yesterday honoured with your excellency's letter of the 28th ult. while at the Texel, superintending some matters relating to the ship. Equally concerned for the cause, as surprised at the manner in which Mr. Fizeaux was resolved to execute it in case the money had been already shipped, I must beg leave to inform you fully of this business, and to request your excellency's final determination thereon.

"Colonel Laurens, as your excellency knows, was sent by congress to the court of Versailles, with a special commission——the purport of his mission you are well acquainted with; it was to obtain certain supplies in specie and military stores.

"By the most unremitting assiduity, he so far succeeded as to procure, amongst others, a sum of money to be shipped in Holland by the South Carolina frigate, which was deemed by the court of France a safe and convenient conveyance, as it would divide the risk which must have been incurred, by placing the whole on board of one vessel. That sum was sent to this place by Mr. Necker, and lodged in the house of Fizeaux and Grand, to be by them delivered to me, agreeable to the following order, the original of which is now in my possession, having very fortunately for me, recovered it from them after they received your instructions.

(TRANSLATION.)

"PARIS, May 12, 1781.

"Gentlemen,—This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. William Jackson, captain of infantry in the service of the United States, to whom I request you to deliver the 130,655 dollars and the £720,000 in crowns, which you have received on my account by the way of Brussels. Mr. Jackson will give you a receipt for it, in which he will express that these two sums have been delivered to him *pursuant to the intention of Mr. John Laurens, an American officer now at Paris, whose orders he will follow on this subject.* You will be pleased to send me afterwards this receipt, with a statement of all the expenses due to you. I will have them reimbursed here to Mr. Grand.—I am, gentlemen, &c.

"NECKER."

"*M. M. Grand, Fizeaux, & Co. Amsterdam.*

"Messieurs Fizeaux and Grand have, in pursuance of your excellency's directions, refused to deliver it. This sir, being a distinct transaction,executed altogether at the instance of the honourable John Laurens, Esq. special minister at the court of Versailles from the United States, and by him committed to my further care, I conceive myself indispensably bound to remonstrate to your excellency, on the late order given by you to Messieurs Fizeaux and Grand, directing the detention of that money, and to inform you that if they are not repealed, I must embark without it; and however I may lament the disappointment and distress, in which this measure must involve congress, whose arrangements are undoubtedly taken, on the certainty of this supply being sent from Europe; however much I may regret colonel Laurens's absence, which induces it, I shall possess the pleasing reflection of having done *my duty* in demanding, conformably to the intentions of Mr. Necker, and by his order, that money which the court of France had accorded to the United States by the application of colonel Laurens, in virtue of his special commission, and which was particularly and expressly destined to reanimate the credit of continental currency.

"The ship waits for nothing else but this money. I shall attend your excellency's ultimate decision thereon, which I expect to receive by return of the express, who only waits your commands.—I have the honour to be, &c. W. JACKSON."

"P. S. Mr. Fizeaux informed me that he had resolved to arrest the ship, had the money been on board. I need not inform your excellency, that a like opportunity may not again offer, to transport this essential supply, rendered still more so, by the capture of the ship Marquis de la Fayette.

"W. JACKSON."

"My fever, which was greatly increased by my late jaunt to Passy, will not admit of my waiting upon your excellency in person, and I am persuaded, your justice will render it unnecessary after this representation.

"W. JACKSON."

Major Jackson to Dr. Franklin.

"AMSTERDAM, July 2, 1781.

"SIR,—Since the departure of my express, I find myself obliged in conformity to colonel Laurens's instructions (from which, as his agent I cannot recede, unless compelled thereto by forcible means, and which unless such are practised against me, I must carry into execution) to retain the money which he has confided to my care, and which the minister of finance's order makes deliverable to me specially; and to arrest it in the hands of Mr. Fizeaux, should he continue to refuse the delivery of it, but by your excellency's orders.

"I rely upon your excellency's attachment to the welfare of America, to prevent this painful operation, which must inevitably take place, should your determination decide otherwise; for as this money is subject to no other control in Europe, but the immediate order of the court of France, I cannot relinquish my charge of it, but by their special order.—I have the honour to be, &c.

"W. JACKSON."

From the same.

"AMSTERDAM, July 2, 1781.

"SIR,—Your excellency will not wonder at the determination which I have adopted to arrest the money now in Mr. Fizeaux's hands, (and which I have communicated to you by a second express this afternoon) when you reflect, that this money is absolutely committed to my charge, for a special purpose, and that I stand accountable for the execution of this commission. Your excellency must likewise be sensible that you cannot have the disposal of it, as it was obtained without either your knowledge or concurrence, by colonel Laurens, appointed special minister for that purpose. These considerations, and the knowledge I have how much America must suffer from a disappointment in this supply, about to be transported by so excellent a conveyance, must plead my excuse individually, for this plain and candid avowal of circumstances, and my determination thereon.

I am further persuaded, that the court of France is not disposed, was there even a shadow of an excuse for an alteration of the allotment of this money, to infringe their honour and injure the essential interests of America by detaining it; I must therefore again entreat your excellency's repeal of those orders to Mr. Fizeaux, which now detain the ship and supplies, so much required in America.—I have the honour to be, &c.

"W. JACKSON."

To Major Jackson.

"Passy, July 5, 1781, at 6 in the morning.

"Sir,—I have this instant received your letter of the 2d, urging the delivery of the money. I must be short in my reply, as your express waits.

"Colonel Laurens indeed obtained a promise of ten millions to be raised by a loan in Holland. I understood while he was here, that that loan was in train, and that the million and a half to be sent with you was a part of it. I since learn that nothing has yet been obtained in Holland; that the success is not yet certain, and that the money in question is part of the six millions obtained before his arrival, upon the strength of which I accepted the bills drawn on his father and on Mr. Jay, and without which acceptances the congress credit in America would have been ruined, and a loss incurred of twenty per cent. upon the protests. I cannot obtain more money here at present, and those bills being accepted must be paid, as well as those I accepted on your earnest request for the great unexpected purchase you made in Holland. Colonel Laurens has carried two millions and a half of that six millions with him, which will serve till the loan in Holland produces a further supply. In the mean time I cannot suffer the credit of our country to be destroyed, if by detaining this money it may be saved; and if I were to consent to its going, our banker would be obliged to arrest great part of it as belonging to the states, he being in advance for them, which would occasion much disagreeable noise and very ill consequences to our credit in Europe. I find by Mr. Viemerange's account just received, that Mr. Laurens's orders have more than absorbed all the money he did not take with him. I applaud the zeal you have both shown in the affair, but I see that nobody cares how much I am distressed, provided they can carry their own points. I must therefore take what care I can of mine; theirs and mine being equally intended for the service of the public. I am sorry to learn that the vessel is detained for this express. I understood by your last, that she waited for convoy. I heartily wish you a good voyage, and am, with great esteem, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"Passy, July 5, 1781, at 10 A. M.

"Sir,—I received your letter of the second instant by your first express this morning at six, answered it, and sent him away immediately. I have just now received your second express of the same date, in which you threaten me with a proceeding, that I apprehend exceedingly imprudent, as it can answer no good end to you, must occasion much scandal, and be thereby very prejudicial to the affairs of the congress. But I cannot therefore consent to suffer their bills to the amount of more than a million, accepted and expected to go back protested for want of this money. I have nothing to change in the answer abovementioned. You will however, follow your own judgment, (as I must follow mine) and you will take upon yourself the consequences.—I have the honour to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"Passy, July 6, 1781.

"Sir,—I received and answered two of your expresses yesterday morning, and in the evening I received a third letter from you, all dated the 2d instant.

"In this last you tell me, 'that I must be sensible I cannot have the disposal of the money, as it was obtained without either my *knowledge* or *concurrence*, by colonel Laurens, appointed special minister for that purpose.'

"I do not desire to diminish the merit of colonel Laurens. I believe he would have been glad if it had been in his power to have procured ten times the sum, and that no application or industry on his part for that purpose, would have been wanting. But I cannot let this injurious assertion of yours pass without expressing my surprise, that you who were always with that gentleman, should be so totally ignorant of that transaction. The six millions, of which he took with him two and a half, of which one and a half was sent to Holland, and of which more than the remainder is ordered in stores, from hence, was a *free gift* from the king's goodness, (not *a loan* to be *repaid with interest*) and was obtained by *my application* long before colonel Laurens's arrival. I had also given in a list of the stores to be provided, though on his coming I cheerfully gave up the farther prosecution of that business into his hands, as he was better acquainted with the particular wants of the army than I could be, and it was one of the purposes of his appointment. Thus no part of the affair was done without my *knowledge* and *concurrence*, except the sending a million and a half of the specie to Holland. This was indeed a secret to me; I had heard of that sum's being ready there to embark, but I always till lately understood it to be a part of the Dutch loan, which I am about to mention, or I should certainly have opposed that operation. What colonel Laurens really obtained, and a great service I hope it will prove, was a loan upon interest of ten millions, to be borrowed on the credit of this court in Holland. I have not heard that this loan has yet produced any thing; and therefore I do not know that a single livre exists, or has existed in Europe, of his procuring for the states. On the contrary, he and you have drawn from me considerable sums as necessary for your expenses, and he left me near forty thousand livres to pay for the Alliance; and moreover engaged me in a debt in Holland, which I understood might amount to about fifteen thousand pounds sterling, and which you contrived to make fifty thousand pounds. When I mentioned to him the difficulty I should find to pay the drafts, he said you had the remainder of the six millions. He gave me no account of the dispositions he had made, and it is but lately I have learnt that there is no remainder. To gratify you, and to get that ship out which could not have stirred without me, I have engaged for the vast sum abovementioned; which I am sure I shall be distressed to pay, and therefore, have not deserved at your hands the affront you are advised to menace me with; and since I find you make it a point of reflection upon me, that I want to apply money to the payment of my engagements for the congress, which was obtained by colonel Laurens for other purposes, I must request that you would upon this better information, take occasion to correct that error, if you have communicated it to any other person. By the letters you showed me, that had passed between Mr. Adams and you, I perceive that he had imbibed an opinion that colonel Laurens had, as he expresses it, done more for the United States in the short time of his being in Europe, than all the rest of their diplomatic corps put together. I should never have disputed this, because I had rather lend a little credit to a friend than take any from him, especially when I am persuaded he will make a good use of it. But when his friends will make such suppositious credit, a matter of reproach to me, it is not right to continue silent.

"As to the safety of the excellent conveyance you mention, I must own I have some doubts about it, and I fear I shall hear of the arrival of that ship in England before she sees America. Be that as it may, I am clear that no use can possibly be made of the money in America, for supporting the credit of the states, equal in any degree to the effect it must have for the same purpose, when applied to the payment of their bills here, which must otherwise go back protested. And I am sure it will be exceedingly prejudicial to that credit, if by the rash proceeding you threaten, the situation of their affairs becomes the subject of public talk and discussion in Europe.—I am, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. I request you would read again, and consider well, my first letter to you on this subject. The reasons therein contained subsist and are still in their full force."

"*Samuel Huntingdon, President of Congress.*

"PASSY, July 11, 1781.

"SIR,—The number of congress bills that have been drawn on the ministers in Spain and Holland, which I am by my acceptances obliged to pay, as well as those drawn upon myself, the extreme importance of supporting the credit of congress, which would be disgraced in a political, as well as a pecuniary light, through all the courts of Europe, if these bills should go back protested, and the unexpected delays arising with regard to the intended loan in Holland; all these considerations have induced me to stop the one million, five hundred thousand livres, which were to have been sent by way of Amsterdam.

"As soon as more money can be furnished me by the court, I shall take care to replace that sum, and forward with it as great an addition as possible. I am now soliciting supplies of clothing, arms, ammunition, &c. to replace what has been unfortunately lost in the Marquis de la Fayette, and hope to succeed.

"Captain Jackson, who is truly zealous for the service, has been exceedingly solicitous and earnest with me, to induce me to permit the money to go in this ship; but for the reasons abovementioned, I find it absolutely necessary to retain it for the present, which I doubt not, will be approved of by congress.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Robert Morris.*

"PASSY, July 26, 1781.

"DEAR SIR,—I have just received your very friendly letter of the 6th of June past, announcing your appointment to the superintendence of our finances. This gave me great pleasure, as from your intelligence, integrity, and abilities, there is reason to hope every advantage the public can possibly receive from such an office. You are wise in estimating before hand, as the principle advantage you can expect, the consciousness of having done service to your country. For the business you have undertaken is of so complex a nature, and must engross so much of your time and attention as necessarily to hurt your private interests; and the public is often niggardly even of its thanks, resembling those little dirty stinking insects, that attack us only in the dark, disturb our repose, molesting and wounding us while our sweat and blood is contributing to their subsistence. Every assistance that my situation here, as long as it continues, may enable me to afford you, shall certainly be given. For besides my affection for the glorious cause we are both engaged in, I value myself upon your friendship, and shall be happy if mine can be made of any use to you. With great and sincere esteem, I am ever, dear sir, &c. &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*M. Dumas.*

"Passy, August 6, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—I have received several letters from you lately, enclosing others for the president of congress, and for Spain, all of which are sealed and forwarded, except the last for the president, contained in yours of the 26th past, which shall go by the first opportunity. The reading of those letters gave me much information, and therefore pleasure: though since the fixing of Mr. Adams there, I do not attend so much to the affairs of your country as before, expecting indeed but little from it to our advantage: for though it was formerly in the same situation with us, and was glad of assistance from other nations, it does not seem to *feel* for us, or to have the least inclination to help us: it appears to want magnanimity. Some writer, I forget who, says, that Holland is no longer *a nation*, but *a great shop*; and I begin to think it has no other principles or sentiments but those of a shopkeeper. You can judge of it better than me, and I shall be happy to find myself mistaken. You will oblige me, however, by continuing the history either directly to me, or in your letters to congress; but when you enclose a sealed letter in another to me, please to observe to place the second seal on one side, and not directly over the first; because the heat of the second is apt to deface the impression of the first, and to attach the paper to it, so as to endanger tearing the enclosed in opening the cover.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. I pity the writer of the enclosed, though I have no other acquaintance with him, than having seen him once at Hanover, where he then seemed to live genteelly and in good credit. I cannot conceive what should reduce him to such a situation, as to engage himself for a soldier. If you can procure him any friends among the philosophers of your country, capable of relieving him, I wish you could do it. If not, and he must go to the Indies, please to give him three or four guineas for me, to buy a few necessaries for his voyage."

To the same.

"Passy, August 10—14, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—Enclosed I send you a late paper received from Rhode Island. You will see in it the advantages our troops have gained in South Carolina. Late advices directly from Philadelphia, say, that the enemy have now nothing left in Georgia, but Savannah; in South Carolina, but Charleston; nor in North Carolina, but Wilmington. They are however in force in Virginia, where M. de la Fayette has not sufficient strength to oppose them, till the arrival of the reinforcements which were in March to join him from Maryland and Pennsylvania.

"In looking over my last to you, I apprehend I may have expressed myself perhaps a little too hardly of your country: I foresee you will tell me that we have many friends there; I once thought so too; but I was a little out of humour when I wrote, on understanding that no loan could be obtained there for our use, though the credit of this kingdom was offered to be engaged for assuring the payment, and so much is lent freely to our enemies. You can best tell the reason, it will be well not to let my letter be seen.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"Passy, August 16, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—We have news here that your fleet has behaved bravely; I congratulate you upon it, most cordially.

"I have just received a 14, 5, 3, 10, 28, 2, 76, 203, 66, 11 12, 273, 50, 14, joining 76, 5, 42, 45, 16, 15, 424, 235, 19, 20, 69, 580, 11, 150, 27, 56, 35, 104, 652, 28, 675, 85, 79, 50, 63, 44, 22, 219, 17, 60, 29, 147, 136, 41, but this is not likely to afford 202, 55, 580, 10, 227, 613, 176, 373, 309, 4, 108, 40, 19, 97, 309, 17, 35, 90, 201, 100, 677.

"By our last advices our affairs were in a pretty good train. I hope we shall soon have advice of the expulsion of the English from Virginia. B. FRANKLIN."

"*W. Carmichael, Madrid.*

"Passy, Aug. 24, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—On looking over your letters I am ashamed to find myself so much and so long in your debt.

"I thank you for making me acquainted with Mr. Sonnerat. He appears a very amiable man, and is full of intelligence and information.

"We are all much obliged to Count de Montmorin for his friendly assistance in our affairs. Please to present him my thankful acknowledgments.

"I thank you also for my being made

known to Mr. Giusti; I saw him often, and had much satisfaction and pleasure in his conversation.

"The congress have done me the honour to refuse accepting my resignation, and insist on my continuing in their service till the peace. I must therefore buckle again to business, and thank God that my health and spirits are of late improved. I fancy it may have been a double mortification to those enemies you have mentioned to me, that I should ask as a favour what they hoped to vex me by taking from me; and that I should nevertheless be continued. But these sort of considerations should never influence our conduct. We ought always to do what appears best to be done, without much regarding what others may think of it. I call this continuance an honour, and I really esteem it to be a greater than my first appointment, when I consider that all the interest of my enemies, united with my own request, were not sufficient to prevent it.

"I have not yet received the works of your Œconomical Society, or those of its founder. I suppose you have not met with an opportunity of sending them. The letter you propose sending to our Philosophical Society will be very acceptable to them. I shall be glad to peruse the copy you propose passing through my hands.—Yours,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Rev. Wm. Nixon, an English prisoner on parole at Valogne.*

"Passy, Sept. 5, 1781.

"Rev. Sir,—I duly received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me the 25th past, together with the valuable little book, of which you are the author. There can be no doubt but that a gentleman of your learning and abilities might make a very useful member of society in our new country, and meet with encouragement there, either as an instructor in one of our universities, or as a clergyman of the Church of Ireland. But I am not impowered to engage any person to go over thither, and my abilities to assist the distressed are very limited. I suppose you will soon be set at liberty in England by the cartel for the exchange of prisoners; in the mean time if *five Louis d'ors* may be of present service to you, please to draw on me for that sum, and your bill shall be paid on sight. Some time or other you may have an opportunity of assisting with an equal sum a stranger who has equal need of it. Do so. By that means you will discharge any obligation you may suppose yourself under to me. Enjoin him to do the same on occasion. By pursuing such a practice, much good may be done with little money. Let kind offices go round. Mankind are all of a family.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Samuel Huntingdon, President of Congress.*

"Passy, September 13, 1781.

"Sir,—I duly received the two letters your excellency did me the honour of writing to me, both dated the 19th June, together with the letter addressed to the king and the three commissioners, with the instructions relative to the negotiations for peace. I immediately went to Versailles and presented the letter, which was graciously received. I communicated also to M. le Compte de Vergennes, a copy of your instructions, after having decyphered them. He read them while I was with him, and expressed his satisfaction with the unreserved confidence placed in his court by the congress, assuring me that they never would have cause to regret it, for that the king had the honour of the United States at heart, as well as their welfare and independence. Indeed this has already been manifested in the negotiations relative to the plenipotentiaries, and I have had so much experience of his majesty's goodness to us, in the aids afforded us from time to time, and of the sincerity of this upright and able minister, who never promised me any thing which he did not punctually perform, that I cannot but think the confidence well and judiciously placed, and that it will have happy effects.

"I have communicated to Mr. Adams and to Mr. Jay, the purport of your despatches. Mr. Adams already had received the same: by the first safe conveyance, I shall acquaint the congress with the steps that have been taken in the negotiation. At present I would only say, that the settling of preliminaries meets with difficulty, and will probably take much time, partly from the remoteness of the mediators, so that any relaxation of our warlike preparations in expectation of a speedy peace, will be imprudent as it may be pernicious.

"I am extremely sensible of the honour done me by the congress in this new appointment. I beg they would accept my thankful acknowledgments; and since they judge I may be serviceable, though I had requested leave to retire, I submit dutifully to their determination, and shall do my utmost to merit in some degree, the favourable opinion they appear to have of me. I am the more encouraged in this resolution, as within these last three months, I find my health and strength considerably re-established.

"I wish, however, that a consul-general may soon be appointed for this kingdom: it would ease me of abundance of troublesome business to which I am not equal, and which interferes with my own important functions.

"The king having graciously complied with my request, of replacing the supplies lost in the Marquis de la Fayette; many hands are employed in providing them, who work hard to have them ready and shipped, so as that they may arrive before winter.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. The copying machine for Mr. secretary Thompson, is in hand, and will soon be finished and sent to him."

"*To Richard Bache, Philadelphia.*

"Passy, Sept. 13, 1781.

"Dear Son,—I received yours of June 20th. It gave me great pleasure, as it informed me of the welfare of yourself and the dear family.

"I have read Mr. Wharton's pamphlet. The facts, as far as I know them, are as he states them. Justice is, I think, on the side of those who contracted for the lands.* But moral and political right sometimes differ, and sometimes are both subdued by might.

"I received and thank you for several copies of the Indian Spelling-book. I received also the German and English newspapers.

"Among my papers in the trunk which I unhappily left in the care of Mr. Galloway, were eight or ten quire or two quire books, of rough drafts of my letters, containing all my correspondence, when in England, for near twenty years. I shall be very sorry if they too are lost. Don't you think it possible, by going up into that country, and inquiring a little among the neighbours, you might possibly hear of, and recover some of them. I should not have left them in his hands, if he had not deceived me, by saying that though he was before otherwise inclined, yet that since the king had declared us out of his protection, and the parliament by an act had made our properties plunder, he would go as far in defence of his country as any man; and accordingly he had lately with pleasure given colours to a regiment of militia, and an entertainment to 400 of them before his house. I thought he was become a stanch friend to the glorious cause. I was mistaken. As he was a friend of my son's,† to whom in my will I had left all my books and papers, I made him one of my executors, and put the trunk of papers into his hands, imagining them safer in his house (which was out of the way of any probable march of enemies' troops) than in my own. It was very unlucky.

"My love to Sally and the children. I shall soon write to all my friends. At present I am pinched in time, and can only add that I am ever your affectionate father,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Francis Hopkinson, Philadelphia.*

"Passy, September 13, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—I have received your kind letter of July 17, with its duplicate, enclosing those for Messrs. Brandlight and Sons, which I have forwarded. I am sorry for the loss of the *squibs.* Every thing of yours gives me pleasure.

"As to the friends and enemies you just mention, I have hitherto, thanks to God, had plenty of the former kind; they have been my treasure; and it has perhaps been of no disadvantage to me that I have had a few of the latter. They serve to put us upon correcting the faults we have, and avoiding those we are in danger of having. They counteract the mischief flattery might do us, and their malicious attacks make our friends more zealous in serving us and promoting our interest. At present I do not know of more than two such enemies that I enjoy, viz. *** and ***. I deserved the enmity of the latter, because I might have avoided it by paying him a compliment, which I neglected. That to the former I owe to the people of France, who happened to respect me too much and him too little; which I could bear and he could not.—They are unhappy that they cannot make every body hate me as much as they do; and I should be so if my friends did not love me much more than those gentlemen can possibly love one another.

"Enough of this subject. Let me know if you are in possession of my gimcrack instruments, and if you have made any new experiments. I lent many years ago a large glass globe, mounted, to Mr. Coombe, and an electric battery of bottles, which I remember; perhaps there were some other things. He may have had them so long as to think them his own. Pray ask him for them, and keep them for me, together with the rest.

"You have a new crop of prose writers. I see in your papers many of their fictitious names, but nobody tells me the real. You will oblige me by a little of your literary history. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever, yours affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer.*

"Passy, Sept. 13, 1781.

"Sir,—I received the very obliging letter you did me the honour of writing to me the 20th of June last. It gave me great satisfaction to find, by the unanimous choice you mention, that my services had not been unacceptable to congress; and to hear also that they were favourably disposed towards my grandson, Temple Franklin. It was my desire to quit public business, fearing it might suffer in my hands through the infirmities incident to my time of life. But as they are pleased to think I may still be useful, I submit to their judgment, and shall do my best.

"I immediately forwarded the letter you enclosed for Mr. Lowndes; and if in any thing else I can do you service or pleasure here, please to command me freely. I have the honour to be, with great regard, sir, &c.

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* The Indiana grant.

† Governor Franklin.

"B. FRANKLIN."

John Adams to Dr. Franklin.

"Amsterdam, October 4, 1781.

"Sir,—Your excellency's letter of June 11, is yet unanswered. I have the honour to agree with your excellency in opinion, that it is reasonable that the articles of rent of the hotel, payment of couriers, postage of letters, salaries of clerks, stationery for the bureau, and feasts and illuminations made upon public occasions, should be deemed expenses of the states. Indeed otherwise it will be impossible for American ministers to live in any such manner as is expected of them, both by Europeans and Americans.

"JOHN ADAMS."

"*To John Adams.*

"Passy, Oct. 12, 1781.

"Sir,—I received the letter your excellency did me the honour of writing to me the 4th instant.

"I have never known a peace made, even the most advantageous, that was not censured as inadequate, and the makers condemned as injudicious or corrupt. 'Blessed *are the peace-makers*,' is, I suppose, to be understood in the other world, for in this they are frequently *cursed*. Being as yet rather too much attached to this world, I had therefore no ambition to be concerned in fabricating this peace, and know not how I came to be put into the commission. I esteem it, however, as an honour to be joined with you in so important a business; and if the execution of it shall happen in my time, which I hardly expect, I shall endeavour to assist in discharging the duty according to the best of my judgment.

"Immediately on receipt of the commission of instructions, I communicated them as directed, to this court. The steps that have been taken in the mediation, were verbally communicated to me, but as yet I have had no copies given me of the papers. I asked if it was not proper to communicate to the ministers of the mediating powers, the commission of congress impowering us to accept their mediation; and was advised to postpone it a little. I will endeavour on Tuesday next, to obtain for you a copy of the answer of the British court, which you desire, and will consult on the propriety of mentioning our commission in the public papers.

"I have heard nothing of Mr. Jefferson. I imagine the story of his being taken prisoner is not true. From his original unwillingness to leave America when I was sent hither, I think his coming doubtful, unless he had been made acquainted with and consented to the appointment.

"I hope your health is fully established. I doubt not but you have the advice of skilful physicians, otherwise I should presume to offer mine, which would be, though you find yourself well, to take a few doses of bark, by way of fortifying your constitution, and preventing a return of your fever.

"With the greatest respect, I have the honour to be, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Edmund Burke, M. P.*

"Passy, October, 15, 1781.

"Sir,—I received but a few days since your very friendly letter of August last, on the subject of general Burgoyne.

"Since the foolish part of mankind will make wars from time to time with each other, not having sense enough otherwise to settle their differences, it certainly becomes the wiser part, who cannot prevent those wars, to alleviate as much as possible the calamities attending them. Mr. Burke always stood high in my esteem; but his affectionate concern for his friend renders him still more amiable, and makes the honour he does me of admitting me of the number, still more precious.

"I do not think the congress have any wish to persecute general Burgoyne. I never heard till I received your letter that they had recalled him; if they have made such a resolution, it must be, I suppose, a conditional one, to take place in case their offer of exchanging him for Mr. Laurens should not be accepted; a resolution intended merely to enforce that offer.

"I have just received an authentic copy of the resolve containing that offer; and authorizing me to make it. As I have no communication with your ministers, I send it enclosed to you. If you can find any means of negociating this business, I am sure the restoring another worthy man to his family and friends, will be an addition to your pleasure. With great and invariable respect and affection, I am, sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"Versailles, October 24, 1781.

"Sir,—I have the honour to transmit you a memorial directed to me, from Messieurs La Marque and Fabre, wherein you will see that those two gentlemen have supplied Mr. Gillon with several articles of merchandise, and that this commodore went away without paying them. It is unknown to me, whether you have in hands any funds belonging either to the said Mr. Gillon, or the state of South

Carolina. In the case you have, I make not the least doubt, but you will look upon it as matter of justice, to discharge the said debt, and should you have none, I request it of you as a favour, that you would strongly recommend to congress the interests of Messieurs La Marque and Fabre.

"DE VERGENNES."

"Mr. Franklin does not know that the following memorial concerns the congress, but at the request of M. de Vergennes, transmits it. B. F."

"*A memorial from Messrs. La Marque and Fabre, to his excellency the count de Vergennes, minister and secretary of state, for the department of foreign affairs.*

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—The memorial of the Sieurs La Marque and Fabre, merchant drapers in Paris, St. Bond street, humbly showeth, that on the 12th April, 1780, your petitioners contracted to supply clothing for troops with Mr. Gillon, who was in the service of the United States of America, being commodore from the state of South Carolina, and their representative invested with powers from them; and that this contract was on our part, executed to the satisfaction of the said Mr. Gillon, who in consequence drew bills on the house of Messieurs Banquet and Pache, bankers in Paris, payable to your petitioners in July 1781, to the amount of £50,227, and for other articles furnished, he is debtor in all for £51,291.

"Last May, said Mr. Gillon, being then in Paris, promised your petitioners that on his arrival in Amsterdam, he would procure them the amount of the balance due to them from his correspondents in the said city, they took his word for it, and expected payment in this way. Your petitioners, sir, received a letter from said commodore, dated the 19th July, in which he wrote them, that having settled his affairs with bills at six and nine months sight, he would be glad to know of them, whether it would suit them to take the acceptations of a solid house in Amsterdam, at six and nine and twelve months, with offer to make good to them the delay of payment. The 27th of the same month, an answer was sent to said Mr. Gillon, that his offers were accepted; this last letter, sir, has remained without any direct answer from the debtor of your petitioners, as well as those that have been wrote since, he contenting himself to get his nephew, named Nixon, to write, that though Mr. Gillon's armament in the Texel engrossed his attention, yet he did not lose sight of our object, which he would terminate in a manner satisfactory to us, at his return to Amsterdam, which we might depend upon. The said commodore having hitherto most strictly fulfilled all his promises, your petitioners were patiently waiting the day for the fulfilment of the last, when to their great surprise and sorrow, they were informed of the departure of their debtor, with a rich cargo from the Texel for America, where it is supposed that he arrived about the latter end of September, if not molested in his way, being a prime sailer. At the receipt of this affecting piece of intelligence, the first care of your excellency's petitioners, was to apply to Mr. Franklin, the minister of the United States of America, and relate to him the sad situation they were in; who having perused the contract and the engagements entered into by the said Mr. Gillon, assured them that they had the guarantee of the state of South Carolina, that they should lose nothing, and he would use his influence in their behalf.

"Though the debt is secured by the guarantee of that state, the time of payment being not determined, and your petitioners being under engagements to be fulfilled, and contracted on account of the articles delivered to said Mr. Gillon, in order to accelerate the payment of what is due to them, they flatter themselves, that if your excellency would honour them with his recommendation to Mr. Franklin, this minister of the United States, in consequence of his benevolence, and in order to prevent the injury which the national credit of his country might receive from the conduct of the commodore who was invested with powers from his state, which like the rest of them, is under the authority of congress, we presume to think that for a sum so inconsiderable with respect to the United States, though very considerable to your petitioners, Mr. Franklin would not refuse to take measures with them for the discharge of the debt, which might be made payable at such periods of time as he would choose. No words could express the sense of gratitude, your petitioners would feel, would your excellency condescend to recommend their case to Mr. Franklin.

"This minister could be able to recover the debt even before the time, for the fulfilment of the obligations he might contract was elapsed, said Mr. Gillon having sailed in one of the strongest and best sailing frigates, named after, and belonging to the said state, the crew whereof were clothed partly with the supplies your petitioners have furnished; your petitioners have not the least doubt but that the first care of the commodore after his arrival, will be to make remittances to them, and thereby discharge himself and the province he belongs to; which remittances Mr. Franklin himself could receive was he to be so kind as to comply with the proposals of your petitioners, by writing himself to America for the purpose.

"May God in mercy grant the prayers sent up to Heaven in behalf of your excellency, by your most humble petitioners.

"Your excellency's petitioners having just been informed by Mr. Franklin, that Mr. Gillon instead of going to America had put into Corunna to take in provisions, having consumed those he took in whilst in the Texel, during the few weeks he was cruising on the coast of England, have wrote this day to Monsieur Destournelles, his majesty's consul at Corunna, requesting him to compel, by virtue of the vouchers sent to him, the said commodore to pay the £ 51,291 he owes to your excellency's petitioners, and as they have no prospect should this opportunity fail, to receive this sum till after the long process of time, as Mr. Franklin told them, they humbly request your excellency to honour them with his protection, and to require that orders be given for this sum to be secured in case your petitioners be not too late, and said Mr. Gillon has not sailed from Corunna."

"*Thomas M'Kean, President of Congress.*

"Passy, November 5, 1781.

"Sir,—Herewith you will receive a copy of my last, since which I have been honoured with two letters from the late president, the one dated March 2d, relating to captain Jones's *cross of merit*, which I have communicated as directed; the other dated July 5th, respecting the release and exchange of Mr. Laurens. Having no direct communication with the British ministers, and Mr. Burke appearing by a letter to me warmly interested in favour of his friend, general Burgoyne, to prevent his being recalled, I have requested and impowered him to negotiate that exchange, and I soon expect his answer.

"The late practice of sending to England prisoners taken in America, has greatly augmented the number of those unfortunate men, and proportionably increased the expense of relieving them. The subscriptions for that purpose in England have ceased. The allowance I have made them of sixpence each per week, during the summer, though small, amounts to a considerable sum; and during the winter I shall be obliged to double, if not treble it. The admiralty there will not accept any English in exchange, but such as have been taken by Americans; and absolutely refuse to allow any of the paroles given to our privateers by English prisoners discharged at sea, except in one instance, that of fifty-three men taken in the Snake sloop, by the Pilgrim and Rambler, which was a case attended, as they say, with some particular circumstances. I know not what the circumstances were, but shall be glad to see the fifty-three of our people, whom they promised to send me by the first cartel. I have above five hundred other paroles, solemnly given in writing, by which the Englishmen promised either to send of our people in exchange, or to surrender themselves to me in France; not one of which has been regarded, so little faith and honour remains in that corrupted nation. Our privateers when in the European seas, will rarely bring in their prisoners, when they can get rid of them at sea.

"Some of our poor brave countrymen have been in that cruel captivity now near four years. I hope the congress will take this matter into immediate consideration, and find some means for their deliverance, and to prevent the sending more from America. By my last accounts, the number now in the several prisons amount to upwards of eight hundred. I request also some directions from congress (having never received any) respecting the allowance to be made to them, while they remain there. They complain that the food given them is insufficient. *Their petition to the English government, to have an equal allowance with the French and Spanish prisoners, has been rejected;* which makes the small pecuniary assistance I can send them, more necessary. If a certain number of English prisoners could be set apart in America, treated exactly in the same manner, and their exchange refused till it should be agreed to set those at liberty in Europe, one might hope to succeed in procuring the discharge of our people. Those who escape and pass through France to get home, put me also to a very great expense for their land journeys, which would be prevented if they were exchanged, as they would be landed here in the ports.

"The ambassador of Venice told me, that he was charged by the senate to express to me their grateful sense of the friendly behaviour of captain Barry, commander of the Alliance, in rescuing one of the ships of their state from an English privateer, and setting her at liberty. And he requested me to communicate this acknowledgment to congress.

"There is a complaint from Holland against captain Jones, for having taken the brigantine Berkenbosch, and sending her to America; and I have been desired to lay before congress the enclosed depositions relating to that capture, and to request their attention to it. The ambassador of Portugal also, frequently asks me if I have received any answer to their complaint long since sent over; I wish it was in my power to give him one of some kind or other. But none has yet come to my hands. I need not mention the importance of attending to the smallest complaints. The neglect of them sometimes having very serious consequences.

"The mediation proposed, is not yet agreed to by England, who refuses to treat with our United States but as a sovereign with subjects; and I apprehend that a change in that resolution is only to be expected from time, the growing insupportable expense of the war, or a course of misfortunes in the progress of it. The spirits of that nation have been continually kept up by the flattering accounts sent over of our being weary of the contest, and on the point of submission. Their ministers, as appears by their intercepted letters, have been themselves so far deceived, as to expect daily those submissions, and to have the pleasure of laying them before the king. We may perhaps be able to guess a little by the king's speech, at the approaching new session of parliament, whether they still continue under this delusion. As long as it subsists, peace is not to be expected.

" A loan has been proposed to be obtained for us of the states of Holland, on the credit of this government. All public operations are slow in that country, and though the affair is at length said to be concluded, it is not yet executed. Considerable advances have, however, been made here in expectation of being reimbursed by it. The last aids granted us, have been so absorbed by my payment of the drafts on Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams, and acceptance of those for the enormous unexpected purchases in Holland, which were to have gone in captain Gillon's ship, but left behind, that I shall have nothing to spare for extraordinaries, unless some of the Holland loan comes soon into my hands. I am now told from Amsterdam, that the two ships freighted there to carry these goods are detained, as their contract was to sail under convoy of the South Carolina, which left them, and they must now take more men to defend them; and of consequence claim a higher freight, and to have it paid before they sail, unless I will buy the ships and send them on account of congress, neither of which is in my power to do. It was with reluctance I engaged in that affair, having little confidence in captain Gillon's management; and fearing some embarrassment of our credit, I consented in fine, to engage for the payment of ten thousand pounds sterling, being the value of the goods suitable for congress, said to be already shipped in that vessel; and as there was said to be still more room, and she was thought a safe conveyance to furnish an additional sum to fill that supposed vacancy, which I limited to five thousand pounds sterling more. You will judge of my surprise, when I saw the accounts of that additional purchase, which amounted instead of five, to fifty thousand thousand pounds sterling. I at first absolutely refused to pay for them. But captain Jackson came to me from thence express, urged that the purchase was made by order of colonel Laurens, that the goods were on board; that if I would not undertake to pay for them, they must be re-landed and returned or sold, which would be a public disgrace to us; that they were all articles exceedingly wanted in America, &c. In fine, I was prevailed upon and accepted the bills, and was obliged to go with this after-clap to the ministers, a proceeding always disagreeable, after the dispositions of the funds of the year have been arranged; and more so in this case, as the money was to be paid for the manufactures of other countries, and not laid out in those of this kingdom, by whose friendship it was furnished.—This fresh grant was at first absolutely refused. At length I obtained it, and I hoped the difficulty was over. But after all the officers declare the ship overloaded, that there was not room to lodge the people and provisions, nor to act in fighting her; the goods are turned out into two other ships, those are left, and it is now proposed to me either to buy them, or to advance a freight nearly equal to the value. I cannot make a new demand for this purpose, and I shall not wonder if this government, observing how badly our shipping and transporting the supplies is managed, should take that business for the future entirely into its own hands, as they have begun to do in the case of replacing the cargo of the Marquis de la Fayette, and indeed until some active, intelligent person, skilled in maritime affairs, is placed here as consul, I cannot but think it will be much better executed, and more for our advantage. Some considerable parts of that new cargo are already shipped, and the rest I hear in great forwardness.

" The very friendly disposition of this court still continues, and will I hope continue for ever. From my own inclination, as well as in obedience to the order of congress, every thing in my power shall be done to cultivate that disposition, but I trust it will be remembered that the best friends may be overburdened; that by too frequent, too large, and too unfortunate demands upon it, the most cordial friendship may be wearied; and as nothing is more teazing than repeated unexpected demands for money, I hope the congress will absolutely put an end to the practice of drawing on their ministers, and thereby obliging them to worry their respective courts for the means of payment. It may have otherwise very ill effects in depressing the spirit of a minister, and destroying that freedom of representation, which on many occasions it might be proper for him to make use of.

" I heartily congratulate you, sir, on your being called to the honourable and important office of president, and wish you every kind of prosperity. B. FRANKLIN."

Protest of Captain Ary de Neif, commanding the brigantine Berkenbosch.

" On the 4th of August, 1780, captain Ary de Neif, commanding the brigantine Berkenbosch, the property of Messrs. Van de Perre and Myneers of Middleburg in Zealand, being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, before Alexander Jeune, secretary, of the noble granted general, West India company, at St. Eustatia, did depose and say, that on the fifteenth day of August, 1779, he sailed from Middleburg, in the abovementioned brigantine, bound for Liverpool, where he arrived on the twenty-seventh day of August, 1779; that at Liverpool, he took in a cargo of lead and pilchards, from whence he sailed on the 27th day of December, 1779 for Leghorn, that on the eighth day of January 1780, in the northern latitude of 40 degrees, longitude 3 degrees and 34 minutes, he fell in with captain John P. Jones, who hailed the brig, and ordered the said captain Ary de Neif, together with all his papers on board the Lion, (captain Jones's own ship.) Then he (captain John Paul Jones) examined captain Ary de Neif's papers, and broke the seals of all his letters, at the same time declaring his vessel to be a lawful prize, upon the principle of her being American property, though assured by captain de Neif, that though she was formerly American property, she then belonged to the subjects of the United Provinces, and that captain Jones might see it by his papers; that captain Jones answered, that every thing was English property, and asked him what wages would be an inducement for him to navigate the said brigantine Berkenbosch to America, he putting on board her some of his own crew, and taking her crew on board the Lion; that his proposal, though often urged by captain Jones, captain Ary de Neif refused accepting. That captain Jones then sent a prize-master and four men on board the brigantine, at the same time ordering four men and a boy of the brig's crew on board his own ship. That he kept captain Ary de Neif closely confined on board the Lion, till the ninth instant, when he permitted the captain, a passenger, and one man to go on board and depart with the brig, detaining the cook on board the Lion: that on the eleventh of March he was taken within sight of St. Eustatia, by two British ships of war, and that one eighth part of his cargo was condemned by a court of admiralty at Barbadoes, and that his protest against captain Jones, and the two captains of his Britannic majesty's ships, for breaking open his letters, examining his papers, depriving him of part of his crew, and condemning one eighth part of his cargo."

Certificate from captain Ary de Neif to chevalier Jones.

"I Ary de Neif, master of the brigantine called the Berkenbosch, from Liverpool to Leghorn, do certify to the best of my knowledge and belief, that the whole of the cargo on board my said vessel, is really and truly British property, particularly the lead and red herrings. Witness my hand, on board the Alliance, at sea off cape Finisterre, this ninth day of January, 1780. ARY DE NEIF."

" *Witness*, GEO. CONYNGHAM,
" FITCH POOL.

" A true copy from the rough draft now in my hands. PAUL JONES."

" *To Colonel Laurens.*

." PASSY, Nov. 8, 1781.

" DEAR SIR,—I received your very kind letter written at sea off the coast of Spain. I thank you for the friendly hint contained in it respecting my grandson: I see that what you propose for him might have a good effect; but I have too much occasion for his assistance, and cannot spare him to make the voyage. He must take his chance, and I hope he will in time obtain, as well as merit, the consideration of our government.

" B. FRANKLIN."

" *To Messrs. Kornmann, relative to a claim of relationship with Dr. Franklin.*

" PASSY, Nov. 21, 1781.

" GENTLEMEN,—Enclosed is the answer you desire to the letter sent me from *Conigsberg*.—I have the honour to be, gentlemen, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

" PASSY, November 21, 1781.

" MADAM,—I received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me the 26th of last month: in answer to which I ought to inform you, that I was born in America, now near 76 years since; that I never was in Ireland till the year 1773, which was for a few weeks only, and I did not pass thence to America with any person of my name, but returned to England; nor had I ever any knowledge of the John Franklin you mention. I have exact accounts of every person of my family since the year 1555, when it was established in England, and am certain that none of them but myself since that time were ever in Ireland. The name of Franklin is common among the English of the two nations, but there are a number of different families who bear it, and who have no relation to each other. It would be a pleasure to me to discover a relation in Europe, possessing the amiable sentiments expressed in your letter. I assure you I should not disown the meanest. I should also be glad if I could give you a satisfactory account of your family; but I really know nothing of them. I have therefore not the honour of being related to them, but I have that of being, madam, B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Governor Pownall, London.*

"Passy, November 23, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—I received your favour by Mr. Hobart. I caused an application to be made to Almon in behalf of Mrs. Barry, but do not learn that it is like to meet with any success. As the transaction was between yourself and him, no other person but you can claim with authority; I must therefore beg for the poor good woman's sake, that you would do something effectual in it.

"I also request that you would send the copies you mention to me here, directed to the care of Mr. Bowen at Ostend; and that the plate may be packed with them.

"I wish most heartily with you, that this cursed war was at an end: but I despair of seeing it finished in my time. Your thirsty nation has not yet drank enough of our blood. I am authorized to treat of peace whenever she is disposed to it, but I saw inconveniences in meeting and discoursing with you on the subject, or with any one not avowed by your ministry; having already experienced such, in several instances. Mr. Hobart appeared not fully acquainted with your ideas, and as he could not communicate them, I could make no judgment of them. My best wishes attend you, being with the old long-continued esteem, B. FRANKLIN."

"*John Adams.*

"Passy, Nov. 26, 1781.

"I sent forward last Saturday some packets and letters for you, which I hope got to hand in time: most heartily do I congratulate you on the glorious news! (The capitulation of lord Cornwallis's army.) The infant Hercules in his cradle has now strangled his second serpent, and gives hopes that his future history will be answerable. I enclose a packet which I have just received from general Washington, and which I suppose contains the articles of capitulation. It is a rare circumstance, and scarce to be met with in history, that in one war two armies should be taken prisoners completely, not a man in either escaping. It is another singular circumstance, that an expedition so complex, formed of armies of different nations, and of land and sea-forces, should with such perfect concord be assembled from different places by land and water, form their junction punctually, without the least retard by cross accidents of wind or weather, or interruption from the enemy; and that the army which was their object should in the mean time have the goodness to quit a situation from whence it might have escaped, and place itself in another whence an escape was impossible.

"General Greene has done wonders too in Carolina. I hear that a reinforcement was to be sent him from the army in Virginia, and that there are hopes of his reducing Charlestown. You have probably in the enclosed packet the account of his last great action. Comte de Grasse sailed the 30th with the fleet, and part of the land-forces. His destination is not mentioned."

Captain John Paul Jones to M. Dumas.

"Portsmouth, N. H. December 10, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—This letter is intended to be presented to you by major Sherburne, of this state, who will tell you his own story and part of mine. You will present him with my respects to madame Dumas and the *virgin muse.*

"I am happy that 'the pitiful sir Joseph' has been besieged by 'the great man,' and forced to evacuate his *strong hold* with disgrace!—The author of Hamlet has not given him more surprise at the sight of his father's ghost, than the world has felt to see the Belgians roused from the lethargy of a century! May their long reluctant swords now fall with double vengeance on the insolent heads of their enemies! May the marine be inspired with the military enthusiasm of De Ruyter, to vindicate the national honour of the republic! and may even admiral B— S— L———, catch that enthusiasm, and be employed to ruin and destroy their eastern ports! Feeling as I do for the honour of your nation, how could Mr. Van de Perre suppose I could mean to infringe the liberties of your flag in the affair of the brig *Berkenbos?* How could you, who know me, believe I could dirty my fingers with such a capture! or that the master's account he gave from St. Lucia was a true one? He gave me a clear certificate, under his hand, that the property was British; and that certificate was witnessed both by captain Conyngham and my clerk. Yet I did not decide whether his vessel was or was not a prize; but I left him and his officers the command, and having given him the necessary assistance, advised him to steer for an American port, to which he freely consented. The man I put on board, was not, as he pretends, a prize-master; nor had he any orders from me for that purpose: what would have been the consequence had she arrived in one of our ports, I cannot say. Possibly she might have been acquitted! and in that case the owners would have had reason to thank me; as the cargo would have been at the best market. I can justify my conduct; I did my duty both to the republic and the United States; I hope the vessel has been restored; but I am guiltless, and congress knows it. J. PAUL JONES."

"*To Mrs. C. Edes.*

"Passy, Dec. 13, 1781.

"Madam,—I return enclosed the letter

from my friend, Mr. Bridgen, which I received from you last night. You will be so good as to acquaint him in answer to his first question, *if any fund was established for the support of Mr. Laurens?* that being informed about the middle of last month by a friend in London of Mr. L.'s being in want of money, I wrote on the 19th to Mr. Hodgson, a merchant in Coleman Street, in whose hands I had lodged cash for the support of prisoners, to hold £100 of it at the disposition of Mr. Laurens; and I since hear that on a like intimation to Mr. Adams in Holland, he has ordered another £100 to be applied to the same purpose. I have never heard that any fund was established in America for the use of that gentleman; probably it has not been known there that he had need of it. The second question, *if any measures had been taken for his relief?* will be answered by acquainting Mr. B. that the congress passed a resolution to offer the exchange of general Burgoyne for him, and impowered me to make the offer: that Mr. Burke having written to me in favour of his friend, general Burgoyne, on a supposition that the congress intended to recall him, I sent a copy of the resolution to Mr. Burke, and requested he would charge himself with the negotiation. I have since heard nothing, either from Mr. Hodgson or Mr. Burke; and as it is said, a packet was lately lost between Ostend and England, I begin to fear my letters have miscarried, and shall by the first post send copies. I wish Mr. Bridgen would however apply to both those gentlemen, learn what has been done, and through you acquaint me with it. I beg you would assure Mr. Bridgen of my best wishes and affectionate attachment. I hope his affairs in Carolina have been settled to his mind. With much esteem, I have the honour to be, madam,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. About the beginning of the year, having heard a report that Mr. Laurens was ill-used, I wrote a little remonstrance to sir Grey Cooper on the occasion; who replied, by acquainting me that on inquiry he found the report to be groundless; and by sending me a letter he had received from the lieutenant of the Tower, which assured him in the strongest terms, that Mr. Laurens was perfectly satisfied with the treatment he received, and frequently expressed his thankfulness for the same; this made me easy, hearing nothing afterwards to the contrary till lately."

From Wm. Alexander, Esq. to Dr. Franklin.

"Passy, Dec. 15, 1781.

"My dear Sir,—I told you last time I had the pleasure of seeing you at Passy, that I should make a trip to London, but had no notion it would be so soon. On coming to town last evening, I found such pressing letters, that I propose setting off this evening or to-morrow at latest. I would have called if possible to receive your commands, but as I am pinched in time, must content myself with sending for them. The bearer will call for them an hour after receiving this letter.

"I shall probably be interrogated about the dispositions in this country to peace. My own idea is, that you seek only your independence, and that *this* country, were that secured, will be moderate in other matters, as the object of the war does not seem to be conquest. Let me know if this is proper language. I notice that a courtly argument has been used in parliament for continuing the continental war, that withdrawing would make you insolent, and give France exclusive advantages—were it not proper that this were contradicted flatly? Any commissions you may have will be taken care of, and I shall be back, barring accidents, in three weeks. Wishing you every thing that is good, I remain with equal esteem and respect, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"W. ALEXANDER."

Answer to Mr. Alexander.

"Passy, December 15, 1781.

"Dear Sir,—I thank you for informing me of your intended journey. You know so well the prevailing sentiments here, and mine in particular, that it is unnecessary for me to express them; and having never been believed on that side the water, it would be useless. I will say, however, that I think the language you mention very proper to be held, as it is the truth; though the truth may not always be proper. Wishing you a good voyage, and happy return to your children, I am with great esteem, dear sir, yours, &c. &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To David Hartley, Esq. M. P., sent by Mr. Alexander with a pamphlet.*

"Passy, December 15, 1781.

"My dear Friend,—I received your favour of September 26, containing your very judicious proposition of securing the spectators in the opera and playhouses from the danger of fire. I communicated it where I thought it might be useful. You will see by the enclosed that the subject has been under consideration here. Your concern for the security of life, even the lives of your enemies, does honour to your heart and your humanity.—But what are the lives of a few idle haunters of playhouses compared with the many thousands of worthy men, and honest, industrious families butchered and destroyed by this devilish war! O! that we could find some happy invention to stop the spreading of the flames, and put an end to so horrid a conflagration! Adieu, I am ever, yours most affectionately, "B. FRANKLIN."

"*To M. Dumas.*

"PASSY, December, 19, 1781.

"DEAR SIR,—I duly received yours of the 11th, per young Mr. de Neufville, enclosing the pamphlets, of which I gave one the next day to Mr. Boudoin. It was so long since we have heard from you, that we feared you were sick.

"I enclose sundry American newspapers, out of which perhaps something may be drawn for your printers. There are the orders of general Greene after the battle of Eutaw Springs, by which it appears that the militia behaved to general satisfaction. There are also the proceedings relating to colonel Isaac Haynes, which it may be well to publish, as probably we may soon hear that general Greene, according to his promise in his proclamation, has hanged some of the British officers in retaliation; and the knowledge of these proceedings may operate in his justification. In the German paper there are two dialogues, of which you can best judge whether the printing of them in Germany may not have some little effect in opposition to *Fawcett's recruiting*. I suppose this letter may find you at Amsterdam, and therefore I send it under cover to Mr. Adams, with the usual compliments of the approaching season. "B. FRANKLIN."

"*Miss Laurens.*

"PASSY, December 29, 1781.

"MADAM,—I received your very sensible letter of the 14th past. Your brother, colonel Laurens, being here when I received the former, I informed him of the steps I had then taken, respecting your good father, and requested him to answer your letter for me. I did suppose he had done it; but his great and constant occupation while here, might occasion his omitting it. The purport was, that on a report of your father's being harshly treated, I wrote in his behalf to an old friend, sir Grey Cooper, secretary of the treasury, complaining of it. His answer was, that he had inquired, and found the report groundless; and he sent me enclosed a letter he received from the lieutenant of the Tower, assuring him that Mr. Laurens was treated with great kindness, was very sensible of it, thankful for it, and frequently expressed his satisfaction: on this I became more easy on his account; but a little before I received your letter, I had one (from Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, who is connected with the family of Mr. Manning) which informed me that Mr. Laurens was really in want of necessaries; and desired to know if any provision was made for his subsistence. I wrote immediately to Mr. Hodgson, in whose hands I had lodged some money, requesting him to hold £100 of it at the disposition of Mr. Laurens, and to acquaint Mr. Vaughan with it. About this time I received two letters; one from Mr. Burke, member of parliament, complaining that his friend, general Burgoyne, (in England on his parole) was reclaimed and recalled by congress, and requesting I would find some means of permitting him to remain. The other was from the congress, enclosing a resolve that impowered me to offer general Burgoyne in exchange for Mr. Laurens. Perceiving by Mr. Burke's letter, that he was very desirous of obtaining his friend's liberty, and having no immediate intercourse with the British ministry, I thought I could not do better than to enclose the resolve in my answer to his letter, and request him to negotiate the exchange. When I received yours, I was in expectation of having soon an answer from Mr. Burke and Mr. Hodgson, which would enable me to give you more satisfactory information. I, therefore, delayed writing to you from post to post till I should hear from them; and fearing from the length of time that my letters had miscarried, I sent copies of them. It is but yesterday that I received an answer from Mr. Hodgson, dated the 21st instant, in which he writes me, 'I received your favour of the 19th ultimo; I immediately acquainted Mr. Vaughan with your directions concerning the supplying Mr. Laurens. He has been acquainted therewith; but hitherto no application has been made to me for the money: whenever it is, you may be assured it shall be complied with.' No answer is come to my hands from Mr. Burke; but I see by a newspaper Mr. Hodgson sends me, that he has endeavoured to execute the commission. I enclose that paper for your satisfaction, together with a copy of your father's petition to parliament, on which I do not find that they have yet come to any result: but observing that he makes no complaint in that petition, of his being pinched in the article of subsistence, I hope that part of our intelligence from London may be a mistake. I shall, however, you may depend, leave nothing undone that is in my power, to obtain his release, and assure you that the thought of the pleasure it must afford a child, whose mind is of so tender a sensibility, and filled with such true filial duty and affection, will be an additional spur to my endeavours. I suppose Mr. Adams has informed you that he has ordered another £100 sterling to be paid

Mr. Laurens: and I hope you will soon have the happiness of hearing that he is at liberty. With very great regard,

"B. FRANKLIN."

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"LONDON, Jan. 2, 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have received the favour of yours of the 15th of December, by Mr. Alexander. I most heartily join with you in the wish that we could find some means to stop the spreading flames of this *devilish war.* I will not despair. The communications which he has imparted to me from you, have revived my hopes of peace. I laid them before the minister immediately. We are at a suspense for the present upon a very material preliminary. I did intend writing to you at the present pause, that we might make our ground good as we go on, but an accident which has happened obliges me to do it without delay. For having had a most essential question transmitted to me from lord North for explanation, when I would have applied to Mr. Alexander, I could not hear of him; and now I find that he has left his hotel these four or five days, and his return uncertain, I must apply to you. I will state to you what has passed.

"Upon my first interview with Mr. Alexander, he told me that the late events would make no difference in the prospect of peace; that America had no other wish than to see a termination of this war; that no events would make them unreasonable on that subject, which sentiments likewise your letter expresses; and that no formal recognition of independence would be required. I thought this a very fair opening; but the next point which he explained to me, seemed to be still more material towards peace, viz. that America was disposed to enter into a separate treaty with Great Britain, and their allies were disposed to consent to it. I believe that it has been the unfortunate union of common cause between America and France, which has for the last three years turned aside the wish of the people of England for peace. I verily believe (so deep is the jealousy between England and France) that this country would fight for a straw to the last man, and the last shilling, rather than be dictated to by France. I therefore, consider this as the greatest rub out of the way. I have often argued this point with you upon former occasions, having at all times foreseen, that it would be the greatest rub in the road to peace, and I have often stated it to you as an act of *justice* due to America from her allies, not to drag her through a war of European resentments and jealousies, beyond her original views and engagements; and moreover I think the separation of the causes in the negotiation promises much the shortest road to a general peace.

"Upon Mr. Alexander's opening thus much to me, I told him I would apply for the earliest opportunity of laying these matters before the minister. Accordingly, on Friday morning (December 21) I applied through the means of the earl of Guildford (father to lord North,) a nobleman of a most respectable character, advanced in years, and attached by every possible tie to a son now in a most arduous situation. I therefore requested the favour through his hands, as giving me the most conciliatory access to the minister, to whom I was preparing to make an application for peace. After the appointment was made with lord North for Friday evening, I returned to Mr. Alexander, to consider the specific manner and terms in which I should make my application. It had occurred to me, from what Mr. Alexander had stated to me, that the conciliatory bill* which I had moved in the last parliament, on June 27, 1780, would still serve as a foundation to proceed upon: I therefore carried it with me. He told me that he and you knew the sense of the bill very well, and that it would be entirely consonant to your sentiments, that I should state it to lord North, as drawing an outline for negotiation of peace. However, to avoid all errors, I read the bill through to him, and explained the view of each clause, viz. the style of *provinces of North America*—a general phrase to avoid any term denoting dependence or independence: the truce for an indefinite term: the articles of intercourse for ten years certain—to restore an amicable correspondence—and to abate animosities: the suspension of certain acts of parliament—to avoid every possible question of dependence or independence: and to finish the work, by a ratification of each article of intercourse as agreed to, thereby to prevent all possible return of war. I compared the articles of intercourse for a short term, and their ratification into a permanent peace, to a well known mode of proceeding in the laws of England, by lease and release, from temporary to perpetual amity and peace. Upon these grounds I took my commission from him for lord North, viz. the question of dependence or independence *sub silentio*—a separate treaty with America, and to state the conciliatory bill of June, 1780, as the outline of negotiation. I saw lord North in the evening, and stated the foregoing propositions to him, as I have now stated them to you. After having stated the compromise *sub silentio*, and the separate treaty, I left with lord North the copy of the bill of June, 1780, together with a paper, entitled, Conciliatory Propositions, as explanatory of that bill (both enclosed with this.) The next morning (viz.

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* See Mr. Hartley's letter of July, 1780.

Saturday, December 22,) I saw Mr. Alexander, and reported to him what I had stated to lord North, and showed him a copy of the paper, entitled, Conciliatory Propositions.—He told me that I had executed my commission perfectly to his intelligence of the matter. I should tell you, that at the conclusion of my conversation with lord North, we both settled jointly the result thus, 'I recommend to your lordship the propositions which I have had the honour of stating to you as, *general grounds of a proposed negotiation, leading towards peace, under liberal constructions.*' Lord North said in answer, 'so I understand them.'

"Upon this footing matters rested for some days. On Sunday last (December 30,) I received a message from lord North, through the means of lord Guildford, requesting an explanation of this point, viz. 'Who is authorized to treat on the part of America? whether you or Mr. Adams, or both jointly; and whether the propositions above stated, would be acknowledged, as general grounds of negotiation towards peace, by the person or persons authorized to treat; because it was necessary, before he could lay a matter of so great importance before the cabinet council, that he should be entitled to say, These propositions and general outlines come to me from responsible and authorized persons.' The moment I received the request of lord North, I agreed entirely with the necessity of an explanation on that head. I had partly expected such an inquiry, and it gave me satisfaction when it came, as I thought it the first reply towards a parley. If the propositions had not gained some attention it would have been of very little importance to have inquired whence they came. As to the caution itself, it appears to me not only prudent but indispensable. The forms of caution in such cases are the essentials of caution. I had determined on my own account, before this message, to have writ to you, that I might have received your sentiments directly from yourself without any other intervention, that we might proceed with caution and certainty in a matter of such infinite importance. This message has only quickened my despatch. The two points of explanation requested, I take to be these; whether the outlines above recited are properly stated, always considering that they imply no farther than *general grounds of negotiation towards peace; under liberal constructions;* and secondly, by what authorized person or persons, any answer on this subject would be accepted; in short a requisition of credentials preparatory to a formal answer, which is so much the more necessary on the supposition of a favourable reception of the first hint towards negotiation.

"When I last saw Mr. Alexander, viz. about four or five days ago, he had met with some desponding impressions, as if the ministry were indisposed to peace, and that things would not do, &c. He did not tell me upon what ground he had formed such apprehension; however, lest he should have imparted any such by letter to you, I will state that point to you, because it may have infinite ill consequences to be too touchy on such suspicions. A premature jealousy may create the very evil it suspects. The ministry in this country are not every thing. The sense of the people when really expressed and exerted, would be most prevalent. Suppose then it were a proved point, that every man in the ministry were in his heart adverse to peace. What then? withhold all overtures! By no means. I should advise the very contrary in the strongest manner. I should say, let the overtures be made so much the more public and explicit, by those who do wish for peace. It is the unfortunate state of things which has hitherto bound the cause of France to any possible treaty with America, and which has thereby thrown a national damp upon any actual public exertions to procure a negotiation for peace with America. I have the strongest opinion, that if it were publicly known to the people of England that a negotiation might be opened with America, upon the terms above specified, that all the ministry together, if they were ill disposed, to a man, would not venture to thwart such a measure. But why should it be supposed, that the ministry, to a man, are ill disposed to a peace? Suppose them to be half and half, and the public wish and voice of the people in favour of negotiation, it is evident on which side the balance would incline. But why should we seek to throw a damp prematurely upon any chance? Why presume even against any individual? I grant, that it would be a bitter trial of humility to be brought to a formal recognition of independence at the haughty command of France, and I believe every part of the nation would proceed to every extremity before they would submit to that. But if that touchy point can be provided for, *sub silentio*, and if the proposed treaty with America may be carried on free from control by France, let us give the cause of peace a fair trial; at the worst we should but be where we were if we should fail. But why should we expect to fail, when the greatest rub is removed, by the liberty of entering separately into a treaty? I think it a most favourable event, leading towards peace. Give us a truce with its concomitants, and a little time so given for cooling will have most excellent effects on both sides. Eternal peace and conciliation may then follow.

"I send this to you by the quickest despatch, that we may bring this point to a fair issue before the meeting of parliament. God prosper the blessed work of peace.

"D. HARTLEY."

Conciliatory Bill.

In the title and preamble of the bill the words *provinces of North America* are used as general words, neither implying dependence or independence.

Clause 1. *The Truce* is taken from the conciliatory act of 1778, and is indefinite as to the proposed duration of the truce. Under this clause it might be proposed to negotiate three points, viz. the removal of the British troops from the thirteen provinces of North America, and connectedly with this article, a stipulation for the security of the friends of the British government. The third article might be a stipulation that the respective parties, during the continuance of the truce, should not, neither directly or indirectly, give assistance to the enemies of each other.

Clause 2. *Articles of intercourse and pacification.* Under this clause some arrangements might be settled, for establishing a free and mutual intercourse, civil and commercial, between Great Britain and the aforesaid provinces of North America.

Clause 3. *Suspension of certain acts of parliament.* By this clause a free communication may be kept open between the two countries, during the negotiation for peace, without stumbling against any claim of rights which might draw into contest the question of dependence or independence.

Clause 4. *The ratification by parliament.* The object of this clause is to consolidate peace and conciliation, step by step, as the negotiation may proceed; and to prevent, as far as possible, any return of war, after the first declaration of a truce. By the operation of this clause, a temporary truce may be converted into a perpetual and permanent peace.

Clause 5. *A temporary act.* This clause, creating a temporary act for a specific purpose of negotiation in view, is taken from the act of 1788.

"January 8, 1782.

"P. S. Since writing this letter, I have seen Mr. Alexander, and shall see him from time to time to communicate with him. I do not suppose I shall have an answer from lord North till the preliminary points are so settled as to enable him to give an answer in form. Ministry might undoubtedly give a short negative, if they thought proper; but I do not expect that. You may be assured that I have, and shall continue to enforce, every argument in the most conciliatory manner to induce a negotiation. I am very sorry for Mr. A.'s confinement, on his own account, and on that of his friends, and because probably in the future state of his business, his personal exertions may be very serviceable in the cause of peace. Every assistance and every exertion of mine will always be most heartily devoted to that cause. I have nothing farther to add, either upon my own reflections or from my subsequent conversations with Mr. Alexander, to what I have stated in the foregoing letter. If we once make a good beginning upon the plan there stated, I should hope that such a negotiation, founded on such principles, would promise fair to produce every salutary and pacific consequence in the event."

"*To David Hartley.*

"Passy, January 15, 1782.

"Dear Sir,—I received a few days since your favour of the 2d instant, in which you tell me, that Mr. Alexander had informed you 'America was disposed to enter into a separate treaty with Great Britain.' I am persuaded that your strong desire for peace has misled you, and occasioned your greatly misunderstanding Mr. Alexander; as I think it scarce possible he should have asserted a thing *so utterly void of foundation.* I remember that you have, as you say, often urged this on former occasions, and that it always gave me more disgust than my friendship for you permitted me to express. But since you have now gone so far as to carry such a proposition to lord North, as arising from us, it is necessary that I should be explicit with you, and tell you plainly, that I never had such an idea, and I believe there is not a man in America, a few *English Tories* excepted, that would not spurn at the thought of deserting a noble and generous friend, for the sake of a truce with an unjust and cruel enemy. I have again read over your Conciliatory Bill, with the manuscript propositions that accompany it; and am concerned to find, that one cannot give vent to a simple wish for peace, a mere sentiment of humanity, without having it interpreted as *a disposition to submit to any base conditions* that may be offered us, rather than continue the war; for, on no other supposition could you propose to us a truce for ten years, during which we are to engage not to assist France, while you continue the war with her. A truce too, wherein nothing is to be mentioned that may weaken your pretensions to dominion over us, which you may therefore assume at the end of the term, or at pleasure; when we should have so covered ourselves with infamy, by our treachery to our first friend, as that no other nation can ever after be disposed to assist us, how cruel soever you might think fit to treat us. Believe me, my dear friend, America has too much understanding, and is too sensible of the value of the world's good opinion, to forfeit it all by such perfidy. The congress will never instruct their commissioners to obtain a peace on such ignominious terms; and though there can be but few things, in which I should venture to disobey their orders; yet, if it were possible for them to give me such an order as this, I should certainly refuse to act; I should instantly renounce their commission, and banish myself for ever from so infamous a country.

"We are a little ambitious too of your esteem; and as I think we have acquired some share of it, by our manner of making war with you, I trust we shall not hazard the loss of it by consenting meanly to a dishonourable peace.

"Lord North was wise in demanding of you some authorized acknowledgment of the proposition from authorized persons. He justly thought it too improbable to be relied on, so as to lay it before the privy council. You can now inform him, that the whole has been a mistake, and that no such proposition, as that of a separate peace, has been, is, or is ever likely to be made by me; and I believe by no other authorized person whatever in behalf of America. You may farther, if you please, inform his lordship, that Mr. Adams, Mr. Laurens, Mr. Jay, and myself, have long since been impowered, by a special commission, to treat of peace, whenever a negotiation shall be opened for that purpose: but it must always be understood, that this is to be in conjunction with our allies, conformably to the solemn treaties made with them.

"You have, my dear friend, a strong desire to promote peace, and it is a most laudable and virtuous desire. Permit me then to wish, that you would, in order to succeed as a mediator, to avoid such invidious expressions as may have an effect in preventing your purpose. You tell me that no stipulation for our independence must be in the treaty, because you 'verily believe (so deep is the jealousy between England and France) that England would fight for a straw, to the last man and the last shilling, rather than be *dictated to* by France.' And again, that, 'the nation would proceed to every extremity, rather than be brought to a formal recognition of independence at the *haughty command* of France.'—My dear sir, if every proposition of terms for peace, that may be made by one of the parties at war, is to be called and considered by the other as *dictating*, and a *haughty command*, and for that reason rejected with a resolution of fighting to the last man, rather than agree to it; you see that in such case no treaty of peace is possible. In fact we began the war for independence on your government, which we found tyrannical, and this before France had any thing to do with our affairs; the article in our treaty whereby the 'two parties engage, that neither of them shall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and mutually engage, not to lay down their arms until the independence of the United States shall have been formally or *tacitly* assured, by the treaty or treaties that shall terminate the war,' was an article inserted at our instance, being in our favour. And you see, by the article itself, that your great difficulty may be easily got over, as a formal acknowledgment of our independence is not made necessary. But we hope by God's help to enjoy it; and I suppose we shall fight for it as long as we are able. I do not make any remarks upon the other propositions, because I think, that unless they were made by authority, the discussion of them is unnecessary, and may be inconvenient. The supposition of our being disposed to make a separate peace, I could not be silent upon, as it materially affected our reputation and its essential interests. If I have been a little warm on that offensive point, reflect on your repeatedly urging it, and endeavour to excuse me. Whatever may be the fate of our poor countries, let you and I die as we have lived, in peace with each other. B. FRANKLIN."

D. Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"LONDON, Jan. 24, 1782.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received yours of the 15th instant, this day. I must take the earliest opportunity of setting you right in one mistake which runs through your whole letter, and which to you, under that mistake, must be a very delicate point. You seem to apprehend that America has been stated in the proposition to lord North, as 'disposed to enter into a separate treaty with Great Britain;' but you meet the condition; viz. in the words immediately following, '*and that their allies were disposed to consent to it.*' There cannot possibly be any supposition of treachery to allies, in any proposition to which they may *consent*. A separate treaty, with the *consent* of the allies of America, was the proposition communicated to me by Mr. Alexander, and which I laid before the minister, and which I reported back again to Mr. Alexander, in writing, when I showed him the paper entitled 'Conciliatory Propositions,' which I took care to reduce to writing, with a view of avoiding mistakes: therefore I have not *misunderstood* Mr. Alexander. I have since seen Mr. A. many times, and he has always stated one and the same proposition, viz. that America was disposed to enter into a separate treaty, because their *allies were disposed to consent that they should:* therefore there cannot exist a suspicion of treachery. It occurred to me once whilst I was writing, to bar against that misconstruction: but having specified the *consent of the allies of America*, in the same sentence, I could not conceive such a misconstruction to have been possible. You have mistaken another point greatly. You say, 'a truce for *ten* years.' There is not in the bill any such disposition or thought; on the contrary, it is specified in the enclosed paper, that it is kept *indefinite*, for the sole purpose of avoiding the suspicion which you have suggested. The truce may be for twenty, or fifty, or one hundred years, (in my opinion the longer the better.) But in any case, what I mean now to state is the *indefinite* term in the bill. The articles of intercourse are only proposed for ten years certain, just to strew the way with inviting and conciliatory facilities, in the hope that *a little time given for cooling* would confirm a perpetual peace. If I were permitted to be the mediator, I should certainly propose the truce for twenty years: but if no more than ten years could be obtained, I would certainly not refuse such a ground of pacification and treaty. I refer you to several of my letters two or three years ago, for the justification of my sentiments on that head. Another point: look at all my letters since 1778, and see if I have at any time suggested any breach of treaty or of honour: on the contrary, I think a faithless nation, if exterminated, would not deserve the pity of mankind. I speak of all *I know* in the treaty between America and France, and what I think *reasonable* upon the case itself. If America is farther bound than we *know* of, they must abide by it. I speak to the apparent and public foundation of the treaty, article second with the provision of *tacitly*, from article eight: and now I refer you to my letter to you, as long ago as April 10, 1779: 'If beyond this essential and directed end, and upon grounds totally unconnected with that alliance, not upon motives of magnanimity *for the relief of an innocent people*, but from distinct and unconnected motives of private European sentiments, America should be dragged into the consequence of a general European war, she may apply to France the apostrophe of the poet, speaking in the person of Helen to Paris, "*non hoc pollicitus tuæ.*" You see therefore that our sentiments have been uniform, and as I think reasonable, because I still remain in those sentiments. Suppose for instance (and you call it the case of a straw if you please) that Great Britain and France should continue the war for ten years, on the point of a commissary at Dunkirk, aye or no:—would it be *reasonable* or a *casus fœderis*, that America should be precluded from a separate treaty for ten years, and therefore involved in the consequential war, after the *essential and direct ends* of the treaty of February 6, 1778, were accomplished. As far as my judgment goes, upon the knowledge of such facts as are public, I should think it was neither *reasonable* nor a *casus fœderis.* This is the breviate of the argument, in which there is no thought or suggestion of any breach of faith or honour. I did conclude that France was disposed to give their *consent*, because Mr. Alexander informed me so, and because I thought it *reasonable* that France should *consent*, and *reasonable* that America should enjoy the benefit of that *consent.* I transmitted it to lord North, as a proposition temperate and pacific on the part of America, and consented to by their allies, and on no other ground did I transmit or propose it. All that your letter tells me, is, 'that America will not break it with her allies, and that her commissioners will not entertain such a thought:' but give me leave to add, that they, as honest men, cannot disdain such a thought more than I do; every honest man ought to disdain the office, or the thought of proposing a breach of faith to them. I have often told you, that such an office or such a thought shall never be mine. But you have not told me that France would not be *disposed* to *consent* to a separate treaty of peace, for that ally whose peace was the original declared object of the alliance. In the case supposed, viz. of certain supposed or real punctilios between two proud and belligerent nations, which might possibly involve America, for years, in a war totally unconnected with the objects of the alliance. Besides, if any rubs should occur in the road to a general peace, France is too proud a nation to say, that beyond the *policy* of contributing to the separation of America from Great Britain in any contest of rivalship, they cannot meet their rivals in war, without the *assistance* of America. I cannot conceive that the minister of a great belligerent nation could entertain such a thought, as affecting their own sense of honour, or be so unreasonable to their allies, as to withhold consent to their peace, when *the essential and direct ends* of the alliance were satisfied. Observe, I do not contend against a general peace: on the contrary, I mean to recommend the most prudent means for producing it. But, as an anxious lover of peace, I feel terrors which dismay me, and I consider the dangers which may obstruct a general peace, arising from the pride and prejudices of nations, which are not to be controled in their heat by arguments of reason or philosophy. Can any man in reason and philosophy tell me, why any two nations in the world are called natural enemies, as if it were the ordinance of God and nature. I fear it is too deeply engraved in the passions of man, and for that reason I would elude and evade the contest with such passions. I would strew the road to peace with flowers, and not with thorns. *Haughty*, and *dictating*, and *commands*, are no words of mine; I abhor them, and I fear them. I would elude their force by gentle means, and step by step. In article eight, there are the following words: 'By the treaty or treaties that shall terminate the war.' Let us have one treaty begun, and I think the rest would follow. I fear when contending passions are raised, lest we should lose all by grasping at too much.

"January 25. I have just seen Mr. Alexander, and have talked the matter over with him. I send you a copy of his sentiments upon it, which, for the sake of avoiding farther mistakes, he committed to paper, and which, I think, justify me in saying, that I understood from him, that France was *disposed to give their consent*, as he *explained* it to me, and as I explained it to the minister. He did not say, nor did I understand him to say, that he was *authorized* by the French ministry, or by any one else, to declare that France had bound herself to consent, or that any such requisition had been made to her; but that it was his opinion that France would consent, and that I might proceed upon that presumption, so far as to recommend overtures of negotiation. Accordingly the phrase of letter to you, is that he *explained* to me, *that their allies were disposed to consent*. You see what his opinion is on this day; and as you have not told me that France will consent, the *reasonable* probability which still remains with me, for the hopes of opening an amicable treaty, remains as it did. I could not delay saying thus, by the very first mail, upon a point equally delicate to me, as well as to yourself. My dear friend, I beg of you not to think, either that you can be considered as capable of entertaining, or that I should be capable of suggesting, any unworthy or dishonourable propositions. If there has been any misunderstanding, it is now cleared up: and the ground for negotiation remains open as before. I therefore still entertain my hopes.—I am ever, your affectionate, D. HARTLEY."

Explanatory letter of Mr. Alexander to Mr. Hartley.

"LONDON, Jan. 25, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,—As I had not the opportunity of seeing your correspondence at this time, I was unable to prevent the misunderstanding that seems to have arisen. There is no proposition of which I am more convinced, than that, 'Nothing can be done without the concurrence of allies.' . But, as the chief obstruction towards an accommodation seemed to me to lie in the personal character of some who have great weight in this matter, and as the object of the war (the independence of America) seems, in the opinion of all men, to be secured, my own opinion was and still is, that there was so much wisdom and moderation, where prejudice prevents us from seeing it, that, provided the ends of the war are accomplished, to the satisfaction of all parties, they will be very ready to let us out of it, in the most gentle manner, by consenting equally that the business shall go on in one, two, or three separate deeds, as shall be most palatable here: and to doubt that our friends are desirous of finishing the contest, with the approbation of their allies, is to doubt their understanding.—I am, with the greatest esteem, yours, &c.

"W. ALEXANDER."

"*Robert R. Livingston, Secretary for Foreign Affairs.*

"PASSY, January 28, 1782.

"SIR,—I received at the same time, your several letters of October 20th, 24th, and November 26th, which I purpose to answer fully by the return of the Alliance. Having just had a very short notice of the departure of this ship, I can only at present mention the great pleasure your appointment gives me, and my intention of corresponding with you regularly and frequently as you desire. The information contained in your letters is full and clear; I shall endeavour that mine, of the state of affairs here, may be as satisfactory. With great esteem, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"PASSY, January 28, 1782.

"SIR,—I wrote to you this morning. Having just learnt that the courier is not gone, I have time to enclose and forward two letters* from Holland, by which you will see something of the state of affairs in that country.

"Be pleased to present my dutiful respects to congress, and assure them of my faithful services.—I have the honour to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

From David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"LONDON, Feb. 1, 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I write to you one line by this mail, only to tell you, that I have seen the minister since I last wrote to you, and that he never did entertain the idea one moment of any propositions being thrown out on your part in the least degree inconsistent with the strictest honour and faith to the allies. I had no occasion to guard against or to explain any such thought, having at all times conveyed the contrary to him in the most explicit terms. I transmit this to you for your full satisfaction. We have had much conversation on the subject of peace, which you may be sure I have most zealously endeavoured to enforce. *I should not do him justice if I did not add that I believe his wishes are for peace*, and that he gives the most serious attention to every argument, and to the suggestion of every practicable means on that subject. I have stated many things for his consideration, and for consultation with others, after which I shall see him again. I heartily wish the result may be favourable to the prospect of peace.—I am ever, your affectionate, D. HARTLEY."

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* Written by M. Dumas, a public agent of the United States, in Holland.

"*David Hartley, Esq.*

"PASSY, Feb. 16, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your favour of the 24th past. You have taken pains to rectify a mistake of mine relating to the aim of your letters. I accept kindly your replication, and I hope you will excuse my error, when you reflect that I knew of no consent given by France to our treating separately of peace, and that there has been mixed in some of your conversations and letters various reasonings, to show that if France should require something of us that was unreasonable, we then should not be obliged by our treaty to join with her in continuing the war. As there had never been such requisition, what could I think of such discourses? I thought as I suppose an honest woman would think, if a gallant should entertain her with suppositions of cases, in which infidelity to her husband would be justifiable. Would not she naturally imagine, seeing no other foundation or motive for such conversation, that if he could once get her to admit the general principle, his intended next step would be to persuade her that such a case actually existed. Thus knowing your dislike of France, and your strong desire of recovering America to England, I was impressed with the idea that such infidelity on our part would not be disagreeable to you; and that you were therefore aiming to lessen in my mind the horror I conceived at the idea of it. But we will finish here by mutually agreeing that neither you were capable of proposing nor I of acting on such principles.

"I cannot however forbear endeavouring to give a little possible utility to this letter, by saying something on your case of Dunkirk. You do not see why two nations should be deemed natural enemies to each other.—Nor do I, unless one or both of them are naturally mischievous and insolent. But I can see how enmities long continued, even during a peace, tend to shorten that peace, and to rekindle a war. That is, when either party, having an advantage in war, shall exact conditions in the treaty of peace, that are goading and constantly mortifying to the other. I take this to be the case of your 'commissioner at Dunkirk.' What would be your feelings, if France should take, and hold possession of Portsmouth, or Spain of Plymouth, after a peace, as you formerly held Calais, and now hold Gibraltar? Or, on restoring your ports, should insist on having an insolent commissioner stationed there, to forbid your placing one stone upon another by way of fortification? You would probably not be very easy under such a stipulation. If therefore you desire a peace that may be *firm* and durable, think no more of such extravagant demands. It is not necessary to give my opinion farther on that point, yet I may add frankly, as this is mere private conversation between you and me, that I do think a faithful ally, especially when under obligations for such great and generous assistance as we have received, should fight as long as he is able, to prevent (as far as his continuing to fight may prevent) his friends being compelled again to suffer such an insult.

"My dear friend, the true pains you are taking to restore peace, whatever may be the success, entitle you to the esteem of all good men. If your ministers really desire peace, methinks they would do well to *impower* some person to make propositions for that purpose. One or other of the parties at war must take the first step. To do this belongs properly to the wisest. America being a novice in such affairs, has no pretence to that character; and indeed, after the answer given by lord Stormont (when we proposed to him something relative to the mutual treatment of prisoners with humanity) that '*the king's ministers receive no applications from rebels, unless when they come to implore his majesty's clemency*,' it cannot be expected that we should hazard the exposing ourselves again to such insolence. All I can say farther at present is, that in my opinion your enemies do not aim at your destruction, and that if you propose a treaty you will find them reasonable in their demands, provided that on your side they meet with the same good dispositions. But do not dream of dividing us: you will certainly never be able to effect it.

"With great regard and affection, I am ever, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, "B. FRANKLIN."

Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"February 24, 1782.

"SIR,—You will find enclosed an official despatch which has been sent me from the court of Copenhagen, respecting some excesses that are said to have been committed near the coast of Norway by three American vessels. I make no doubt but that you will take the earliest opportunity to transmit it to congress, that they may decide agreeably to the principles of the law of nations upon the claim of his Danish majesty.—I have the honour, &c.

"DE VERGENNES."

(MEMORIAL.)

From the court of Copenhagen, complaining of irregularities of American armed vessels.

"THREE American vessels, one of which was three masted, and called the Norfolk, captain Lines, and two brigs, the Ariel, captain Maller, and the Virginia, captain Hodsheadson, all three armed in Philadelphia, committed a most grievous outrage on the second December last, on the coast of Norway, where they seized two English merchantmen and burnt them, after plundering them and sending away their crews. The circumstances are more particularly detailed in the protest enclosed, made on the spot. It has moreover been proved by the report of his Danish majesty's grand bailiff at Christiansand, that the aforesaid American vessels having anchored in the port of Fleckeroe, before their meeting with the Englishmen, and displayed French colours, he had asked of the French consul information respecting their sea papers, and that the latter, on examining their contents, declared that they were not furnished with any letters of marque on the part of congress. Their conduct proves this also in having burnt their prizes, notwithstanding the offers of ransom made them by the English captains. It therefore follows, that they can only be considered as pirates, whose crimes are greatly aggravated by a manifest infraction of his Danish majesty's territorial rights.

"The undersigned, his envoy extraordinary, has received precise orders to communicate these particulars to his excellency, the count de Vergennes, requesting with every possible confidence the intervention of his most christian majesty with the United States of America, to effect not only the punishment of the guilty persons, but also to obtain an indemnification for the vessels and cargoes that were burnt, of which an exact statement shall be furnished; and this satisfaction is due to repair the excesses committed on his majesty's territory. DE BLOOME.

"*Paris, February* 6, 1782."

COPY.

"I Frederick Fridrick, royal judge of the bailiwick of Mandahl, declare that on the 4th day of December, 1781, was held at the house of madam Benl Biornsen, at Mandahl, an extraordinary tribunal, consisting of a sufficient number of justices, were appeared the Sieur Frederic Giertsen, the English vice consul of this place, who declared, that in consequence of the extraordinary violence committed on Sunday last, the 2d December, on the coasts of this place near the shoals, by three American vessels, on two English vessels, to wit; the brig *Constant Ann*, commanded by captain Charles Lines, of Yarmouth, and the brig *Elliot*, captain David Ray, of Kirkaldy, near Leith; which Americans not only pillaged the English vessels and set them on fire, so as to consume them, but likewise chased on shore the English captains and their crews in their boats, who have arrived here at the appellants, who has therefore appeared this day to obtain a juridical deposition, in order to explain this circumstance.

"For this purpose the Sieur Giertsen, has presented the two English captains with their crews, to wit; *Charles Lines*, captain, Royal Simonds, pilot, William Goldsmith, William Fairweather, William Urquhart and Thomas Reiley, sailors; next *David Ray*, captain; Francis Banks, pilot, Robert Swain, carpenter, William Nackles, boatswain, William Abercrombie, Alexander Benny, Alexander Pearson, David Forresdale, John Harper, and James Stark, seamen; when the said English captains Lines and Ray, presented their reports respecting the violence committed against them, set forth in the English language, and translated into the Danish as follows:

"REPORT of what passed on board the brig Elliot, belonging to Kirkaldy, commanded by captain David Ray, coming from Petersburg, loaded with hemp, flax, iron, tallow, plank, and other merchandise, destined for Leith.

"On the 2d December, 1781, at half past 11 o'clock in the morning, we left the port of Kleven, near Mandahl, and set sail with fine weather; wind at north east, accompanied by the brig the Constant Ann, of Yarmouth, Charles Lines, captain; bound on her way from Stockholm home. Being without the shoals, we sent off the coasting pilot about half past twelve. In about three quarters of an hour after the pilot left us, we saw three vessels coming towards us with a pressing sail, the brig Constant Ann was then about an English mile astern of us. These three vessels endeavoured all that lay in their power to run close in with the shoals, in order to prevent our gaining the port. We saw that one of them was a vessel with three masts, and the two others brigs. As soon as they came near us they furled their small sails; one of the brigs run along side, and hailing us, asked from whence we came, and ordered us follow them immediately; after which they sent a boat on board of us with people and a prize-officer, who told us that our vessel and cargo was a lawful prize to the American congress. Our captain was afterwards ordered to go into the boat, to go on board the privateer, which carried eighteen guns. The captain of the privateer having examined my papers, immediately ordered me, David Ray, to return on board my vessel the Elliot. I repeatedly requested him to ransom the vessel and cargo, but he positively refused, saying that he would not on any account.

"On my return on board my vessel, I was very badly treated by the American officer and crew then on board her, who had already cut to pieces and destroyed every thing they came across, taken the sails from the yards, and cut the cables from the anchors, which they carried on board the privateer, they cried out altogether, you rascals and bougres, get into the boat, or we will sink her, and burn you up with the vessel and cargo. We were accordingly obliged to leave the vessel, without taking with us the most trifling article, excepting the poor clothes we had on our backs. When this happened we were about two or three English miles N.N.E. of Koe and Kalv near Kleven. We arrived in the greatest distress with the boat at Kleven, about seven o'clock in the evening. The crew of the privateer told us, that their vessel belonged to Philadelphia, that they had letters of marque from congress, and that they were from Maelstrand in Sweden; they showed English colours, but would neither tell the names of their vessels, nor captains. On our arrival on shore, we found that they had set fire to our vessel, as well as the *Constant Ann*, which were not very far from each other, and they burnt till midnight, when one of them disappeared. DAVID RAY.

"Francis Banks, Robert Swain, William Nicolls, William Abercrombie, Alexander Benny, Alexander Pearson, David Forresdale, John Harper, James Stark."

"Report of what passed on board the brig *Constant Ann* of Yarmouth, commanded by captain Charles Lines, coming from Stockholm, laden with iron, planks, pitch, tar, &c. and destined for Yarmouth.

"The 2d December, 1781, about noon, we left Kleven, near Mandahl, with fine weather, the wind north east, and put to sea in company with the brig Elliot of Leith, commanded by captain David Ray, on her way from Petersburg home. After we had been at sea about an hour, we sent our pilot ashore; in about three quarters of an hour we saw two brigs and a ship bearing down upon us under full sail. The brig Elliot was then about an English mile ahead of us. As soon as those vessels drew near us, they furled all their light sails, and the two brigs showed English colours, but the ship which was probably commodore showed none; when they fired several cannon and musket shot at us, which made us know they were enemies. Upon this we shaped our course to the east, in order if possible, to gain the port, being only distant about a quarter of a Norway league, and Kleven near Mandahl bore about N. N. E., the people on board the ship, who were so near as to speak to us, called out in the following manner; if you do not instantly bring too, you bougres, we will sink you. We lowered our colours; they came along side, and a part of their crew boarded us with cutlasses and pistols. Afterwards a boat came to us with an officer as captain of the prize, who behaved towards me and my crew in the most inhuman manner, they tied one of my people's hands behind his back, they presented a pistol at my pilot's head, and threatened to blow his brains out, and said they would kill us all if we opened our mouths. They then began to cut away every thing, and take the sails from the yards, and cut the cables from the anchors, and carry all off on board the ship. Having carried every thing on board, they ordered us to launch our own boat, saying, you bougres, if you do not go immediately on board the boat, we will burn you together with the vessel. I repeatedly asked them to ransom me, but in vain. About four in the afternoon we were obliged to quit our vessel in such distress, as to have nothing left us but what we had on our backs, which was of very little value. We all arrived about seven o'clock in the evening at Kleven near Mandahl. Some of the American crew told us, the vessel was called the Norfolk, that she belonged to the congress at Philadelphia, and that she came from Maelstrand. CHARLES LINES.

"Royal Simonds, William Goldsmith, Thomas Reiley, William Urquhart, William Fairweather."

The aforesaid reports having been read in the English language before all the parties present, both captains and crews, each of them took their corporal oath, that all that was contained in the said two reports was the exact truth. Afterwards the two coasting pilots, Gabriel Jorgensen and Nicholas Govertsen of Kleven, presented themselves as witnesses, who, after having taken oath, declared unanimously,

"That on Sunday last the 2d December about noon, the former went as a coasting pilot on board of captain Lines, and the latter on board of captain Ray, in the port of Kleven, and that they put these two vessels out to sea with the wind at north east, as soon as they left them they returned ashore in their boats, and observed coming from the eastward along the coast a ship and two brigs, which they thought were English; that shortly after the witnesses saw these vessels bear down on the two English brigs, they had piloted out, captain Ray's vessel being three quarters of a Norwegian league without the shoals, captain Lines being close aboard of them, after which, these witnesses observed that the vessels coming from eastward, fired several guns, which led them to conclude that they were enemies, as they were afterwards convinced, when they saw them board and search them.

"The witnesses arrived afterwards at Kleven, and from the rocks they noticed that the vessels remained for some time together, until the evening that they saw the two brigs in flames, driving at the mercy of the wind, then at north east, and that they were burning late at night. These witnesses moreover declare, that on the evening of the said Sunday, the captains Lines and Ray came to the port of Kleven in their boats with their crews, being sixteen persons, and that they went to the syndic Peter Johnson, to whom they bitterly complained of the violence and barbarity with which they had been treated, as set forth in the two reports. The Sieur Giertsen, afterwards presented as witnesses the three coasting pilots belonging to Osmend, Pedersen, Olae, Srendsen, and Martin Carlsen, Tragde, each of whom in particular, took their personal oath, to tell the truth and to conceal nothing. After which they unanimously declared, that on Sunday last the 2d December, about noon, after having piloted out a ship from the port of Tragdeford, and on their return with their boat, they saw coming along the coast from the eastward, with the wind at north east, a ship and two brigs, and at the same time, they saw two brigs going out of the port of Kleven, that these vessels on coming near each other, the witnesses saw the vessels from the eastward fire several guns at the two brigs which came out of Kleven, the foremost of which, being about three quarters of a Norway league, outside of the shoals, and the other close aboard of them; that thereupon the witnesses approached these vessels in their boat, and having come under the sternmost of the two brigs from Kleven, they saw a boat put over the side of the ship from the eastward, whose people boarded captain Lines' brig, after which, one of them got on the poop of the said vessel, and called to the witnesses in the English language, and told them that if they offered to come along side, or aboard, that they would fire on them. The witnesses saw at the same time, a boat from one of the brigs from the eastward, go on board the furthest brig from Kleven; they also observed the two brigs from Kleven hoist English colours, which they struck shortly after. The witnesses have likewise declared, that to the best of their judgment, they believe that the three vessels from the eastward are American. The witnesses finally say, that after having left these vessels and gone ashore, that they know and have heard, that the two brigs from Kleven were set on fire, and that their crew had come on shore in their boats at Kleven.

"Afterwards appeared as witness, the syndic of the coasting pilots, Peter Johnson of Kleven, who after taking personal oath, declared that on Sunday last, the 2d December, about noon, the two English brigs commanded by captains Charles Lines and David Ray, went out of the port of Kleven, and had on board of them the two coasting pilots, David Jorgensen and Nicholas Goversten, and that shortly after these two brigs left the port of Kleven, he saw from the rocks, the same as the two coasting pilots have declared; so that his testimony entirely agrees with theirs. The witness, moreover, declares that he observed the two brigs burning very late at night, until they disappeared, as also, that on the evening of the same day, the two captains Lines and Ray, came with their crews, sixteen persons in all, rowing towards the port of Kleven, and came to the house of the witness, to whom they related with many complaints what had happend to them, agreeable to the reports presented and read before the witness.

"The Sieur Giertsen afterwards declared, that not being able to obtain any explanations respecting the names of these American vessels, and captains, he had nevertheless heard to-day, that these three vessels had been in the port of Flekeroe, situated about four leagues from this to the eastward, and that they sailed from there on Sunday last in the morning, and that he proposes, by means of the syndic of the pilots, to make inquiry after the names of the vessels and captains, and of the other circumstances, and for this purpose has requested that the conclusion of this deposition be deferred till next Saturday, which has been granted.

"On the 8th December following, this tribunal extraordinary was continued at the house of Madame Bierson, attended by a sufficient number of justices, before whom the Sieurs Giertsen presented himself, who declared that having taken the most exact information at the port of Flekeroe, he learnt that of the three American vessels, the ship was called the Norfolk, Captain Lines; and the two brigs the Ariel, captain Maller, and the Virginia, captain Hodgkinson, all from Philadelphia: but in the last place arrived from Maelstrand in the port of Flekeroe, which place they left on Sunday last in the morning, the 2d December; and as this information exactly corresponds with the reports of the English confirmed by oaths; and as the port of Flekeroe is situated about four Norway leagues to the eastward of Kleven; and that these Americans sailed on the same Sunday morning with the wind at north east along the coast, consequently the outrages must have been evidently committed by them and by no others. The appellant therefore hopes that he has given sufficient testimony that these three American vessels have committed the said outrages and barbarity, on the subjects and vessels of his Britannic majesty within his Danish majesty's territory, and against the rights of nations.

"After which the appellant requested this juridical deposition to be concluded, and demanded the act and formal copies thereof.

"It was accordingly done, passed and made out at the bailiwic, by virtue of these presents, which I hereby certify under my signature, and have affixed my seal the day and year aforesaid. F. FREDRICKSEN. (L. S.)

"I the undersigned interpreter to the king and the council of prizes for the northern languages, certify that this translation is actually conformable to the original Danish compared by me. In testimony of which, I have signed the present at Paris, February 5, 1782.
"TOBIESEN DUBY."

Copy from the printed Votes of the Commons, 27th Feb. 1782.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this house, that the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of *North America*, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her *European* enemies, tends, under the present circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual enmity, so fatal to the interests both of *Great Britain* and America; and by preventing a happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire, graciously expressed by his majesty, to restore the blessings of public tranquillity.

"Resolved, That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, tends, &c. &c.

"March 4. Mr. Speaker reported to the house, that the house attended his majesty on Friday last with their address; to which his majesty was pleased to give his most gracious answer:

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"There are no objects nearer my heart than the ease, happiness, and prosperity of my people.

"You may be assured that, in pursuance of your advice, I shall take such measures as shall appear to me most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both; and that my efforts shall be directed in the most effectual manner against our *European* enemies, until such a peace can be obtained, as shall consist with the interests and permanent welfare of my kingdoms.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*,

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of this house, for his most gracious answer to their address, presented to his majesty on Friday last, and for the assurances his majesty has most graciously been pleased to give them, of his intention, in pursuance of the advice of this house, to take such measures as shall appear most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies; and that his efforts shall be directed in the most effectual manner against our European enemies, until such a peace can be obtained as shall consist with the permanent welfare and prosperity of his kingdoms: this house being convinced that nothing can, in the present circumstances of this country, so essentially promote those great objects of his majesty's paternal care for his people, as the measures which his faithful commons have most humbly recommended to his majesty.

"Ordered, That the said address be presented," &c.

"Resolved, That after the solemn declaration of the opinion of this house, in their humble address, presented to his majesty on Friday last, and his majesty's assurance of his gracious intention in pursuance of their advice, to take such measures as shall appear to his majesty to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both, this house will consider as *enemies to his majesty and this country*, all those who shall endeavour to frustrate his majesty's paternal care, for the ease and happiness of his people, by advising, or by any means attempting, the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of *North America*, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force."

Colonel Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"Soho Square, Feb. 28, 1782.

"Dear Sir,—As I know how anxious my brother is to embrace every opportunity of expressing those sentiments of peace and universal philanthropy, which do you both so much honour, and of testifying his regard for yourself, I am sorry he is not returned to town before Mr. Alexander's departure. His absence from town has been occasioned by his being obliged to go into Gloucestershire for some papers relating to family concerns, and as I am sure nothing on his part will be neglected, towards forwarding the great object of peace, I regret his absence the less, because it affords me an opportunity of saying how entirely I agree with him in opinion, and particularly in the respect and esteem I bear to a person who has so ardently wished to prevent the effusion of blood, and the dreadful effects of this fatal and destructive war; a person who was, who would have been, permit me, dear sir, to add, perhaps who is, (would the conduct of this country permit him with justice to be so) the real, the sincere friend of it.

"That delusion, founded in falsehood, first made this country forget itself; its honour and its justice, and pursue this accursed and destructive war, is certain; happy will it be if the dereliction of it at last, shall show that its continuance has not already extinguished in the breast of America every former degree of friendship and affection. That reason is beginning to return, and this country to see its errors, I hope, from *a majority of the house of commons having yesterday agreed to a resolution against the American war, and I believe almost all the people of England are against the war.* I hope this will lay the foundation of peace between the two countries, and that the horrors of war may be succeeded by lasting and general tranquillity. The event is in the hand of Providence alone, but the endeavour to contribute to such blessed purposes is not only in the power of men, but the attempt carries with it its own reward. Should success not be the consequence, the consciousness of having exerted oneself in such a cause will afford the most pleasing reflections, and make a man repose in peace upon his pillow, whatever may be the distraction and confusion around him. You, sir, feel this in the greatest degree, and may those sentiments of justice, of freedom, and liberality, which have marked your character, receive the reward they so justly merit, and by the happy return of a general peace, may such sentiments revive in each British and American breast to the mutual advantage of both countries. When I join my name to my brother's, in such a wish and in every expression of regard, esteem, and friendship towards yourself, permit me to add, though far inferior in the power of contributing to that happy event to which his abilities, industry, and attention to public concerns make him so equal, I cannot yield even to so near and dear a relation the palm of sincerity in and anxiety for promoting such a desirable purpose.

"I am with the greatest respect, dear sir, yours most sincerely,

"W. H. HARTLEY."

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"Feb. 28. 1782.

"My dear Friend,—I have not as yet any thing to communicate to you. I have upon many occasions recommended the road to peace in the most earnest way. I am not without hopes. I think I may venture to say that the arguments which I have stated have made an impression. I have not expected to receive the final answer from lord North till after the parliamentary arrangements of the year are settled. I am just for three or four days in the country, upon a little business, but upon a furlough, as I may say, with the knowledge of lord North, who, during the budget week, cannot possibly want to see me. I have therefore taken that week for a little private business in the country, and if lord North should happen to wish to see me, my brother keeps watch, and is to send express for me. Public report will tell you, that on Friday last there was a division in the house, on an American question, one hundred and ninety-four to one hundred and ninety-three. *I cannot answer for the dispositions of ministers, but in point of justice I ought to say, that I think, and as far as I can judge from the conferences which I have had, that I have found good dispositions towards peace.* I do not pledge myself, because I may be deceived; however that is my opinion; and I say thus much lest my silence should appear suspicious and create alienation in other parties. I think I have seen good dispositions from the first commencement of my conferences on peace. My brother sends me word, that Mr. Alexander is to return by the next mail, I therefore write this to send either by him or at least in the same packet. I have had much conversation with him, and he will tell you, that I have done my utmost to serve the cause of peace. I will conclude this with a quotation which I have applied to another person in argument respecting peace,

> Consulere patriæ, parcere afflictis, ferâ cæde abstinere,
> Iræ tempus dare, orbi quietem, seculo pacem suo,
> Hæc summa virtus,—hac cœlum petitur viâ.

God bless you and prosper our pacific endeavours. I shall probably write again to you soon.—Your affectionate,

"D. HARTLEY."

Edmund Burke, M. P. to Dr. Franklin.

[In answer to one requesting him to negotiate the exchange of Mr. Laurens for general Burgoyne.]

"Dear Sir,—Your most obliging letter demanded an early answer. It has not received the acknowledgment which was so justly due to it. But Providence has well supplied my deficiencies; and the delay of the answer has made it much more satisfactory, than at the time of my receipt of your letter I dared to promise myself it could be. *I congratulate you, as the friend of America; I trust, as not the enemy of England; I am sure, as the friend of mankind; on the resolution of the house of commons, carried by a majority of nineteen, at two o'clock this morning in a very full house.* It was *the declaration of two hundred and thirty-four; I think it was the opinion of the whole.* I trust it will lead to a speedy peace between the two branches of the English nation, perhaps to a general peace; and that our happiness may be an introduction to that of the world at large. I most sincerely congratulate you on the event. I wish I could say, that I had accomplished my commission. Difficulties remain. But as

Mr. Laurens is released from his confinement, and has recovered his health tolerably, he may wait, I hope, without a great deal of inconvenience, for the final adjustment of his troublesome business. He is an exceedingly agreeable and honourable man. I am much obliged to you for the honour of his acquaintance. He speaks of you as I do; and is perfectly sensible of your warm and friendly interposition in his favour.—I have the honour to be, with the highest possible esteem and regard, dear sir, your most faithful and obedient, humble servant, EDMUND BURKE.

"*London, Charles-street, Feb.* 28, 1782."

"General Burgoyne presents his best compliments to you, with his thanks for your obliging attentions towards him."

Dr. Franklin to Count de Vergennes.

"Passy, March 2, 1782.

"Sir,—I received the letter your excellency did me the honour of writing to me, the 24th past, enclosing an official paper on the part of the Danish court, relating to the burning of some English vessels on the coast of Norway, by three American ships. I shall not fail to transmit the same immediately to the congress, who will, I make no doubt, inquire into the facts alleged, and do thereupon what shall appear to be just and right, it being their constant and earnest desire, to avoid giving any offence to neutral nations, as will appear by their instructions to all armed vessels, of which I have the honour to present a copy.

"In the mean time, as it is natural to expect, that those who exact a rigorous observation of the laws of nations, when their own interest or honour seems affected, should be themselves ready to show an example of their own regard for those laws, where the interest of others is concerned; I cannot but hope, the court of Denmark will at length attend to a demand, long since made by me, but hitherto without effect; that they would restore to the United States, the value of three vessels amounting to fifty thousand pounds sterling. These vessels were fair and good prizes, which had been made by our ships of war, not on the coast of Denmark, but far distant on the high seas, and were sent into Bergen as into a port truly neutral, but there, contrary to the laws of hospitality, as well as the other laws of nations, they were forcibly wrested out of our hands by the government of that place, and delivered back to our enemies. The congress have not lost sight of this violence, but constantly expected justice, from the equity and wisdom of his Danish majesty.—I am with the greatest respects, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Wm. Alexander to Dr. Franklin.

"Ostend, Sunday, 9 at night, March 3, 1782.

"My dear Sir,—Although I expect to see you in a day or two after this comes to hand, I cannot let slip the opportunity of Mr. Moore, formerly with Mr. Williams, to inform you that the address, in consequence of the question carried on Wednesday, was carried to the king by the whole opposition on Friday; that the answer, after the common-place phrases and the repetition of the substance of the address, was declaring his disposition to comply with it; and that of pushing the war with vigour against the ancient enemies of the kingdom, until a safe and honourable peace could be obtained, which was his most earnest wish. This is the sense as delivered to me Friday evening, by a member present. I have several letters for you, which I will deliver on my arrival, and can give you a good deal of the sentiments of parties in England. I left London yesterday. You will have all our public news up to Thursday. The first payment, 15 per cent., was made on the new loan, Friday, and stock was got up at two per cent. thereafter. Mr. Moore goes away just now, so have only time to subscribe myself with the most sincere esteem, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"W. ALEXANDER."

"*R. R. Livingston.*

"Passy, March 4, 1782.

"Sir—Since I wrote the two short letters of which I herewith send you copies, I have heen honoured with yours No. 5, dated the 16th December.

"Enclosed I send copies of two letters from M. le Comte de Vergennes, relating to certain complaints from Ostend and Copenhagen against our cruisers. I formerly forwarded a similar complaint from Portugal, to which I have yet received no answer. The ambassador of that kingdom frequently teases me for it. I hope now that by your means these kind of affairs will be more easily attended to; ill blood and mischief may be thereby sometimes prevented.

"The marquis de la Fayette was at his return hither received by all ranks, with all possible distinction. He daily gains in the general esteem and affection, and promises to be a great man here. He is warmly attached to our cause; we are on the most friendly and confidential footing with each other, and he is really very serviceable to me in my applications for additional assistance.

"I have done what I could in recommending Messieurs Duportail and Gouvion as you desired. I did it with pleasure, as I have much esteem for them.

"I will endeavour to procure a sketch of an emblem for the purpose you mention.—This puts me in mind of a medal I have had a mind to strike since the late great event you give me an account of, representing the United States by figure of an infant Hercules in his cradle, strangling the two serpents; and France, by that of Minerva, sitting by as his nurse, with her spear and helmet, and her robe speckled with a few fleurs-de-lis. The extinguishing two entire armies in one war, is what has rarely if ever happened, and it gives a presage of the future force of our growing empire.

"I thank you much for the newspapers you have been so kind as to send me. I send also to you by every opportunity packets of the French, Dutch, and English papers. Enclosed is the last *Courier of Europe*, wherein you will find a late curious debate on continuing the war with America, which the minister carried in the affirmative, only by his own vote. It seems the nation is sick of it: but the king is obstinate. *There is a change made of the American secretary*, and another talked of in the room of lord Sandwich: but I suppose we have no reason to desire such changes. If the king will have a war with us, his old servants are as well for us, as any he is likely to put in their places. The ministry you will see declare, that their war in America is for the future to be only *defensive.* I hope we shall be too prudent to have the least dependence on this declaration; it is only thrown out to lull us. For *depend upon it the king hates us cordially, and will be content with nothing short of our extirpation.*

"I shall be glad to receive the account you are preparing of the wanton damages done our possessions. I wish you could also furnish me with one, of the barbarities committed on our people. They may both be of excellent use on certain occasions. I received the duplicate of your No. IV. in cypher.—Hereafter I wish you would use that which those instructions were written, that relate to the future peace. I am accustomed to that, and I think it very good, and more convenient in the practice.

"The friendly disposition of this court towards us continues. We have sometimes pressed a little too hard, expecting and demanding, perhaps, more than we ought, and have used improper arguments, which may have occasioned a little dissatisfaction, but it has not been lasting. In my opinion, the surest way to obtain liberal aid from others, is vigorously to help ourselves. People fear assisting the negligent, the indolent, and the careless, lest the aids they afford should be lost. I know we have done a great deal; but it is said we are apt to be supine after a little success, and too backward in furnishing our contingents. This is really a generous nation, fond of glory, and particularly that of protecting the oppressed. Trade is not the admiration of the noblesse, who always govern here. Telling them their *commerce* will be advantaged by our success, and that it is their *interest* to help us, seems as much as to say, help us, and we shall not be obliged to you. Such indiscreet and improper language has been sometimes held here by some of our people, and produced no good consequence.

"The constant harmony subsisting between the armies of the two nations in America, is a circumstance that has afforded me infinite pleasure. It should be carefully cultivated; I hope nothing will happen to disturb it. The French officers who have returned to France this winter, speak of our people in the handsomest and kindest manner, and there is a strong desire in many of the young nobility to go over to fight for us; there is no restraining some of them; and several changes among the officers of their army have lately taken place in consequence.

"You must be so sensible of the utility of maintaining a perfect good understanding with the chevalier de la Luzerne, that I need say nothing on that head. The affairs of a distant people in any court of Europe, will always be much affected by the representations of the minister of that court residing among them.

"We have great quantities of supplies of all kinds ready here to be sent over, and which would have been on their way before this time, if the unlucky loss of the transports that were under M. de Guichen, and other demands for more ships, had not created a difficulty to find freight for them. I hope, however, that you will receive them with the next convoy.

"The accounts we have of the economy introduced by Mr. Morris, begins to be of service to us here, and will by degrees obviate the inconvenience that an opinion of our disorders and mismanagements had occasioned. I inform him by this conveyance of the money aids we shall have this year. The sum is not so great as we could wish; and we must so much the more exert ourselves. A small increase of industry in every American male and female, with a small diminution of luxury, would produce a sum far superior to all we can hope to beg or borrow from all our friends in Europe.

"There are now near a thousand of our brave fellows prisoners in England, many of whom have patiently endured the hardships of that confinement, several years, resisting every temptation to serve our enemies. Will not your late great advantages put it in your power to do something for their relief? The slender supply I have been able to afford of a shilling a week to each, for their greater comfort during the winter, amounts weekly to near £50 sterling. An exchange would make so many of our countrymen happy, add to our strength, and diminish our expense.—But our privateers who cruise in Europe, will not be at the trouble of bringing in their prisoners, and I have none to exchange for them.

"Generals Cornwallis and Arnold, are both arrived in England. It is reported that the former in all his conversations, discourages the prosecution of the war in America; if so he will of course be out of favour. We hear much of audiences given to the latter, and of his being present at councils. He seems to mix as naturally with that polluted court as pitch with tar; there is no being in nature too base for them to associate with, provided he may be thought capable of serving their purposes.

"You desire to know whether any intercepted letters of Mr. Deane have been published in Europe? I have seen but one in the English papers, that to Mr. Wadsworth, and none in any of the French and Dutch papers, but some may have been printed that have not fallen in my way. There is no doubt of their being all genuine. His conversations since his return from America, have, as I have been informed, gone gradually more and more into that style, and at length came to an open vindication of Arnold's conduct, and within these few days he has sent me a letter of twenty full pages, recapitulating those letters, and threatening to write and publish an account of the treatment he has received from congress, &c. He resides at Ghent, is distressed both in mind and in circumstances, raves and writes abundance, and I imagine it will end in his going over to join his friend Arnold in England. I had an exceeding good opinion of him when he acted with me, and I believe he was then sincere and hearty in our cause. But he is changed, and his character ruined in his own country and in this, so that I see no other but England to which he can now retire. He says we owe him about £12,000 sterling, and his great complaint is, that we do not settle his accounts and pay him. Mr. Johnson having declined the service, I proposed engaging Mr. Searle to undertake it, but Mr. Deane objected to him as being his enemy. In my opinion he was, for that reason, even fitter for the service of Mr. Deane, since accounts are of a mathematical nature, and cannot be changed by an enemy, while that enemy's testimony, that he had found them well supported by authentic vouchers, would have weighed more than the same testimony from a friend.

"With regard to negotiations for a peace, I see but little probability of their being entered upon seriously this year, unless the English minister had failed in raising his funds, which it is said he has secured, so that we must provide for another campaign, in which I hope God will continue to favour us, and humble our cruel and haughty enemies; a circumstance which, whatever Mr. Deane may say to the contrary, will give pleasure to all Europe.

"This year opens well by the reduction of Port Mahon, the garrison prisoners of war, and we are not without hopes, that Gibraltar may soon follow. A few more signal successes in America, will do much towards reducing our enemies to reason.

"Your expressions of good opinion with regard to me, and wishes of my continuance in this employment, are very obliging. As long as the congress think I can be useful to our affairs, it is my duty to obey their order; but I should be happy to see them better executed by another, and myself at liberty; enjoying, before I quit the stage of life, some small degree of leisure and tranquillity.—With great esteem, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"Passy, March 9, 1782.

"Sir,—I have just received the honour of yours, dated January the 7th. Your communication of the sentiments of congress with respect to many points that may come under consideration in a treaty of peace, gives me great pleasure, and the more as they agree so perfectly with my own opinions, and furnish me with additional arguments in their support. I shall be more particular on this subject in my next; for having notice from captain Barry last night, that he will not go to Brest, as I expected, to take in some of our goods, but will sail immediately on the return of the post, which sets out to-day; I am obliged to be short. You will see in the enclosed newspapers, the full debate in the house of commons, on the subject of declining the war with North America. By private advices, I learn, that the whole opposition, now become the majority, went up in a body with the address to the king, who answered that he would pay a due regard to the advice of his faithful commons, and employ his forces with more vigour against the ancient enemies of the nation, or to that purpose; and that orders were immediately given for taking up a great number of large transports, among which are many old India ships, whence it is conjectured that they intend some great effort in the West Indies, and perhaps mean to carry off their troops and stores from New York and Charleston. I hope however, that we shall not, in expectation of this, relax in our preparations for the approaching campaign.

"I will procure the books you write for, and send them as soon as possible.

"Present my duty to the congress, and believe me to be, with sincere esteem, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

From David Hartley, Esq.

"LONDON, March 11, 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—Mr. Digges, who will deliver this to you, informs me, that having been applied to for the purpose of communicating with Mr. Adams, on the subject of his commission for treating of peace, he is now setting out for Amsterdam, and that he intends afterwards to go to Paris to wait upon you. I understand the occasion to have arisen, by some mention having been made in parliament by general Conway, of persons not far off having authority to treat of peace, which was supposed to allude to Mr. Adams, and some friends of his in London. Ministry were therefore induced to make some inquiries themselves. This is what I am informed of the matter. When the proposal was made to Mr. Digges he consulted me, I believe from motives of caution, that he might know what ground he had to stand upon; but not in the least apprised that I had been in any degree in course of corresponding with you on the subject of negotiation. As I had informed the ministry from you, that other persons besides yourself were invested with powers of treating, I have nothing to say against their consulting the several respective parties. That is their own concern. I shall at all times content myself with observing the duties of my own conduct, attending to all circumstances with circumspection, and then leaving the conduct of others to their own reasons. I presume that ministry have only done what others would have done in their situation, to procure the most ample information that the case will admit. I rest contented to act in my own sphere, and if my exertions can be applied to any public good, I shall always be ready to take my part with sincerity and zeal. —I am, my dear friend, your ever affectionate,

"D. HARTLEY."

From the same.

"LONDON, March 12, 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—Enclosed with this I transmit to you the public parliamentary proceeding respecting the American war. If you will compare these proceedings with some others in several of the counties of this kingdom, about two years ago, you will at once see the reason why many persons, who from principles of general and enlarged philanthropy do most certainly wish universal peace to mankind, yet seem restrained in their mode of endeavoring to obtain that object. We must accommodate our endeavours to practicabilities, in the strong hope, that if the work of peace was once begun, it would soon become general. Parliament having declared their sentiments by their public proceedings; a general bill will soon pass to enable administration to treat with America, and to conclude. As to the sincerity of ministry, that will be judged of by their conduct in any treaty. The first object is to procure a meeting of qualified and authorized persons. You have told me that four persons are impowered by a special commission to treat of peace. Are we to understand that each separately has power to conclude, or in what manner? The four persons whom you have mentioned are in four different parts of the world, viz. three of them in hostile states, and the fourth under circumstances very peculiar for a negotiator. When I told Mr. Laurens that his name was in the commission, I found him entirely ignorant of every circumstance relating to it. I understand that the ministry will be ready to proceed towards opening a negotiation as soon as the bill shall pass, and therefore it is necessary to consult of time, and place, and manner, and persons, on each side. The negotiation itself will speak the rest. I have been informed that some gentlemen in this country (not in administration) have lately entered into a correspondence with Mr. Adams, relating to his commission of treating for peace, and that their previous inquiries having been spoken of in public, the ministry have been induced to make seme inquiry themselves from Mr. Adams, on that subject. In whatever way a fair treaty may be opened, by whomsoever or with whomsoever, I shall heartily wish good success to it for the common good and peace of mankind. I know these to be your sentiments, and I am confident that they will ever remain so, and hope that you will believe the same of me. D. HARTLEY."

To the same.

"LONDON, March 21, 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—You will have heard, before this can reach you, that lord North declared yesterday in the house of commons, that his majesty intended to change his ministers. The house is adjourned for a few days, to give time for the formation of a new ministry. Upon this occasion therefore I must apply to you, to know whether you would wish me to transfer the late negotiation to the successors of the late ministry; in these terms; (*vide* yours to me of January 15, 1782,) viz. 'that you are impowered by a special commission to treat of peace whenever a negotiation for that purpose shall be opened. That it must always be understood, that it is to be in conjunction with your allies, conformable to the solemn treaties made with them. That the formal acknowledgment of the Independence of America is not made necessary.' And may I add, that upon these terms you are disposed to enter into a negotiation. It is not known who will succeed the late ministry, but from the circumstances which preceded its dissolution, we are to hope that they will be disposed to enter into a negotiation of peace, upon fair and honourable terms. I have no doubt that there were some persons in the late ministry of that disposition.

"I told you in my last letters to you, of the 11th and 12th instant, that I had received information, whilst I was in the course of correspondence with the ministry myself, on the subject of peace; that some part of the ministry were transmitting some communications or inquiries upon that subject with Mr. Adams, unknown to me. I had informed the ministry from you, the names of the four persons impowered to treat. I saw the minister upon the occasion (I should now call him the late minister.) I took the liberty of giving him my opinion upon the matter itself. So far as it related personally to me, I expressed myself fully to him, that there was no occasion that such a step should have been taken unknown to me, for that I was very free to confess, that if they thought my partiality towards peace was so strong that they could drive a better bargain through another channel, I could not have any right of exclusion upon them. I relate this to you, because I would wish to have you make a corresponding application to your own case. If you should think *that my strong desire for peace*, although *most laudable and virtuous in itself, should mislead me*, and that my being as you may suppose misled, may be of any prejudice to the cause committed to your trust, I desire by no means to embarrass your free conduct, by any considerations of private or personal regard to myself. Having said thus much, I will now add, that I am not unambitious of the office of a peace maker; that I flatter myself the very page which I now am writing will bear full testimony from both sides, of the impartiality of my conduct. And I will add once more, what I have often said and repeated to each side, viz. that no fallacy or deception, knowing, or suspecting it to be such, shall ever pass through my hands.

"Believe me, I sympathize most cordially and sincerely with you, in every anxiety of yours for peace. I hope things are tending (although not without rubs) yet in the main, to that end—soon! as soon as the course of human life may be expected to operate on the great scale and course of national events, or rather in the creation and establishment of a new world. I am sometimes tempted to think myself in patient expectation, the elder sage of the two; I say the elder, not the better. D. HARTLEY."

T. Digges to Dr. Franklin.

"AMSTERDAM, March 22, 1782.

"SIR,—I left England a few days back, and until my conversation and some consultations with Mr. Adams, on a matter which will be mentioned to you by him, and more particularly explained in this letter, my determination was to have seen you, as well on that business as on a matter of much consequence to my private reputation. I feel the disadvantages under which I labour, when writing to you on a matter, which cannot be explained or cleared up but by personal conversation. I do not give up my intended purpose of personally speaking to you; but it being found better and more convenient to my purpose to return immediately hence to England, and from thence to Paris, in preference of going first to Paris, it must be unavoidably delayed for some days.

"It would take up more than the length of a letter to explain the whole opening and progression of a matter, I am here upon, which was and is meant to be jointly communicated to you with Mr. Adams; I will therefore take the liberty to give you an abbreviation of it in as few words as I can.

"About a fortnight ago a direct requisition from ministry, through lord Beauchamp, was made to Mr. R. Penn, to know if he could ascertain *that any person or persons in Europe were commissioned by congress to treat for peace, whether they were* NOW *willing to avail themselves of such commission, and of the present sincere disposition in ministry to treat, and whether they would receive an appointed commissioner to speak for a truce, and mention a place for the meeting, &c.*

"Mr. Penn's referring lord Beauchamp to me, as knowing the nature of Mr. Adams's former commission, was the sole cause of my being privy to or a party in the matter. I had various meetings with lord Beauchamp in company with Mr. Penn on the subject; the particular memorandums of which, and lord Beauchamp's statement of what the ministry wanted to obtain, together with every other circumstance relative to the matter, I regularly consulted Mr. Laurens and Mr. D. Hartley upon; and the result was, my taking the journey hither, and to Paris, in order to put the questions (as they are before stated from lord B. to Mr. Penn) and to bring an answer thereto. I am well convinced by lord Beauchamp's pledge of his personal honour, as well as from Mr. Hartley's telling me he knew the matter to come directly from lord North (for he visited him more than once to ascertain the fact), that it is a serious and sincere requisition from ministry, and that they will immediately take steps to open a treaty, provided I go back with assurances, that there is a power vested in Americans in Europe to treat and conclude, and that they are willing to avail themselves of such power when properly applied to.

"I have stated the whole transaction to Mr. Adams, read every memorandum I had made, informed him of every circumstance I knew, and when I put the questions (as they are before stated from lord Beauchamp to Mr. Penn) he replied, 'that there were certainly commissioners in Europe, of which body he was one, who had powers to treat and conclude upon peace; that he believed them willing to enter into such a treaty, provided a proper offer was made; but that no questions, now or to be made in future, could be answered by him, without previously consulting his colleagues, and afterwards acquainting the ministers of the belligerent powers thereof.' Mr. Adams recommended, that any future questions might be made directly to you, for that the present, as well as any subsequent propositions, would be immediately communicated to you and monsieur de Vergennes.

"His answers to my questions were nearly what I foretold and expected; and is substantially what lord Beauchamp seemed so anxious to procure. When I relate this answer to his lordship, my business will be finished in that quarter. I will here explain to you my only motive for being a messenger, from him whom I had never known nor been in company with before. It will enable me to say, I have done one favour for you, and I claim of you another, viz. to obtain a restoration of my papers from lord Hillsborough's office, which were, in a most illegal and unjustifiable manner, seized from me near a twelvemonth ago, and are yet withheld, notwithstanding the personal applications for them from lord Coventry, lord Nugent, and Mr. Jackson, each of whom have explained the injury, and very extraordinary mischief the want of my papers for so long a time has, and is now doing me.

"On my first conversation with Mr. Adams, I had concluded to go to you, partly by his advice to do so; but as the expense of two journies, where one may serve, is of some import to me, and from supposing your answer would be substantially the same as that from Mr. Adams, I have thought it better to go back immediately to London, and then set out for Paris, with the probability of being able to bear my papers.

"I will take the liberty to trouble you with another letter, if any thing occurs on my arrival in London. I am to leave this with Mr. Adams for forwardance; and for the present, I have only to beg a line acknowledging the receipt of it. If your letter is put under *a cover to Mr. Stockdale, Bookseller, Piccadilly, London*, it will the more readily get to hand.—I am, with great respect, sir, your very obedient servant, T. DIGGES."

"P. S. On my last visit to Mr. Adams, Friday evening, to explain to him the substance of the foregoing letter, and ask his forwardance of it to you, we had some farther conversation on the matter, the ultimate conclusion of which was, that it was thought better I did not send the annexed letter to you, or mention my business with him, until my going in person from England. Mr. Adams's reasons were these. That if I made the communication *then*, he should be necessitated to state the matter in a long letter to you and others of his colleagues; that the matter as it then stood was not of such importance but he could save himself the trouble of the explanation; and that as he recommended any future questions or applications to be made directly to you, your situation making it more convenient sooner to inform the French court thereof, he thought my letter had better be postponed, and the substance of it given in person as soon as I could possibly get from London to Paris. I acquiesced, though reluctantly, and having thought much on the matter, on my journey hither, I have at length determined to forward the foregoing letter with this postscript, and at the same time to inform Mr. Adams of my exact feelings on the matter, viz. that my wishes and intentions, which, when I left England, were to see, and make known the matter to you; that through Mr. Hartley, or some other channel, you must hear that I had been at Amsterdam, and my seemingly turning my back upon you might be thought oddly of; and finally, that I could not answer for carrying the enclosure from Mr. Hartley back to England, not knowing the consequence it might be of. I hope and think I have done right in this matter. The purpose for my moving in the business I went to Mr. A. upon, has, I own, been with a double view of serving myself in a matter of much consequence to me; for after delivering the explanations I carry, I can with some degree of right, and a very great probability of success, claim as a gratuity for the trouble and expense I have been at, the restoration of my papers; the situation of which I have already explained to lord Beauchamp, in order to get him to be a mover for them, and I have very little doubt, that a few days will restore them to me, and give me an opportunity to speedily speak to you on a matter which gives me much uneasiness, vexation, and pain. Excuse the hurry in which I write, for I am very near the period of embarkation. Paul Wentworth embarked this day for England, I trod on his heels chief of the way from the Hague, which he left suddenly. General Fawcett is on his road hence, to Hanover.

"*Ostend, 26th March.*"

John Adams to Dr. Franklin.

"THE HAGUE, March 26, 1782.

"SIR,—One day last week, I received at

Amsterdam, a card from Digges, enclosing two letters to me from David Hartley. The card desired to see me, upon business of importance; and the letters from Mr. Hartley contained an assurance, that to his knowledge, the bearer came from the highest authority. I answered the card, that in the present situation of affairs here, and elsewhere, it was impossible for me to see any one from England without witness; but if he were willing to see me in presence of Mr. Thaxter, my secretary, and that I should communicate whatever he should say to me to Dr. Franklin and the compte de Vergennes, I should wait for him at home at ten o'clock; but that I had rather he should go to Paris without seeing me, and communicate what he had to say to Dr. Franklin, whose situation enabled him to consult the court without loss of time. At ten, however, he came, and told me a long story about consultations with Mr. Penn, Mr. Hartley, lord Beauchamp, and at last lord North, by whom he was finally sent, to inquire of me, if I or any other had authority to treat with Great Britain of a truce. I answered, that 'I came to Europe with full powers to make peace, that those powers had been announced to the public upon my arrival, and continued in force until last summer, when congress sent a new commission, containing the same powers to four persons, whom I named: that if the king of England were my father, and I the heir apparent to his throne, I could not advise him ever to think of a truce, because it would be but a real war, under a simulated appearance of tranquillity, and would end in another open and bloody war, without doing any real good to any of the parties.'

"He said, that 'the ministry would send some person of consequence over, perhaps general Conway, but they were apprehensive that he would be ill treated or exposed.' I said, 'that if they resolved upon such a measure, I had rather they would send immediately to Dr. Franklin, because of his situation, near the French court. But there was no doubt, if they sent any respectable personage, properly authorized, who should come to treat honourably, he would be treated with great respect: but that if he came to me, I could give him no opinion upon any thing, without consulting my colleagues, and should reserve a right of communicating every thing to them, and to our allies.'

"He then said, that 'his mission was finished: that the fact to be ascertained was simply, that there was a commission in Europe to treat and conclude: but that there was not one person in Great Britain who could affirm or prove that there was such a commission, although it had been announced in the gazettes.'

"I desired him, and he promised me, not to mention Mr. Laurens to the ministry without his consent, (and without informing him, that it was impossible he should say any thing in the business, because he knew nothing of our instructions) because, although it was possible that his being in such a commission might induce them to release him, yet it was also possible it might render them more difficult, concerning his exchange.

"The picture he gives of the situation of things in England is gloomy enough for them. The distresses of the people, and the distractions in administration and parliament, are such as may produce any effect almost that can be imagined.

"The only use of all this I think is, to strike decisive strokes at New York and Charleston. There is no position so advantageous for negotiation, as when we have all an enemy's army prisoners. I must beg the favour of you, sir, to send me, by one of the count de Vergennes's couriers, to the duc de la Vauguion, a copy in letters of your peace instructions. I have not been able to decypher one quarter part of mine. Some mistake has certainly been made.

"Ten or eleven cities of Holland have declared themselves in favour of American Independence; and it is expected that to-day or to-morrow, this province will take the decisive resolution of admitting me to my audience. Perhaps some of the other provinces may delay it for three or four weeks. But the prince has declared, that he has no hopes of resisting the torrent, and *therefore*, that he shall not attempt it. The duc de la Vauguion has acted a very friendly and honourable part in this business, without, however, doing any ministerial act in it.

"With great respect, I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, J. ADAMS."

"*Robert R. Livingston.*

"PASSY, March 30, 1782.

"SIR,—The newspapers which I send you, by this conveyance, will acquaint you with what has since my last passed in parliament. You will there see a copy of the bill brought in by the attorney-general, for impowering the king to make peace with the colonies. They still seem to flatter themselves with the idea of dividing us; and rather than name the congress, they impower him generally to treat with *any body or bodies of men, or any person or persons, &c.* They are here likewise endeavouring to get us to treat separately from France, at the same time they are tempting France to treat separately from us, equally without the least chance of success. I have been drawn into a correspondence on this subject, which you shall have with my next. I send you a letter of Mr. Adams's, just received, which shows also that they are weary of the war, and would get out of it if they knew how. They had not then received certain news of the loss of St. Christopher's, which will probably render them still more disposed to peace. I see that a bill is also passing through the house of commons for the exchange of the American prisoners, the purport of which I do not yet know.

"In my last, I promised to be more particular with respect to the points you mentioned as proper to be insisted on in the treaty of peace. My ideas on those points, I assure you, are full as strong as yours. I did intend to have given you my reasons for some addition, and if the treaty were to be held on your side the water, I would do it: otherwise it seems, on second thoughts, to be unnecessary, and if my letters should be intercepted may be inconvenient. Be assured I shall not willingly give up any important right or interest of our country; and unless this campaign should afford our enemies some considerable advantage, I hope more may be obtained than is yet expected.

"Our affairs generally go on well in Europe. Holland has been slow, Spain slower, but time will I hope smooth away all difficulties. Let us keep up, not only our courage, but our vigilance; and not be laid asleep by the pretended half peace the English make with us without asking our consent. We cannot be safe while they keep armies in our country.—With great esteem I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*To John Adams*

"PASSY, March 31, 1782.

"SIR,—I received yours of the 10th instant, and am of opinion with you, that the English will evacuate New York and Charleston, as the troops there, after the late resolutions of parliament, must be useless, and are necessary to defend their remaining islands, where they have not at present more than three thousand men. The prudence of this operation is so obvious, that I think they can hardly miss it; otherwise, I own, that considering their conduct for several years past, it is not reasoning consequentially to conclude they will do a thing, because the doing it is required by common sense.

"Yours of the 26th is just come to hand: I thank you for the communication of Digges's message. He has also sent me a long letter, with two from Mr. Hartley. I shall see M. de Vergennes to-morrow, and will acquaint you with every thing material that passes on the subject. But the ministry by whom Digges pretends to be sent being changed, we shall, by waiting a little, see what tone will be taken by their successors. You shall have a copy of the instructions by the next courier. I congratulate you cordially on the progress you have made among those slow people. Slow however as they are, Mr. Jay finds his* much slower. By an American, who goes in about ten days to Holland, I shall send you a packet of correspondence with Mr. Hartley, though it amounts to little.—With great esteem, I have the honour to be your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant. B. FRANKLIN."

"*David Hartley.*

"PASSY, March 31, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,—I have just received your favours of March 11 and 12, forwarded to me by Mr. Digges, and another of the 21st, per post. I congratulate you on the returning good disposition of your nation towards America, which appears in the resolutions of parliament, that you have sent me; and I hope the change of your ministry will be attended with salutary effects. I continue in the same sentiments expressed in my former letters; but as I am but one of five in the commission, and have no knowledge of the sentiments of the others, what has passed between us is to be considered merely as private conversation. The five persons are Messrs. Adams, Jay, Laurens, Jefferson, and myself; and in case of the death or absence of any, the remainder have power to act or conclude. I have not written to Mr. Laurens, having constantly expected him here, but shall write to him next post; when I shall also write more fully to you, having now only time to add, that I am ever with great esteem and affection, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*General Washington.*

"PASSY, April 2, 1782.

"SIR,—I received duly the honour of your letter, accompanying the capitulation of gen. Cornwallis. All the world agree that no expedition was ever better planned or better executed; it has made a great addition to the military reputation you had already acquired, and brightens that glory that surrounds your name, and that must accompany it to our latest posterity. No news could possibly make me more happy. The infant Hercules has now strangled the two serpents† that attacked him in his cradle, and I trust his future history will be answerable.

"This will be presented to you by the count de Segur. He is son of the marquis de Ségur, minister of war, and our very good friend: but I need not claim your regards to the young gentleman on that score; his amiable personal qualities, his very sensible conversation, and his zeal for the cause of liberty, will obtain and secure your esteem, and be better recommendation than any I can give him.

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*Spain.

† Alluding to a medal struck commemorative of the surrender of the two British armies under Burgoyne and Cornwallis, Oct. 17, 1777, and Oct. 19, 1781.

"The English seem not to know either how to continue the war, or to make peace with us. Instead of entering into a regular treaty, for putting an end to a contest they are tired of, they have voted in parliament that the recovery of America by force is impracticable, that an offensive war against us ought not to be continued, and that whoever advises it shall be deemed an enemy to his country.

"Thus the garrisons of New York and Charlestown, if continued there, must sit still, being only allowed to defend themselves. The ministry, not understanding or approving this making of peace by halves, have quitted their places, but we have no certain account here who is to succeed them, so that the measures likely to be taken are yet uncertain; probably we shall know something of them before the marquis de la Fayette takes his departure. There are grounds for good hopes however; but I think we should not therefore relax in our preparations for a vigorous campaign, as that nation is subject to sudden fluctuations; and though somewhat humiliated at present, a little success in the West Indies may dissipate their present fears, recall their natural insolence, and occasion the interruption of negotiation, and a continuance of the war. We have great stores purchased here for the use of your army, which will be sent as soon as transports can be procured for them to go under good convoy.

"My best wishes always have, and always will attend you, being with the greatest and most sincere esteem and respect, sir, your excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*To David Hartley.*

"PASSY, April 5, 1782.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I wrote a few lines to you the 31st past, and promised to write more fully. On perusing again your letters of the 11th, 12th, and 21st, I do not find any notice taken of one from me, dated February 16. I therefore now send you a copy made from it in the press. The uncertainty of free transmission discourages a free communication of sentiments on these important affairs; but the inutility of discussion between persons, one of whom is not authorized but in conjunction with others, and the other not authorized at all, as well as the obvious inconveniences that may attend such previous handling of points, that are to be considered, when we come to treat regularly, are with me a still more effectual discouragement, and determine me to waive that part of the correspondence. As to Digges, I have no confidence in him, nor in any thing he says, or may say, of his being sent by ministers. Nor will I have any communication with him, except in receiving and considering the justification of himself, which he pretends he shall be able and intends to make, for his excessive drafts on me, on account of the relief I have ordered to the prisoners, and his embezzlement of the money. You justly observe in yours of the 12th, that the first object is to procure a 'meeting of qualified and authorized persons,' and that you understand ministry will be ready to proceed towards opening a negotiation as soon as the bill shall pass, and therefore it is necessary to consult time and place, and manner and persons, on each side. This you wrote while the old ministry existed. If the new have the same intentions, and desire a general peace, they may easily discharge Mr. Laurens from those engagements, which make his acting in the commission improper, and except Mr. Jefferson, who remains in America, and is not expected here, we the commissioners of congress can easily be got together ready to meet yours, at such place as shall be agreed to by the powers at war, in order to form the treaty. God grant that there may be wisdom enough assembled to make, if possible, a peace that shall be perpetual, and that the idea of any nations being natural enemies to each other, may be abolished for the honour of human nature.

"With regard to those who may be commissioned from your government, whatever personal preferences I may conceive in my own mind, it cannot become me to express them. I only wish for wise and honest men. With such, a peace may be speedily concluded. With contentious wranglers the negotiation may be drawn into length, and finally frustrated.

"I am pleased to see in the votes and parliamentary speeches, and in your public papers, that in mentioning America, the word *reconciliation* is often used. It certainly means more than a mere peace. It is a sweet expression. Revolve in your mind, my dear friend, the means of bringing about this *reconciliation*. When you consider the injustice of your war with us, and the barbarous manner in which it has been carried on, the many suffering families among us from your burning of towns, scalping by savages, &c. &c. will it not appear to you, that though a cessation of the war may be a peace, it may not be a reconciliation? Will not some voluntary acts of justice, and even of kindness on your part, have excellent effects towards producing such a *reconciliation?* Can you not find means of repairing in some degree these injuries? You have in England and Ireland, twelve hundred of our people prisoners, who have for years bravely suffered all the hardships of that confinement, rather than enter into your service, to fight against their country. Methinks you ought to glory in descendants of such virtue. What if you were to begin your measures of *reconciliation* by setting them at liberty! I know it would procure for you the liberty of an equal number of your people, even without a previous stipulation; and the confidence in our equity, with the apparent good will in the action, would give very good impressions of your change of disposition towards us. Perhaps you have no knowledge of the opinions lately conceived of your king and country, in America; the enclosed copy of a letter will make you a little acquainted with them, and convince you how impossible must be every project of bringing us again under the dominion of such a sovereign.—With great esteem, I am, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Chevalier de Chastellux.* (*In America.*)

"Passy, April 6, 1782.

"Dear Sir,—It gave me great pleasure to hear by the officers returned last winter from your army, that you continued in good health. You will see by the public papers that the English begin to be weary of the war, and they have reason, having suffered many losses, having four nations of enemies on their hands, few men to spare, little money left, and very bad heads.—The latter they have lately changed. As yet we know not what measures their new ministry will take. People generally think they will be employed by the king to extricate him from his present difficulties, by obtaining a peace, and that he will kick them out again; they being all men that he abominates, and who have been forced upon him by the parliament.

"The commons have already made a sort of half peace with us Americans, by forbidding their troops on the continent to act offensively; and by a new law they have impowered the king to complete it. As yet I hear nothing of the terms they mean to propose; indeed they have had hardly time to form them. I know they wish to detach us from France; but that is impossible.

"I congratulate you on the success of your last glorious campaign. Establishing the liberties of America will not only make that people happy, but will have some effect in diminishing the misery of those who in other parts of the world groan under despotism, by rendering it more circumspect, and inducing it to govern with a lighter hand. A philosopher endowed with those strong sentiments of humanity that are manifested in your excellent writings, must enjoy great satisfaction in having contributed so extensively by his sword, as well as by his pen, to the *félicité publique.**

"M. le comte de Ségur has desired of me a line of recommendation to you. I consider his request rather as a compliment to me, than as asking what may be of use to him; since I find that all who know him here esteem and love him, and he is certainly not unknown to you.

"Dare I confess to you that I am your rival with Madame G***? I need not tell you that I am not a dangerous one: I perceive that she loves you very much; and so does, dear sir, yours, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*R. R. Livingston,*

"Passy, April 8, 1782.

"Sir,—Since my last an extraordinary revolution has taken place in the court of England. All the old ministers are out, and the chiefs of the opposition are in their places. The newspapers that I send will give you the names as correctly as we yet know them; our last advices mention their kissing hands, but they had yet done nothing in their respective offices, by which one might judge of their projected measures, as whether they will ask a peace, of which they have great need, the nation having of late suffered many losses, men grown extremely scarce, and lord North's new taxes, proposed as funds for the loan, meeting with great opposition; or whether they will strive to find new resources, and obtain allies to enable them to please the king and nation, by some vigorous exertions against France, Spain, and Holland. With regard to America having, while in opposition, carried the vote for making no longer an offensive war with us, they seem to have tied their own hands from acting against us. *Their predecessors had been tampering with this court for a separate peace.* The king's answer gave me great pleasure. It will be sent to M. de la Luzerne, and by him communicated to congress. None of their attempts to divide us, meet with the least encouragement, and I imagine the present set will try other measures.

"My letters from Holland give pleasing accounts of the rapid progress our affairs are making in that country. The packet from Mr. Dumas, which I forward with this, will give you the particulars.

"Monsr. le prince de Broglie, will do me the favour of delivering this to you. He goes over to join the French army with the more pleasure, as it is employed in the cause of liberty, a cause he loves, and in establishing the interests of America, a country for which he has much regard and affection. I recommend him earnestly to the civilities and services it may be in your power to render him, and I request you would introduce him to the president of congress, and to the principal members civil and military.

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* The title of this Treatise on Public Wealth.

"Our excellent friend the marquis de la Fayette, will sail in about three weeks; by that time, we may have more interesting intelligence from England, and I shall write you fully. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Robert Morris*

"Passy, April 8, 1782.

"Sir,—The bills accepted by Mr. Jay, and afterwards protested for non-payment, are come and coming back to France and Holland, and I have ordered them to be taken up and discharged by our banker; I hope none will be returned to America.

"There is a convoy just going, and another it is said will follow in about three weeks; by these two, I hope the best part if not all our goods will be got out.

"Since my last of the 30th past, we hear that the old ministry are all out to a man, and that the new ministry has kissed hands, and were about to enter upon their respective functions, as yet we know nothing of their projects. They are all of them men who have in parliament, declared strongly against the American war, as unjust. Their predecessors *made various separate and private essays to dispose us to quit France, and France to forsake us*, but met with no encouragement. Before our friend the marquis sails, we shall probably receive some interesting information, which I will take care to forward to you.

"Our public affairs go on swimmingly in Holland, and a treaty will probably soon be entered into between the two republics. I wish I could give you as good news of our private business; Mr. Barclay is still detained by it, and I am deprived of his assistance here.

"This will be delivered to you by M. le prince de Broglie, who goes over to join the army of M. de Rochambeau. He bears an excellent character, is fond of America and its glorious cause, and will have great satisfaction in fighting for the establishment of liberty. I recommend him earnestly to those civilities, which I know you have a pleasure in showing to strangers of merit and distinction.

"Your two fine boys continue well. They dine with me every Sunday, being at school in my neighbourhood.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Gen. Washington.*

"Passy, April 8, 1782.

"Sir,—I did myself the honour of writing to you a few days since by the comte de Ségur. This line is chiefly to present the prince de Broglie to your excellency, who goes over to join the army of Mons. de Rochambeau. He bears an excellent character here, is a hearty friend to our cause, and I am persuaded you will have pleasure in his conversation. I take leave, therefore, to recommend him to those civilities, which you are always happy in showing to strangers of merit and distinction.

"I have heretofore congratulated your excellency on your victories over our enemy's generals; I can now do the same on your having overthrown their politicians. Your late successes have so strengthened the hands of opposition in parliament, that they are become the majority, and have compelled the king to dismiss all his old ministers and their adherents. The unclean spirits he was possessed with, are now cast out of him, but it is imagined that as soon as he has obtained a peace, they will return with others worse than themselves; *and the last state of that man*, (as the Scripture says,) *shall be worse than the first.*

"As soon as we can learn any thing certain of the projects of the new ministry, I shall take the first opportunity of communicating them. With the greatest esteem and respect, I am, sir, your excellency's, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Robert R. Livingston.*

"Passy, April 12, 1782.

"Sir,—Being at court on Tuesday, I learnt from the Dutch minister, that the new English ministry have offered, through the ministers of Russia, a cessation of arms to Holland, and a renewal of the treaty of 1674. M. de Berkenrode seemed to be of opinion, that the offer was intended to gain time to obstruct the concert of operations with France for the ensuing campaign, and to prevent the conclusion of a treaty with America. It is apprehended, that it may have some effect in strengthening the hands of the English party in that country, and retard affairs a little; but it is hoped that the proposal will not be finally agreed to: it would indeed render the Dutch ridiculous.

"A, having a cane in his hand, meets his neighbour B, who happens to have none, takes the advantage and gives him a sound drubbing; B, having found a stick, and coming to return the blows he received, A, says my old friend, why should we quarrel, we are neighbours, and let us be good ones, and live peaceably by each other, as we used to do: if B, is so easily satisfied and lays aside his stick, the rest of his neighbours as well as A, will laugh at him. This is the light in which I stated it. Enclosed I send you a copy of the proposition.

"I see by the newspapers that the Spaniards having taken a little post called St. Joseph, pretend to have made a conquest of the Illinois country. In what light does this proceeding appear to congress? While they decline our offered friendship, are they to be suffered to encroach on our bounds, and shut us up within the Apalachian mountains? I begin to fear they have some such project.

"Having seen in the English prints, an article from Lisbon, that two American ships, under French colours, being arrived in that port were seized by government, I asked the Portuguese ambssador if it was true. He said he had no advice of it, as he certainly should have had, if such a thing had happened; he therefore did not give the least credit to it; and said we might make ourselves perfectly easy, no such treatment would in his opinion be offered to us in their ports; and he further observed, on the falsehood of the English newspapers, their having lately asserted that the congress had issued letters of marque, for cruising against the Portuguese.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Henry Laurens.*

"Passy, April 12, 1782.

"Sir,—I should sooner have paid my respects to you by letter, if I had not till lately expected you here, as I understood it to be your intention. Your enlargement gave me great pleasure; and I hope that the terms exacted by the late ministry, will now be relaxed; especially when they are informed that you are one of the commissioners appointed to treat of peace. Herewith I send you a copy of the commission; the purport of which you can communicate to the ministers, if you find it proper. If they are disposed to make peace with us and our allies at the same time, I will, on notice from you, send to Mr. Jay to prepare for meeting at such time and place as shall be agreed on. As to our treating separately, and quitting our present alliance, which the late ministry seemed to desire, it is impossible. Our treaties, and our instructions, as well as the honour and interest of our country, forbid it. I will communicate those instructions to you as soon as I have the pleasure of seeing you. If you have occasion for money, please to acquaint me with the sum you desire, and I will endeavour to supply you.—With very great esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

Communication from the Court of France to Dr. Franklin.

"Versailles, April 12, 1782.

"I have laid before the count of Vergennes, sir, the different letters, which Mr. Hartley had written to you, as well as your proposed reply; the minister has given his entire approbation to the manner in which you have expressed yourself. I subjoin a postscript concerning Mr. Forth; the count of Vergennes, who has given it a perusal, finds that you may without impropriety transmit it to your correspondent.—I have the honour to be, sir, with most sincere attachment, your very humble and obedient servant.

(Signed) "DE RAYNEVAL."

"P. S. Since my letter was written, sir, I have considered anew the different overtures which it embraces. In your opinion the late English minister sincerely desired a reconciliation with us, and proposed with this view a separate peace. At the time you were transmitting this wish of lord North to me, this ex-minister had employed an emissary here to sound the minister of France on the pacific disposition of his court, and offer very advantageous propositions. You will be able to judge from this, sir, of the opinion which I ought to have of the intention of lord North and his colleagues. To convince you of the truth of the suggestions, which I communicate, I will confide to you, that the emissary was a Mr. Forth, and thus he was charged to reply to the English minister, *that the king of France is as desirous of peace as the king of England; and that he would accede to it as soon as he could with dignity and safety; but it is a matter of the last importance for his most christian majesty to know, whether the court of London is disposed to treat on equal terms with the allies of France.* Mr. Forth has set out for London, with this answer; but it is probable he will not arrive till after the ministers who have sent him, have retired from office. You may, sir, without the least hesitation, make use of these details, if you judge it expedient: they will make known to the minister in place the principles of the court of France, and they will convince him, I hope, that the project of disuniting us, will be as illusory as it will prove injurious to us. As to the reply sent by Mr. Forth, I cannot foresee (if the new ministers are instructed on this point) in what manner they will think they ought to consider it; if they love peace, as they have persuaded the English nation and all Europe, they need not be embarrassed: France has opened a way in which they can, in my opinion, act without wounding the dignity of their master; if they do not adopt it, they flatter themselves without doubt, that the chance of war will procure for England the success which heretofore has been denied her; it will be for Providence to crown or frustrate their hopes."

No. II.

"*Preliminary of a Peace said to be formed by the Rockingham party: but if really formed by any minister, Shelburne must be the man.*

"1. That the British troops shall be withdrawn from the thirteen provinces of North America, and a truce made between Great Britain and the said provinces for, suppose ten or twenty years.

"2. That a negotiation for peace shall *bonâ fide* be opened between Great Britain and the allies of America.

"3. If the proposed negotiation between Great Britain and the allies of America should not succeed, so as to produce a peace, but that war should continue between the said parties, that then America should act and be treated as a neutral nation.

"4. That whenever peace shall take place between Great Britain and the allies of America, the truce between Great Britain and America shall be converted into a perpetual peace; the independence of America shall be admitted and guaranteed by Great Britain, and a commercial treaty settled between them.

"5. That these propositions shall be made to the court of France, for communication to the American commissioners, and for an answer to the court of Great Britain.

No. III.

"1. The nation has spent in this war, since 1775 an hundred millions of sterling money.

"2. The nation has lost by this war fourteen colonies on the continent of America, several islands in the West Indies, and Minorca.

"3. The nation is at war with three powerful states in Europe.

"4. The nation has no ally.

"5. All these evils have happened from want of foresight and abilities in the ministry. These propositions were moved and seconded, and after a long debate, two hundred and sixteen members voted for them, two hundred and twenty-six against.

"As many members of the opposition were absent, even sir George Saville, Mr. Wilkes, and others, they are determined to bring them on again.

No. IV.

"Immediately after the death of lord Rockingham, the king said to lord Shelburne, 'I will be plain with you; the point next my heart, and which I am determined, be the consequence what it may, never to relinquish, but with my crown and life, is to prevent a total unequivocal recognition of the independence of America. Promise to support me on this ground, and I will leave you unmolested on every other ground, and with full power as the prime minister of this kingdom.' The bargain was struck.

"*The Hague*, 1782."

"*David Hartley.*

"PASSY, April 13, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,—Since mine of the 5th, I have thought farther of the subject of our late letters. You were of opinion, that the late ministry desired *sincerely* a reconciliation with America, and with that view a separate peace with us was proposed. It happened that at the same time lord North had an emissary here to sound the French ministers with regard to peace, and to make them very advantageous propositions in case they would abandon America. You may judge from hence, my dear friend, what opinion I must have formed of the intentions of your ministers. To convince you of the truth of this, I may acquaint you that the emissary was a Mr. Forth; and that the answer given him to carry back to the English ministers was, *que le roi de France désiroit la paix autant que le roi d'Angleterre; qu'il i'y prêteroit dès qu'il le pourroit avec dignité et sureté; mais qu'il importoit avant tout à S. M. T. C. de savoir si la cour de Londres étoit disposée à traiter également avec les alliés de la France.* Mr. Forth went off with this answer for London, but probably did not arrive till after the dismission of the ministers that sent him. You may make any use of this information as you judge proper. The new ministry may see by it the principles that govern this court; and it will convince them, I hope, that the project of dividing us is as vain as it would be to us injurious. I cannot judge what they will think or do in consequence of the answer sent by Mr. Forth (if they have seen it.) If they love peace, as they have persuaded the English nation and all Europe to believe, they can be under no difficulty. France has opened a path which in my opinion they may use, without hurting the dignity of their master, or the honour of the nation. If they do not choose it, they doubtless flatter themselves that a war may still produce successes in favour of England that have hitherto been withheld. The crowning or frustrating such hopes belongs to Divine Providence: may God send us all more wisdom! I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN."

"*John Adams.*

"PASSY, April 14, 1782.

"SIR,—Enclosed with this I send to your excellency the packet of correspondence between Mr. Hartley and me, which I promised in my last. You will see that we held nearly the same language, which gives me pleasure.

"While Mr. Hartley was making propositions to me, with the approbation or privity of lord North, to treat separately from France, that minister had an emissary here, a Mr. Forth, formerly a secretary of lord Stormont's, making proposals to induce this court to treat without us. I understand that several sacrifices were offered to be made, and among the rest Canada to be given up to France. The substance of the answer appears in my last letter to Mr. Hartley. But there is a sentence omitted in that letter, which I much liked, viz. '*that whenever the two crowns should come to treat, his most christian majesty would show how much the engagements he might enter into, were to be relied on, by his exact observance of those he already had with his present allies.*'

"If you have received any thing in consequence of your answer by Digges, you will oblige me by communicating it. The ministers here were much pleased with the account given them of your interview by the ambassador. B. FRANKLIN."

Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"VERSAILLES, April 23, 1782.

"SIR,—The baron de Blome has just sent me the annexed memorial, and the only use I can make of it is to communicate it to you, persuaded that you will forward it to congress.—I have the honour to be, &c.

"DE VERGENNES."

Complaint from Denmark against an American privateer, called the Henry.

(NOTE.)

"The court of Denmark has been informed that the ship Providence of Christiana in Norway, destined from London for St. Thomas's, a Danish island, with a cargo of divers merchandize, has been stopped in the latitude of Antigua by an American privateer called the *Henry*, captain Thomas Benson, and has been conducted into a port of New England, under the pretence that the cargo might be English property.

"As this act is prejudicial to the credit, security, and liberty of the Danish flag; the underwritten has been charged by order of his court to communicate the same to his excellency the count de Vergennes, requesting that he will be pleased to effect, by his intervention, a prompt and entire restitution of the said vessel and cargo, with damages proportioned to the unjust detention; and that he will be kind enough at the same time, to endeavour to obtain that precise orders be given to the American privateers not to trouble, in any wise the navigation and commerce of Denmark, but to respect its flag.

"The court has the greater right to expect this compliance on the part of the Americans, as they continue to enjoy every liberty, and to find every assistance in its American islands, and they will always experience the same kind treatment on the part of Denmark, provided they correspond by proceedings equally amicable."

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"LONDON, May 1, 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have received a packet from you containing several letters of various dates. As I shall probably have a safe opportunity of conveyance to you when Mr. Laurens leaves this country, I am now sitting down to write to you an *omnium* kind of letter of various matters as they occur. The late ministry being departed, I may now speak of things more freely. I will take a sentence in one of your letters for my text. Vide yours of April 13th, 1782, in which you say: *you was of opinion that the late ministry desired* SINCERELY *a reconciliation with America, and with that view a separate peace* with us was proposed. I must qualify this sentence much, before I can adopt it as my opinion. As to *reconciliation*, I never gave much credit to them for that wish. *It is a sweet expression. It certainly means* MORE *than peace.* The utmost I ever gave the late ministry credit for, was a wish for peace. And I still believe that the wisest among them grew from day to day more disposed to peace or an abatement of the war, in proportion as they became more alarmed for their own situations and their responsibility. Had the war been more successful, I should not have expected much relenting towards peace or reconciliation. That this has always been the measure of my opinion of them, I refer you to some words in a letter from me to you, dated January 5, 1780, for proof—'but for the point of sincerity; why as to that I have not much to say; I have at least expected some hold upon their *prudence.* My argument runs thus: It is a *bargain* for *you* (ministers) to be sincere *now.* Common prudence may hint to you to look to yourselves. It has amazed me beyond measure, that this principle of common selfish *prudence* has not had the effect which I expected.' I have not been disposed to be deceived by any conciliatory professions which I considered only as arising from prudence, and I hope that I have not led you into any deception, having so fully explained myself to you on that head. Had the American war been more prosperous on the part of the late ministry, I do not believe the late resignation would have taken place.

But it is evident from the proposition to the court of France which you have communicated to me, (and which I have communicated to the present ministry with your letter) that even to the last hour, some part of the late ministry were still set upon the American war to the last extremity; and probably another more *prudent* part of the ministry would proceed no farther; which, if it be so, may reasonably be imputed as the cause of the dissolution of the late ministry. These have been the arguments which I have always driven and insisted upon with the greatest expectation of success, viz. *prudential* arguments from the total impracticability of the war; responsibility, &c. I have been astonished beyond measure, that these arguments have not sooner had their effect. If I could give you an idea of many conferences which I have had upon the subject, I should tell you, that many times *Felix has trembled.* When reduced by the terror of responsibility either to renounce the American war, or to relinquish their places, they have chosen the latter; which is a most wretched and contemptible retribution either to their country or to mankind, for the desolation in which they have involved every nation that they have ever been connected with. Peace they would not leave behind them. Their legacy to their country, and to mankind his been—*let darkness be the burier of the dead!*

"As to the proposal of a separate peace arising from a desire of *reconciliation*, it certainly was so on the part of the people of England, but on the part of the late ministry, it probably arose from the hopes of suggesting to France ideas of some infidelity on the part of America towards them. If you should ask me, why I have *seemed* to conspire with this, my answer is very plain. In the first place, if I could have prevailed with the late ministry to have actually made an irrevocable offer, *on their own parts*, of a separate peace to America, that very offer would in the same instant have become on their part also a consent to a general peace; because *they* never had any wish to a separate contest with France, and America being out of the question, *they* would have thought of nothing after that but a general peace. I never could bring them even to this. *They* wished that *America* should make the offer of a separate treaty (for obvious views.) *My* proposal was, that *they* should offer irrevocable terms of peace to America. If they had meant what they pretended, and what the people of England did really desire, they would have adopted that proposition. Then the question would have come forward upon the fair and honourable construction of a treaty between France and America, *the essential and direct end* of which was fully accomplished. When I speak of Great Britain offering irrevocable terms of peace to America, I mean such terms as would have effectually satisfied the provision of the treaty, viz. tacit independence. I send you a paper intitled a *Breviate*,* which I laid before the late ministry and their not having acted upon it, was a proof to me that the disposition of their heart to America was not altered, but that all their relenting arose from the impracticability of that war, and their want of success in it. But desponding as they were at last, it was not inconsistent with my expectations of their conduct, that they should make great offers to France to abandon America. It was the only weapon left in their hands. In course of negotiating with the late ministry I perceived their courage drooping from time to time, for the last three or four years, and it was upon that ground I gave them credit for an increasing disposition towards peace. Some dropped off; others sunk under the load of folly; and at last they all failed. My argument *ad homines* to the late ministry, might be stated thus. *If you don't kill them, they will kill you.* But the war is impracticable *on your part;* ergo, the best thing you can do *for your own sake* is to make *peace.* This was reasoning to men, and through men to things. But there is no measure of rage in pride and disappointment,

> Spicula cæca relinquunt
> Infixa venis, animasque in vulnere ponunt.

So much for the argument of the *Breviate*, as far as it respected the late ministry. It was a test which proved that they were not sincere to their professions. If they had been in earnest to have given the war a turn towards the house of Bourbon, and to have dropped the American war, a plain road lay before them. The sentiment of the people of England was conformable to the argument of that breviate; or rather I should say what is the real truth, that the argument of the breviate was dictated by the notoriety of that sentiment in the people of England. My object and wish always has been to strike at the root of the evil, the American war. If the British nation have jealousies and resentments against the house of Bourbon, yet still the first step in every case would be to rescind the American war, and not to keep it lurking in the rear, to become hereafter, in case of certain events, a reversionary war with America for unconditional terms. This reversionary war was never the object of the people of England: therefore the argument of the breviate was calculated bona fide to accomplish their views, and to discriminate the fallacious pretences of the late administration from the real wishes of the country, as expressed in the circular resolution of many counties in the year 1780, first moved at York, on March 28, 1780. Every other principle and every mode of conduct only imply, as you very justly express it, a secret hope that war may still produce successes, and then—. The designs which have been lurking under this pretext could not mean any thing else than this. Who knows but that we may still talk to America at last. The only test of clear intentions would have been this, to have cut up the American war and all possible return to it for any cause, or under any pretext. I am confident that the sentiment of the people of England is and always has been to procure peace and reconciliation with America, and to vindicate the national honour in the contest with the house of Bourbon. If this intention had been pursued in a simple and direct manner, I am confident that the honour and safety of the British nation would long ago have been established in a general peace with all the belligerent powers. These are the sentiments to which I have always acted in those negotiations which I have had upon the subject of peace with the late ministry. Reconciliation with America and peace with all the world upon terms consistent with the honour and safety of my own country.

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* Vide the same following this letter

"Peace must be sought in such ways as promise the greatest degree of practicability. The sentiments of individuals as philanthropists may be overborne by the power of ancient prejudices, which too frequently prevail in the aggregates of nations. In such case the philanthropist who wishes the good of his own country, and of mankind, must be the bullrush bending to the storm, and not the sturdy oak unavailingly resisting. National prejudices are, I hope, generally upon the decline. Reason and humanity gain ground every day against their *natural* enemies, folly and injustice. The ideas of nations being *natural* enemies to each other are generally reprobated. But still *jealousies* and ancient rivalships remain, which obstruct the road to peace among men. If one belligerent nation will entertain a standing force of three or four hundred thousand fighting men, other nations must have defended frontiers and barrier towns, and the barrier of a neighbouring island, whose constitution does not allow a standing military force, must consist in a superiority at sea. It is necessary for her own defence. If all nations by mutual consent will reduce their *offensive* powers, which they only claim under the pretext of necessary *defence*, and bring forward the reign of the millennium; then away with your frontiers and barriers, and your Gibraltars, and the key of the Baltic, and all the hostile array of nations.

Aspera compositis mitescant sæcula bellis

"These must be the sentiments of every philanthropist in his interior thoughts. But if we are not to seek peace by some practicable method accommodated to the remaining prejudices of the multitude, we shall not in our time, I fear, see that happy day. If Great Britain and France are ancient rivals; then, until the reign of the millennium shall approach, arrange that rivalship upon equitable terms; as the two leading nations of Europe, set them in balance to each other; the one by land, the other by sea. Give to France her elevated rank among the nations of Europe. Give to Great Britain the honour of her flag, and the security of her island by her wooden walls, and there would be no obstruction to general and perpetual peace. The prejudices of disrespect between nations prevail only among the inferior ranks. Believe me, for one at least, I have the highest sentiments of respect for the nation of France. I have no other sentiments of hostility but what are honourable towards them, and which as a member of a rival state at war with them, consists in the duty of vigilance which I owe towards the honour and interests of my own country. I am not conscious of a word or a thought which *on the point of honour* I would wish to have concealed from a French minister. In the mode which I have proposed of unravelling the present subjects of jealousy and contest, I would make my proposals openly to France herself. Let America be free, and enjoy happiness and peace for ever. If France and Great Britain have jealousies or rivalships between themselves, as European nations, I then say to France, let us settle these points between ourselves; if unfortunately we shall not be able by honourable negotiation to compromise the indispensable points of national honour and safety. This would be my language to France, open and undisguised. In the mean while I desire you to observe that it would not be with reluctance that I should offer eternal freedom, happiness, and peace to America. You know my thoughts too well to suspect that. I speak only as in a state of war desirous to arrange the complicated interests and to secure the respective honour of nations. My wishes are and always have been for the peace, liberty and safety of mankind. In the pursuit of those blessed objects not only this country and America, but France herself and the house of Bourbon, may justly claim the conspiring exertions of every free and liberal mind, even among their temporary enemies and rivals.—I am, &c. D. HARTLEY."

[*Enclosed in the Letter of D. Hartley, Esq., of May* 1, 1782.]

Breviate, Feb. 7, 1782

"IT is stated that America is disposed to enter into a negotiation of peace with Great Britain without requiring any formal recognition of independence; always understood that they are to act in conjunction with their allies, conformable to treaties.

"It is therefore recommended to give for reply, that the ministers of Great Britain are likewise disposed to enter into a negotiation for peace, and that they are ready to open a general treaty for that purpose.

"If the British ministers should see any objection to a general treaty, but should still be disposed to enter into a separate treaty with America, it is then recommended to them to offer such terms to America as shall induce her to apply to her allies for their consent, that she should be permitted to enter into a separate treaty with Great Britain. The condition of which being the consent of allies, no proposition of any breach of faith can be understood to be required by them by the requisition of a separate treaty.

"The British ministers are free to make any propositions to America which they may think proper, provided they be not dishonourable in themselves, which in the present case is barred by the supposition of consent being obtained. In this case therefore, if they should be inclined to offer a separate treaty, it is recommended to them to offer such terms to America, as should induce her to be desirous of closing with the proposal of a separate treaty on the grounds of national security and interests, and likewise such as may constitute to them a case of reason and justice upon which they may make requisition to their allies for their consent. It is suggested that the offer to America of a truce of sufficient length, together with the removal of the British troops, would be equivalent to that case which is provided for in the treaty of February 6, 1778, between America and France, viz. *tacit* independence; and the declared ends of that alliance being accomplished, it would not be reasonable that America should be dragged on by their allies in a war, the continuance of which between France and Great Britain could only be caused by separate European jealousies and resentments (if unfortunately for the public peace any such should arise) between themselves, independent and unconnected with the American cause. It is to be presumed that France would not in point of honour to their allies refuse their consent so requested, as any rivalship or punctilios between her and Great Britain as European nations (principles which too frequently disturb the peace of mankind) could not be considered as *casus fœderis* of the American alliance; and their pride as a belligerent power would not permit them to claim the assistance of America as necessary to their support, thereby proclaiming their nation unequal to the contest in case of the continuance of a war with Great Britain after the settlement and pacification with America. Their consent therefore is to be presumed.—But if they should demur on this point, if Great Britain should be disposed to concede *tacit* independence to America by a long truce and the removal of the troops, and if the obstruction should evidently occur on the part of France, under any equivocal or captious construction of a *defensive* treaty of alliance between America and France, Great Britain would from thenceforward stand upon advantage ground, either in any negotiation with America, or in the continuance of a war including America, but not arising from any farther resentments of Great Britain towards America, but imposed reluctantly upon both parties by the conduct of the court of France.

"These thoughts are not suggested with any view of giving any preference in favour of a separate treaty above a general treaty, or above any plans of separate but concomitant treaties, like the treaties of Munster and Osnaburgh, but only to draw out the line of negotiating a separate treaty in case the British ministry should think it necessary to adhere to that mode. But in all cases it should seem indispensable to express some disposition on the part of Great Britain to adopt either one mode or the other. An absolute refusal to treat at all must necessarily drive America into the closest connexion with France and all other foreign hostile powers, who would take that advantage for making every possible stipulation to the future disadvantage of British interests, and above all things would probably stipulate that America should never make peace with Great Britain without the most formal and explicit recognition of their independence, absolute and unlimited."

Colonel W. H. Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"SOHO SQUARE, May 24. 1782.

"DEAR SIR,—It is with the greatest pleasure I take up my pen to acknowledge your remembrance of me in yours to my brother, and to thank you for those expressions of regard which I can assure you are mutual. My brother has desired me to copy some letters and papers, by way of sending you duplicates. I am particularly happy at the employment, because the greatest object of my parliamentary life has been to co-operate with him in his endeavours to put a period to this destructive war, and forward the blessed work of peace. I hope to see him again in that situation, where he can so well serve his country with credit to himself; and while I have the honour of being in parliament, my attention will be continued to promote the effects, which will naturally flow from those principles of freedom and universal philanthropy you have both so much supported. While I copy his words, my own feelings and judgment are truly in unison, and I have but to add the most ardent wish that peace and happiness may crown the honest endeavours towards so desirable an end. I am, dear sir, with the greatest respect and esteem, yours sincerely,

“W. H. HARTLEY.”

David Hartley, M. P., to Dr. Franklin.

“London, May 25, 1782.

“My dear Friend,—Yours of the 13th instant I received by Mr. Oswald. I did not doubt but that the news of a general and absolute release of the American prisoners, which lord Shelburne was so good to communicate to me, in answer to that part of your letter of the 5th of April, in which you speak so pathetically of *sweet reconciliation*, would give you much sincere and heartfelt pleasure. God send that it may be the happy omen of final *reconciliation* and *durable peace.* I should be very happy to hear that good news from you, and in any way to contribute to it. Having on that subject communicated the preliminaries, dated May, 1782, to lord Shelburne, you may be assured that I have no reservations upon that head respecting America, in any circumstances or condition whatever. You know al my thoughts upon that subject, and the principles upon which they are founded, and therefore that they are not changeable.

“It would give me the greatest pleasure if I could hope for any opportunity of seeing you. I could say many things which are otherwise incommunicable, and which perhaps would contribute to facilitate the road to peace. I think I see in many parts, much matter to work with, out of which a peace, honourable to all parties, and upon durable principles, might be established. *No degrading or mortifying conditions, to shorten peace and rekindle war.* Perhaps I might not say too much if I were to add, that simply the adoption of *reason* among nations, and the mere rectification of obsolete and gothic absurdities, which carry no gratification, would afford a fund of renumeration to all parties, for renouncing those objects of mutual contention, which *in the eye of reason*, are no better than creatures of passion, jealousy, and false pride. Until the principles of *reason* and equity shall be adopted in national transactions, peace will not be durable amongst men.

“These are reflections general to all nations. As to the mutual concerns between Great Britain and North America, *reconciliation* is the touch-stone to prove those hearts which are without alloy. If I can be of any assistance to you in any communications or explanations conducive to peace, you may command my utmost services. Even if a French minister were to overhear such an offer, let him not take it in jealous part. Zealously and affectionately attached to my own country and to America, I am nevertheless most perfectly of accord with you, that justice and honour should be observed towards all nations. Mr. Oswald, will do me the favour to convey this to you. I heartily wish him success in his pacific embassy. G. B.

R. Oswald to Dr Franklin.

“Paris, June 5, 1782.

“Sir,—While Mr. Laurens was under confinement in England, he promised, that on condition of his being liberated upon his parole, he would apply to you for an exchange in favour of my lord Cornwallis, by a discharge of his lordships granted upon the surrender of his garrison at the village of York, in Virginia; and, in case of your being under any difficulty in making such exchange, he undertook to write to the congress, and to request it of that assembly; making no doubt of obtaining a favourable answer, without loss of time.

“This proposal, signed by Mr. Laurens's hand, I carried and delivered, I think, in the month of December last, to his majesty's then secretaries of state, which was duly attended to; and in consequence thereof, Mr. Laurens was soon after set at full liberty. And though not a prisoner under parole, yet it is to be hoped, a variation in the mode of discharge, will not be supposed of any essential difference.

“And with respect to Mr. Laurens, I am satisfied he will consider himself as much interested in the success of this application, as if his own discharge had been obtained under the form as proposed by the representation which I delivered to the secretaries of state; and, I make no doubt, will sincerely join my lord Cornwallis in an acknowledgment of your favour and good offices in granting his lordship a full discharge of his parole abovementioned.

“I have the honour to be, with much respect, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

“RICHARD OSWALD.”

“P. S. Major Ross has got no copy of lord Cornwallis's parole. He says it was in the common form, as in like cases.

“Since writing the above, I recollect I was under a mistake, as if the proposal of exchange came first from Mr. Laurens; whereas it was made by his majesty's secretaries of state to me, that Mr. Laurens should endeavour to procure the exchange of lord Cornwallis, so as to be discharged himself. Which proposal I carried to Mr. Laurens, and had from him the obligation abovementioned, upon which the mode of his discharge was settled.

“R. O.”

“*Richard Oswald.*

“Passy, June 6, 1782.

“Sir,—I received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me, respecting the parole of lord Cornwallis. You are acquainted with what I wrote, some time since, to Mr. Laurens. To-morrow is post day from Holland, when possibly I may receive an answer, with a paper drawn up by him for the purpose of discharging that parole, to be signed by us jointly. I suppose the staying at Paris another day will not be very inconvenient to major Ross; and if I do not hear to-morrow from Mr. Laurens, I will immediately, in compliance with your request, do what I can towards the liberation of lord Cornwallis.—I have the honour to be, with great respect, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

" *To Dr. Priestley.*

" Passy, June 7, 1782.

" Dear Sir,—I received your kind letter of the 7th April, also one of the 3d of May. I have always great pleasure in hearing from you, in learning that you are well, and that you continue your experiments. I should rejoice much if I could once more recover the leisure to search with you into the works of nature; I mean the inanimate or moral part of them: the more I discovered of the former, the more I admired them; the more I know of the latter, the more I am disgusted with them. Men, I find to be a sort of beings very badly constructed, as they are generally more easily provoked than reconciled, more disposed to do mischief to each other than to make reparation, much more easily deceived than undeceived, and having more pride and even pleasure in killing than in begetting one another; for without a blush, they assemble in great armies at noon-day to destroy, and when they have killed as many as they can, they exaggerate the number to augment the fancied glory; but they creep into corners, or cover themselves with the darkness of night when they mean to beget, as being ashamed of a virtuous action. A virtuous action it would be, and a vicious one the killing of them, if the species were really worth producing or preserving; but of this I begin to doubt. I know you have no such doubts, because in your zeal for their welfare, you are taking a great deal of pains to save their souls. Perhaps as you grow older, you may look upon this as a hopeless project, or an idle amusement, repent of having murdered in mephetic air so many honest, harmless mice, and wish that to prevent mischief you had used boys and girls instead of them. In what light we are viewed by superior beings, may be gathered from a piece of late West India news, which possibly has not yet reached you. A young angel of distinction being sent down to this world on some business, for the first time, had an old courier-spirit assigned him as a guide; they arrived over the seas of Martinico, in the middle of the long day of obstinate fight been the fleets of Rodney and De Grasse. When through the clouds of smoke, he saw the fire of the guns, the decks covered with mangled limbs, and bodies dead or dying, the ships sinking, burning, or blown into the air, and the quantity of pain, misery, and destruction, the crews yet alive were thus with so much eagerness dealing round to one another, he turned angrily to his guide, and said, you blundering blockhead, you are ignorant of your business; you undertook to conduct me to the earth, and you have brought me into hell! No, sir, says the guide, I have made no mistake; this is really the earth, and these are men. Devils never treat one another in this cruel manner; they have more sense, and more of what men (vainly) call humanity.

" But to be serious, my dear old friend, I love you as much as ever, and I love all the honest souls that meet at the London Coffee-house. I only wonder how it happened that they and my other friends in England came to be such good creatures in the midst of so perverse a generation. I long to see them and you once more, and I labour for peace with more earnestness, that I may again be happy in your sweet society.

" I showed your letter to the duke de la Rochefoucault, who thinks with me that the new experiments you have made are extremely curious, and he has given me thereupon a note which I enclose, and I request you would furnish me with the answer desired.

" Yesterday the *Count du Nord** was at the Academy of Sciences, when sundry experiments were exhibited for his entertainment; among them, one by M. Lavoisier, to show that the strongest fire we yet know is made in charcoal blown upon with dephlogisticated air. In a heat so produced, he melted platina presently, the fire being much more powerful than that of the strongest burning mirror. Adieu, and believe me ever, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN."

Form of the discharge of earl Cornwallis from his parole.

"The congress having by a resolution of the 14th of June last, impowered me to offer an exchange of general Burgoyne for the honourable Mr. Laurens, then a prisoner in the Tower of London, and whose liberty they much desire to obtain; which exchange, though proposed by me according to the said resolution, had not been accepted or executed, when advice was received that general Burgoyne was exchanged in virtue of another agreement; and Mr. Laurens having thereupon proposed another lieutenant-general, to wit, lord Cornwallis, as an exchange for himself, promising that if set at liberty, he would do his utmost to obtain a confirmation of that proposal; and Mr. Laurens being soon after discharged, and having since urged me earnestly in several letters to join with him in absolving the parole of that general, which appears to be a thing just and equitable in itself; and for the honour therefore of our country, I do hereby, as far as in my power lies, in virtue of the abovementioned resolution, or otherwise, absolve and discharge the parole of lord Cornwallis, given by him in Virginia; setting him at entire liberty, to act in his civil or military capacity, until the pleasure of congress shall be known, to whom is reserved the confirmation or disapprobation of this discharge, in case they have made or shall intend to make a different disposition.—Given at Passy, this 9th day of June, 1782.

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* The grand duke of Russia, afterwards the emperor Paul I.

"B. FRANKLIN.

"Minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the court of France."

" *To the bishop of St. Asaph.*[*]

" Passy, June 10, 1782.

"I received and read the letter from my dear and much respected friend, with infinite pleasure. After so long a silence, and the long continuance of its unfortunate causes, a line from you was a prognostic of happier times approaching, when we may converse and communicate freely, without danger from the malevolence of men enraged by the ill-success of their distracted projects.

"I long with you for the return of peace, on the general principles of humanity. The hope of being able to pass a few more of my last days happily in the sweet conversations and company I once enjoyed at Twyford,[†] is a particular motive that adds strength to the general wish, and quickens my industry to procure that best of blessings. After much occasion to consider the folly and mischiefs of a state of warfare, and the little or no advantage obtained even by those nations who have conducted it with the most success; I have been apt to think that there has never been, nor ever will be any such thing as a *good* war or a *bad* peace.

"You ask, if I still relish my old studies? I relish them, but I cannot pursue them. My time is engrossed unhappily with other concerns. I requested of the congress last year, my discharge from this public station, that I might enjoy a little leisure in the evening of a long life of business: but it was refused me, and I have been obliged to drudge on a little longer.

"You are happy as your years come on, in having that dear and most amiable family about you. Four daughters! how rich! I have but one, and she, necessarily detained from me at a thousand leagues distance. I feel the want of that tender care of me which might be expected from a daughter, and would give the world for one. Your shades are all placed in a row over my fire place, so that I not only have you always in my mind, but constantly before my eyes.

"The cause of liberty and America has been greatly obliged to you. I hope you will live long to see that country flourish under its new constitution, which I am sure will give you great pleasure. Will you permit me to express another hope, that now your friends are in power, they will take the first opportunity of showing the sense they ought to have of your virtues and your merit?

"Please to make my best respects acceptable to Mrs. Shipley, and embrace for me tenderly all our dear children. With the utmost esteem, respect, and veneration, I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

John Adams to Dr. Franklin.

" The Hague, June 13, 1782.

"Sir,—I had yesterday, at Amsterdam, the honour of receiving your excellency's letter of June 2d.

"The discovery that Mr. Grenville's power was only to treat with France, does not surprise me at all. The British ministry are too divided among themselves, and have too formidable an opposition against them, in the king and the old ministers, and are possessed of too little of the confidence of the nation, to have courage to make concessions of any sort, especially since the news of their successes in the East and West Indies. What their vanity will end in God only knows: for my own part, I cannot see a probability, that they will ever make peace, until their finances are ruined, and such distresses brought upon them, as will work up their parties into a civil war.

"I wish their enemies could by any means be persuaded to carry on the war against them in places where they might be sure of triumphs, instead of insisting on pursuing it where they are sure of defeat. But we must take patience, and wait for time to do what wisdom might easily and soon do.

"I have not as yet taken any engagements with the Dutch not to make peace without them; but I will take such engagements in a moment, if the Dutch will take them, and I believe they would very cheerfully. I shall not propose it, however, till I have the concurrence of the duke de la Vauguyon, who will do nothing without the instructions of his court. I would not delay it a moment, from any expectation that the English will acknowledge our independence, and make peace with us, because I have no such expectations. The permanent friendship of the Dutch may be easily obtained by the United States. That of England, never: it is gone with the days before the flood. If we ever enjoy the smallest degree of sincere friendship again from England, I am totally incapable of seeing the character of a nation or the connexions of kings; which however may be the case for what I know. They have brought themselves into such a situation! Spain, Holland, America, the armed neutrality have all such pretensions and demands upon them, that where is the English minister, or member of parliament that dares to vote for the concession to them? The pretensions of France, I believe, would be so moderate, that possibly they might be acceded to. But it is much to be feared that Spain, who deserves the least, will demand the most: in short, the work of peace appears so impracticable and chimerical, that I am happy in being restrained to this country, by my duty, and by this means excused from troubling my head much about it. I have a letter from America, that informed me, that Mr. Jay had refused to act in the commission for peace; but if he is on the way to Paris, as you suppose, I presume my information must be a mistake, which I am very glad of. Mr. Laurens did me the honour of a very short visit, in his way to France, but I was very sorry to learn from him, that in a letter to your excellency from Ostend, he had declined serving in the commission for peace. I had vast pleasure in his conversation, for I found him possessed of the most exact judgment concerning our enemies, and of the same noble sentiments in all things, which I saw in him in congress.

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[*] Jonathan Shipley took his degrees at Christ Church, and in 1743 was made prebendary of Winchester. After travelling in 1745, with the duke of Cumberland, he was promoted in 1749 to a canonry at Christ Church, became dean of Winchester in 1760, and in 1769, bishop of St. Asaph. He was author of some elegant verses on the death of queen Caroline, and published besides, some poems and sermons, and died 1788. He was an ardent friend of American independence.

[†] The country residence of the bishop.

"What is the system of Russia? Does she suppose that England has too many enemies upon her, and that their demands and pretensions are too high? Does she seek to embroil affairs, and to light up a general war in Europe? Is Denmark in concert with her, or any other power? Her conduct is a phenomenon. Is there any secret negotiation or intrigue on foot to form a party for England among the powers of Europe? and to make a balance against the power of the enemies of England?

"The states of Holland and several other provinces have taken a resolution against the mediation for a separate peace; and this nation seems to be well fixed in its system, and in the common cause.

"My best respects and affections to my old friend Mr. Jay, if you please. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, JOHN ADAMS."

"*Dr. Ingenhausz.**

"PASSY, June 21, 1782.

"I AM sorry that any misunderstanding should arise between you and Dr. ———. The indiscretions of friends on both sides, often occasion such misunderstandings. When they produce public altercations, the ignorant are diverted at the expense of the learned. I hope, therefore, that you will omit the polemic piece in your French edition, and take no public notice of the improper behaviour of your friend; but go on with your excellent experiments, produce facts, improve science, and do good to mankind. Reputation will follow, and the little injustices of cotemporary labourers will be forgotten; my example may encourage you, or else I should not mention it. You know that when my papers were first published, the abbé Nollet, then high in reputation, attacked them in a book of letters. An answer was expected from me, but I made none, to that book nor to any other. They are now all neglected, and the truth seems to be established: you can always employ your time better than in polemics.

"Monsieur Lavoisier, the other day showed an experiment at the Academy of Sciences, to the *Comte du Nord*, that is said to be curious. He kindled a hollow charcoal, and blew into it a stream of dephlogisticated air. In this focus, which is said to be the hottest fire human art has yet been able to produce, he melted platina in a few minutes.

"Our American affairs wear a better aspect now than at any time heretofore. Our councils are perfectly united; our people all armed and disciplined. Much and frequent service as militia has indeed made them all soldiers. Our enemies are much diminished, and reduced to two or three garrisons; our commerce and agriculture flourish. England at length sees the difficulty of conquering us, and no longer demands submission, but asks for peace. She would now think herself happy to obtain a federal union with us, and will endeavour it; but perhaps will be disappointed, as it is the interest of all Europe to prevent it. I last year requested of congress to release me from this service, that I might spend the evening of life more agreeably in philosophic leisure; but I was refused. If I had succeeded, It was my intention to make the tour of Italy with my grandson pass into Germany, and spend some time happily with you, whom I have always loved, ever since I knew you, with uninterrupted affection. We have lost our common friend the excellent Pringle![*] How many pleasing hours you and I have passed together in his company! I must soon follow him, being now in my seventy-seventh year; but you have yet a prospect of many years of usefulness still before you, which I hope you will fully enjoy; and I am persuaded you will ever kindly remember your truly affectionate friend, B. FRANKLIN."

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* John Ingenhausz, F. R. S. an eminent physician and chemist, born at Breda, 1730, died in 1799.

"*Miss Alexander.*

"Passy, June 24, 1782.

"I am not at all displeased that the thesis and dedication with which we were threatened are blown over, for I dislike much all sorts of mummery. The republic of letters has gained no reputation, whatever else it may have gained, by the commerce of dedications; I never made one, and never desired that one should be made to me. When I submitted to receive this, it was from the bad habit I have long had, of doing every thing that ladies desire me to do: there is no refusing any thing to madame la Marck, nor to you.

"I have been to pay my respects to that amiable lady, not merely because it was a compliment due to her, but because I love her; which induces me to excuse her not letting me in; the same reason I should have for excusing your faults if you had any. I have not seen your papa since the receipt of your pleasing letter, so could arrange nothing with him respecting the carriage. During seven or eight days, I shall be very busy; after that you shall hear from me, and the carriage shall be at your service. How could you think of writing to me about chimneys and fires, in such weather as this! Now is the time for the frugal lady you mention to save her wood, obtain *plus de chaleur*, and lay it up against winter, as people do ice against summer. Frugality is an enriching virtue; a virtue I never could acquire in myself; but I was once lucky enough to find it in a wife, who thereby became a fortune to me. Do you possess it? If you do, and I were twenty years younger, I would give your father one thousand guineas for you. I know you would be worth more to me as a *menagére*. I am covetous, and love good bargains. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever, yours most affectionately. B. FRANKLIN."

"*R. R. Livingston.*

"Passy, June 25, 1782.

"Sir,—I have received your respected letters of January 26th and February 13th; the first was accompanied with a form of a convention, for the establishment of consuls. Mr. Barclay having been detained these six months in Holland, though in continual expectation of returning hither, I have yet done nothing in that business, thinking his presence might be of use in settling it. As soon as he arrives, I shall move the completion of it. The second enforces some resolutions of congress sent me with it, respecting a loan of 12,000,000, to be demanded of France for the current year. I had already received the promise of six millions, together with the clearest and most positive assurances, that it was all the king could spare to us, that we must not expect more; that if drafts and demands came upon me beyond that sum, it behoved me to take care how I accepted them, or where I should find funds for the payment, since I could certainly not be further assisted out of the royal treasury. Under this declaration, with what face could I ask for another six millions. It would be saying you are not to be believed, you can spare more, you are able to lend me twice the sum, if you were but willing. If you read my letter to Mr Morris of this date, I think you will be convinced how improper any language, capable of such a construction, would be to such a friend. I hope, however, that the loan Mr. Adams has opened in Holland, for three millions of florins, which it is said is likely to succeed, will supply the deficiency.

"By the newspapers I have sent, you will see that the general disposition of the British nation towards us had been changed. Two persons have been sent here by the new ministers, to propose treating for peace. They had at first some hopes of getting the belligerent powers to treat separately, one after another, but finding that impracticable, they have after several messengers sent to and fro, come to a resolution of treating with all together for a general peace, and have agreed that the place shall be Paris. Mr. Grenville is now here with full powers for that purpose, (if they can be reckoned full with regard to America till a certain act is completed for enabling his majesty to treat, &c. which has gone through the commons, and has been once read in the lords.) I keep a very particular journal of what passes every day, in the affair, which is transcribing to be sent you. I shall therefore need to say no more of it in this letter, except that though I still think they were at first sincere in their desire of peace, yet since their success in the West Indies, I imagine that I see marks of their desiring rather to draw the negotiations into length, that they may take the chance of what the rest of the campaign shall produce in their favour; and as there are so many interests to adjust, it will be prudent for us to suppose, that even another campaign may pass before all can be agreed. Something too may happen to break of the negotiations, and we should be prepared for the worst. I hoped for the assistance of Mr. Adams and Mr. Laurens. The first is too much engaged in Holland to come hither, and the other declines serving; but I have now the satisfaction of being joined by Mr. Jay, who happily arrived here from Madrid last Sunday. The marquis de la Fayette is of real use in our affairs here, and as the campaign is not likely to be very active in North America, I wish I may be able to prevail with him to stay a few weeks longer. By him you will receive the journal abovementioned, which is already pretty voluminous, and yet the negotiations cannot be said to be opened.

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[*] Sir John Pringle, Bart., born in Roxburghshire, in 1707, physician to the queen's household, afterwards to the king, and president of the Royal Society; died in 1782. He wrote "*Observations on the Diseases of the Army*," &c. &c.

"Ireland you will see has obtained all her demands triumphantly. I meet no one from that country who does not express some obligation to America for their success.

"Before I received your just observations on the subject, I had obtained for the English ministers a resolution to exchange all our prisoners. They thought themselves obliged to have an act of parliament for authorizing the king to do it. This war being different from others, as made by an act of parliament declaring us rebels, and our people being committed as for high treason, I impowered Mr. Hodgson, who was chairman of the committee that collected and dispensed the charitable subscription for the American prisoners, to treat and conclude on terms of their discharge, and having approved of the draft he sent me of the agreement, I hope the congress will see fit to order a punctual execution of it. I have long suffered with those poor brave men, who with so much public virtue have endured four or five years hard imprisonment, rather than serve against their country. I have done all I could afford towards making their situations more comfortable; but their numbers was so great that I could do but little for each; and that very great villain ——— defrauded them of between three and four hundred pounds, which he drew from me on their account. He lately wrote me a letter, in which he pretended he was coming to settle with me, and to convince me that I had been mistaken with regard to his conduct; but he never appeared, and I hear he is gone to America. Beware of him, for he is very artful, and has cheated many. I hear every day of new rogueries committed by him in England.

"The ambassador from Sweden to this court applied to me lately, to know if I had powers that would authorize my making a treaty with his master, in behalf of the United States. Recollecting a general power that was formerly given to me with the other commissioners, I answered in the affirmative. He seemed much pleased, and said the king had directed him to ask the question, and had charged him to tell me, that he had so great an esteem formed that it would be a particular satisfaction to him to leave such a transaction with me. I have perhaps some vanity in repeating this, but I think too that it is right that congress should know it, and judge if any use may be made of the reputation of a citizen for the public service. In case it should be thought fit to employ me in that business, it will be well to send a more particular power and proper instructions. The ambassador added, that it was a pleasure to him to think, and he hoped it would be remembered, that Sweden was the first power in Europe which had voluntary offered its friendship to the United States, without being solicited. This affair should be talked of as little as possible, till completed.

"I enclose another complaint from Denmark, which I request you will lay before congress.

"I am continually pestered with complaints from French seamen, who were with captain Conynham in his first cruize from Dunkirk, from others who were in the Lexington, the Alliance, &c. being put on board prizes that were re-taken, were never afterwards able to join their respective ships, and so have been deprived of the wages, &c. due to them. It is for our national honour that justice would be done them, if possible; and I wish you to procure an order from congress for inquiring into their demands, and satisfying such as shall be found just. It may be addressed to the consul.

"I enclose a note from M. de Vergennes to me, accompanied by a *memoire* relating to a Swiss who died at Edenton. If you can procure the information desired, it will much oblige the French ambassador in Switzerland.

"I have made the addition you directed to the cypher. I rather prefer the old one of Dumas, perhaps because I am more used to it. I enclose several letters from that ancient and worthy servant of our country. He is now employed as secretary to Mr. Adams, and I must, from a long experience of his zeal and usefulness, beg leave to recommend him warmly to the consideration of congress with regard to his appointments, which have never been equal to his merit. As Mr. Adams writes me the good news, that he shall no longer be obliged to draw on me for his salary, I suppose it will be proper to direct his paying that which shall be allowed to M. Dumas. B. FRANKLIN."

“*To Robert Morris.*

“Passy, June 25, 1782.

“For what relates to war and peace, I must refer you to Mr. Livingston, to whom I write fully. I will only say, that though the English a few months since seemed desirous of peace, I suspect, they now intend to draw out the negotiation into length, till they can see what this campaign will produce. I hope our people will not be deceived by fair words, but be on their guard, ready against every attempt that our insidious enemies may make upon us. I am, &c.

“Wednesday, 26th. I sent away my letters, and went to see Mr. Oswald. I showed him the draft of a letter to be addressed to him, instead of lord Shelburne, respecting the commission or public character he might hereafter be vested with; this draft was founded on lord S.'s memorandums, which Mr. Oswald had shown to me, and this letter was intended to be communicated by him to lord Shelburne. Mr. Oswald liked the mode, but rather chose that no mention should be made of his having shown me lord S.'s memorandums, though he thought they were given him for that purpose. So I struck that out and new-modeled the letter, which I sent him next day, as follows.

“*Robert R. Livingston.*

“Passy, June 28, 1782.

“Sir,—In mine of the 25th instant I omitted mentioning, that at the repeated earnest instances of Mr. Laurens, who had given such expectations to the ministry in England, when his parole or securities were discharged, as that he could not think himself at liberty to act in public affairs, till the parole of lord Cornwallis was absolved by me, in exchange, I sent to that general, the paper, of which the enclosed is a copy; and I see by the English papers, that his lordship immediately on the receipt of it, appeared at court and has taken his seat in the house of peers, which he did not before think warrantable. My authority for doing this, appeared questionable to myself, but Mr. Laurens judged it deducible, from that respecting general Burgoyne, and by his letters to me, seemed so unhappy till it was done, that I ventured it, with a clause, however, (as you will see), reserving to congress the approbation or disallowance of it.

“The enabling act is now said to be passed, but no copy of it is yet received here, so that as the bill first printed, has suffered alterations in passing through parliament, and we know not what they are, the treaty with us is not yet commenced. Mr. Grenville expects his courier in a few days, with the answer of his court to a paper given him on the part of this. That answer will probably afford us a clearer understanding of the intentions of the British ministry, which for some weeks past have appeared somewhat equivocal and uncertain. It looks as if, since their late success in the West Indies, they a little repented of the advances they had made in their declarations respecting the acknowledgment of our independence; and we have pretty good information, that some of the ministry still flatter the king with the hope of recovering his sovereignty over us on the same terms as are now making with Ireland. However willing we might have been at the commencement of this contest, to have accepted such conditions; be assured that we can have no safety in them at present. The king hates us most cordially. If he is once admitted to any degree of power or government among us, however limited, it will soon be extended by corruption, artifice, and force, till we are reduced to absolute subjection; and that the more easily, as by receiving him again for our king, we shall draw upon ourselves the contempt of all Europe, who now admire and respect us, and shall never again find a friend to assist us. There are, it is said, great divisions in the ministry, on other points as well as this; and those who aim at engrossing the power, flatter the king with this project of re-union; and it is said have much reliance on the operation of private agents sent into America, to dispose minds there in favour of it, and to bring about a separate treaty there with general Carleton. I have not the least apprehension that congress will give into this scheme, it being inconsistent with our treaties as well as with our interest; but I think it will be well to watch these emissaries, and secure or banish immediately such as shall be found tampering and stirring up the people to call for it. The firm united resolution of France, Spain, and Holland, joined with ours, not to treat of a particular but a general peace, notwithstanding the separate tempting offers to each, will in the end, give us the command of that peace. Every one of the other powers, see clearly their interest in this, and persist in that resolution: the congress I am persuaded are as clearsighted as any of them, and will not depart from the system which has been attended with so much success, and promises to make America soon both great and happy.

“I have just received a letter from Mr. Laurens, dated at Lyons, on his journey into the south of France, for his health. Mr. Jay will write also by this opportunity.

“B. FRANKLIN.”

“*Dr. Cooper.*

“Passy, June 28, 1782.

“Our public affairs are in a good situation here. England having tried in vain, to make a separate peace with each of the powers she is at war with, has at length agreed to treat for a general peace with them altogether; and at Paris. If we all continue firm in the resolution not to separate, we shall command the terms. I have no doubt of this steadiness here; and though we are told that endeavours are making on your side the water, to induce America to a re-union, on the terms now granting to Ireland, and that powers are sent to general Carleton for that purpose, I am persuaded the danger of this project will appear so evident, that if offered, it will be immediately rejected. We have no safety but in our independence; with that we shall be respected, and soon become great and happy. Without it, we shall be despised, lose all our friends, and then either be cruelly oppressed by the king, who hates, and is incapable of forgiving us, or having all that nation's enemies for ours, shall sink with it.—I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

" *Henry Laurens.*

"PASSY, July 2, 1782.

"SIR,—I received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me from Lyons, the 24th past.

"I wonder a little at Mr. —— not acquainting you whether your name was in the commission or not. I begin to suspect, from various circumstances, that the British ministry, elated perhaps too much by the success of admiral Rodney, are not in earnest to treat immediately, but rather wish delay. They seem to hope that farther successes may enable them to treat more advantageously; or, as some suppose, that certain propositions to be made to congress by general Carleton, may render a treaty here with us unnecessary. A little bad news, which it is possible they may yet receive from the same quarter, will contribute to set them right; and then we may enter seriously upon the treaty; otherwise I conjecture it may not take place till after another campaign. Mr. Jay is arrived here. Mr. Grenville and Mr. Oswald continue here. Mr. Oswald has yet received no commission; and that of Mr. Grenville does not very clearly comprehend us according to British ideas; therefore requires explication. When I know more, you shall have farther information.

"Not having an immediate answer to what I wrote you, concerning the absolution of lord Cornwallis's parole, and major Ross coming over hither from him to press it; I gave him the discharge you desired. Enclosed I send you a copy. I hear it has proved satisfactory to him; I hope it will be so to you.

Private Memorandums, Mr. Hobart.

"WHEN I published the memorials which I had prepared for the king, January 1, 1782, I prefixed a prefatory explanation of the publication, stating, as far as was safe so to do, the state of the *propositions of treaty*, and the circumstances attending the reception and final refusal of them.

"I could not think it proper *to name the person* with whom I had corresponded, who was authorized to treat of peace, and was willing to promote it, because I knew the insidious falsehood of *those who both hate and fear him*, would, when once his name was committed with the public, represent him in any light that might tend to diminish and destroy the trust and confidence which he so deservedly has from his employers. The memorials, therefore, speak of *persons* in the *plural*, and the preface in its communications to the public keeps close to that expressed.

"I could not venture to tell the public, nor could I venture to write to this person, the fact that he *specifically and personally was excepted to*, in an *opprobrious manner*. Because, the same persons who are his enemies, having proscribed me, would have been glad of making, such my communications, an occasion of charging me with *crimes*, which, notwithstanding they have been in constant watch, they have never yet been able to do. For although I know they have whispered such in the closet, they never have dared to assert any such matter as *fact* in public.—What I did, I thought right in point of honour to all concerned or interested, and I went as far as I dared venture to go in the publications which I made.

"As this exception to the integrity and good faith of my correspondent, was made, upon the very first overture which I made, by all the ministers, I made a point, in all the memorials which I drew up for presentation (had the offers been admissible,) of founding my offers on the integrity and good faith of this person (p. 32,[*]) and in this communication to the public of marking him (preface, p. 10,) as a man of honour and good faith.

"I could not venture to communicate to my correspondent, much less to the public, those matters, which, though not officially communicated to me, these my enemies *would have represented*, as a betraying to *the enemy* the secrets of government. But it is fit, if not absolutely necessary, to make this memorandum of these things, that *the truth*, when the proper time shall come, may be known to all whom it doth concern; and it is further fit that this memorandum should be communicated to you now, as the proposing of your services was included in the offers made as a condition *sine qua non.*

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[*] These references are to the printed memorials of governor Pownall, published by G. Dodsley, 1782. In the preface to one of which presented to Dr. F. by the author, is this sentence:—"One has heard of a Sully, a Fleury, a Somers, a Dewitt, a *Franklin*, benefactors of mankind." Below, in governor Pownall's autograph is written, this nitch was dedicated to the name that now fills it.

"Between the 6th of December, 1781, and the end of January 1782, during which time the ministry kept me in suspense, as to what resolution they would take, as to what answer they would give; or whether they would give me any answer at all; or whether they would deign to admit me and my propositions to a hearing; they act dishonourably towards me, and as I think towards my correspondent also, profited of the *fact communicated by me to them*, viz. 'that there were persons authorized to treat of peace; and that these persons were disposed to give such treaty every assistance in their power:'—and sent one person (I have been told it was Mr. Oswald,) to Holland, a person, if not actually the same person, to Ghent, and a Mr. Forth to France, to try if they could not get upon the *same ground* by other ways, and *through other persons.* I have been told, and believe it, that they understood that Mr. Adams was (disgusted with the Dutch government) ready to accede to ours. Also that Mr. ——— at Ghent *was already gained.* This person they hurried off to America; and they gave instructions to general Carleton to open the ground of treaty in America. In short they tried any ground and every person, except *him* who was excepted to. And when they found that they could not get in at any door in Europe, they affected to interpret this disappointment into a fact, 'That the American ministers were either not impowered or not willing to treat; that the offer was now clearly *a trap laid by a faithless and decided enemy.*'

"When I first made my offer, I was asked whether I would go to Ghent or Holland, which I peremptorily refused. I was then asked, why I would not; I said, I knew nothing of the person in Holland, and as to the person at Ghent, I would have no communications there. The only person I would have communications with, was him that I knew had powers, whom I knew to be, notwithstanding all provocations to the contrary, a well wisher and friend to this, whom from experience I knew to be a man of *honour and good faith*, whom I could trust, and who would trust me. This person and this line was rejected; I will not aggravate the colour of facts by saying *how.*

"I was informed, that during this period, they were talking with Mr. Laurens, as a more practicable man, as one who had, by acknowledging himself amenable to the laws and courts of this country, and by the act of giving bail, had by implication acknowledged (at least *de facto*,) the sovereignty of Great Britain, and that *the ministers of the states* were criminals against this country. This gentleman, therefore, and his surety Mr. Oswald, were fixed upon *as the persons* through whom business might go. What was the nature of the matters of business on which they were communicated with, I do not know.

"Notwithstanding the change of the ministry, which took place at this period, there were some in the new composition of ministers, who partook of the spirit and influence of the old ones, and the same line of motion, and the same persons, were in like manner as before, adopted for treaty.

"The memorial, January 1, 1782, (p. 22,) declares specifically and definitively what was the proposition I made, viz. to open a 'negotiation *for the purpose only* of settling such a truce with the Americans, as a *preliminary measure*, in order the better to treat of peace in future, either separately, or in any general congress of the powers of Europe.' And this on a ground of *uti possidetis*, both as to *rights* as well as *territories* possessed, which I explained as an acknowledgment of the independence of America, with a *sauf d'honneur* to the British sovereign, and a removing of all obstacles from the way of such other sovereigns in Europe as had not yet brought themselves to acknowledge the American sovereignty. (p. 22.) I never pretended to talk of peace, much less of a *separate peace*, but definitively declared that whatever was undertaken 'must not contravene, (Mem. Jan. 1782, p. 21,) nor ever bring into question, treaties already subsisting.'

"On this ground it was, that upon my first overtures I proposed that while I was treating with the American ministers, Mr. Hobart might be authorized to treat with French ministers, as the properest man then in England, as living with the men of business of that court; as known to them; as knowing them; and between whom and him there was that degree and those habits of acquaintance and good opinion, which is the only soil out of which practical confidence in negotiation can grow; as one with whom I could communicate with the most perfect confidence; as one in whose hands I would repose my life and honour. I said first, that if these two lines of treaty were not instituted at the same time; and secondly, that if Mr. Hobart was not the person joined with me, I would not engage in what I had offered. This gentleman, a man of honour, brother to the earl of Buckingham, of a noble distinct landed estate of his own; a man designed by his education at the court of Vienna, under former ministers in a former reign, for the corps diplomatic, and actually having served in Russia, was also inadmissible. And they thus ended all matters in which I had made my offers.

"Having thus found the ministers with whom I had communicated, impracticable towards peace, in the only line in which I thought it might be obtained, and seeing an opportunity in which I could be *principally instrumental in turning them out*, I seized the occasion, and effectuated the purpose.

"General Conway had communicated to me a measure, which he was to take, of moving an address in the house of commons, to pray his majesty to relinquish the farther prosecution for peace. I stated to him the following difficulty, which might be thrown on the ground of his motion, so as to obstruct his proceeding in it. The ministers might, in general terms, and equivocal assertions say, that they were trying the ground of treaty, and that propositions towards negotiation were afloat, &c. &c., and then, if on this ground they called upon him, not at *such a juncture*, to bring forward measures which might obstruct their endeavours, and destroy all hopes and views of peace, he would be puzzled what to answer and how to proceed.—But, that if he could have it in his power to say, That so far from opening the ground of negotiation, or being disposed to take a way to such; which offers had opened to them; that they had offers made by persons communicating with other persons *actually authorized* and willing to *treat of peace*, and had rejected those offers; I thought the ministers would not know how to oppose his motion. He said, that indeed would be strong ground, from whence, if the ministry were attacked, he did not see how they could maintain *their ground.* I then proceeded in my communications to him, without naming my correspondent, nay absolutely refusing to name, when earnestly pressed, and told him that I was the person to whom communications had come, 'that there were in Europe *persons* authorized to treat of peace, and who had declared, that any reasonable measures to that end, should have every assistance in their power.' That I had communicated this to the ministry, that after delaying all answer, from December 6, to the end of January, to offers, which I had made them on that ground, they had finally and absolutely rejected the persons and the offers. He said if this could be proved, it must turn them out. I then authorized him to make those assertions,* which he made in the house, which, that we might not misunderstand one another, I desired might be written down: and farther authorized him, if the ministry, by denying the assertions, should render it necessary, to name me, as ready to come and declare the same at the bar of the house of commons; and that in the mean while, he need not make any secret of me on this matter. The ministers could not, and did not venture to deny it, and were forced to quit their ground and their places.† Upon the change of ministers, I, by letter to general Conway, made an offer of my services to open the same negotiation, which I had proposed to the late ministers, but from that hour to this day have never heard from him: and soon after found, that lord Shelburne had employed Mr. Oswald, who was Mr. Laurens's surety, and that his lordship had seen Mr. Laurens.

"*Richmond, July* 2, 1782."

Governor Pownall to Dr. Franklin.

"RICHMOND HILL, July 5, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,—I have, by my friend Mr. Hobart, sent a printed copy of the three memorials which I published on the subject of America, one addressed to the sovereigns of Europe, and two others addressed to the sovereign of Great Britain.

"I hope you received my letter of May 13, 1782, forwarded by Mr. Bridgen.

"As it is possible you may see Mr. Hobart, he can inform you from me, as well as of his own knowledge, of the steps we took upon the ground of your communications to him and me. 'That there were persons authorized to treat of peace, and that such persons were willing to give to reasonable measures taken to that end, every assistance in their power.' He can inform you also on the circumstances which attended those steps; and of the effect which they *missed in the direct line, as of the effect they actually have in an oblique one.* As from the beginning of this matter, of trying to bring on negotiation for peace, I considered him as joined with me, in our endeavours; so I have given to him a memorandum which I made on the course of this business. He will communicate to you every thing which is not improper for a man of honour to communicate to the minister of a people at war with us: nor will he abstain from communicating any thing which that minister, wishing peace to our country, ought to be apprized of, respecting the effects of his friendly offers. He will do every thing which a man of honour ought to do, and he will do nothing that a man of honour ought not to do.

"I have desired him to give a paper of queries, respecting *modes* and *terms* of settling in America, which people of this old world, and of the old country, may in future be admitted to receive. I am, not only for my friends, but personally interested, to gain information on that head: and as I wish that which will not deceive them or myself, I apply to you.

"May God send peace on earth. I hope among the general blessings it will bring, it will restore me to the communication and enjoyment of my old and long valued friendship with you. May you live to see, and have health to enjoy, the blessings which I hope it may please God to make you instruments of communicating to mankind.

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* Which where not those which the newspapers published.

† The country gentlemen, tired of the war, and grown impatient for peace, left the old ministry on this question, and declared themselves the supporters of those who promised to end the war, and give peace to the country.

"T. POWNALL."

"*Mr. Hutton.*[*]

"Passy, July 7, 1782.

"My old and dear Friend,—A letter written by you to M. Bertin, ministre d' etat, containing an account of the abominable murders committed by some of the frontier people on the poor Moravian Indians, has given me infinite pain and vexation. The dispensations of Providence in this world puzzle my weak reason; I cannot comprehend why cruel men should have been permitted thus to destroy their fellow-creatures. Some of the Indians may be supposed to have committed sins, but one cannot think the little children had committed any worthy of death. Why has a single man in England, who happens to love blood, and to hate Americans, been permitted to gratify that bad temper, by hiring German murderers, and joining them with his own, to destroy, in a continued course of bloody years, near 100,000 human creatures, many of them possessed of useful talents, virtues, and abilities, to which he has no pretension! It is he who has furnished the savages with hatchets and scalping knives, and engages them to fall upon our defenceless farmers, and murder them with their wives and children, paying for their scalps, of which the account kept in America, already amounts, as I have heard, to near *two thousand!* Perhaps the people of the frontiers, exasperated by the cruelties of the Indians, have been induced to kill all Indians that fall into their hands without distinction: so that even these horrid murderers of our poor Moravians may be laid to his charge. And yet this man lives, enjoys all the good things this world can afford, and is surrounded by flatterers, who keep even his conscience quiet, by telling him he is the best of princes! I wonder at this, but I cannot therefore part with the comfortable belief of a divine providence; and the more I see the impossibility, from the number and extent of his crimes, of giving equivalent punishment to a wicked man in this life, the more I am convinced of a future state, in which all that appears to be wrong shall be set right, all that is crooked made straight. In this faith let you and I, my dear friend, comfort ourselves; it is the only comfort in the present dark scene of things that is allowed us.

"I shall not fail to write to the government of America, urging that effectual care may be taken to protect and save the remainder of those unhappy people.

"Since writing the above, I have received a Philiadelphia paper, containing some account of the same horrid transaction, a little different, and some circumstances alleged as excuses or palliations, but extremely weak and insufficient. I send it to you enclosed.

"With great and sincere esteem, I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately. B. FRANKLIN."

Memorandum by David Hartley.

"July 8, 1782.

"To a person, who no longer thinks of American dependence, what disadvantage can there be in making its independence a fixed article (whether the treaty succeeds or no) instead of making it a first article of the treaty, and so to depend on the success of that which may miscarry. To a person indeed who looks on it as an evil, and as an evil which there are *yet some hopes* to avoid, it is a rational proceeding to provide for *all* possibilities of realizing those hopes; and the case of the treaty not succeeding is that reserved possibility. Were I treating with an enemy indeed for a barrier town (which I certainly wish to keep or to get something for), nothing I own would be so absurd as to give it up at starting, as a *fixed* article *before* the treaty, instead of making it the first article *of* a treaty, and dependent on the success of the rest. But I had rather have American independence (for one reason amongst others), because the bolder way of giving it up, will secure a greater certainty of peace. I would then be for giving it up in that bolder way; nay had I some reluctance to American independence, I should still think the smallest probability added of peace, would overbalance the whole value of a mere reserved possibility of dependence, which could only, after all, arise from the failure of the treaty."

Lafayette to Dr. Franklin.

"Paris, July 9, 1782.

"I have the honour to inform you, my dear sir, that Mr. Grenville's express is arrived this morning by way of Ostend. The gentleman is gone to Versailles. I fancy he will wait upon you, and will be much obliged to you, to let me know what your opinion is. I am going to Saint Germain, but if any intelligence comes to hand, will communicate it as soon as possible. LAFAYETTE."

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[*] James Hutton, son of Doctor Hutton, (who in the early part of his life had been a bookseller) was for many years secretary to the Society of Moravians. He died April 25, 1795, in his 80th year, at Oxstead Cottage, Surrey; and was buried in the Moravian cemetry at Chelsea. He was a well known character, and very generally esteemed. He was a faithful brother of the Moravian fraternity fifty-five years; the latter part of his life was spent literary in going about doing good, and his charities were confined to no sect.

The answer.

"PASSY, July 9, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,—Mr. Grenville has been with me, in his return from Versailles. He tells me that lord Rockingham being dead, lord Shelburne is appointed first lord of the treasury; and that Mr. Fox has resigned; so that both the secretaryships are vacant. That his communication to M. de Vergennes, was only that no change was thereby made in the dispositions of that court for peace, &c., and he expects another courier with fuller instructions in a few days. As soon as I hear more I shall acquaint you with it.—I am ever, with great respect and affection, your most obedient humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

"*Marquis de Lafayette.*"

"*David Hartley.*

"PASSY, July 10, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your favour of the 26th past by Mr. Young, and am indebted to you for some preceding. I do not know why the good work of peace goes on so slowly on your side. Some have imagined that your ministers, since Rodney's success, are desirous of trying fortune a little farther before they conclude the war: others, that they have not a good understanding with each other. What I have just heard, seems to countenance this opinion. It is said Mr. Fox has resigned. We are ready here, on the part of America, to enter into treaty with you in concurrence with our allies; and are disposed to be very reasonable; but if your *plenipotentiary*, notwithstanding that character, is upon every proposition obliged to send a courier and wait an answer, we shall not soon see the happy conclusion. It has been suspected too, that you wait to hear the effect of some overtures sent by general Carleton for a separate peace in America. A vessel just arrived from Maryland, brings us the unanimous resolutions of their assembly, for continuing the war at all hazards, rather than violate their faith with France. This is a sample of the success to be expected from such a measure, if it has really been taken; which I hardly believe.

"There is methinks a point that has been too little considered in treaties, the means of making them durable. An honest peasant from the mountains of Provence, brought me the other day a manuscript he had written on the subject, and which he could not procure permission to print. It appeared to me to have much good sense in it; and therefore I got some copies to be struck off for him to distribute where he may think fit. I send you one enclosed. This man aims at no profit from his pamphlet or his project, asks for nothing, expects nothing, and does not even desire to be known. He has acquired, he tells me, a fortune of near one hundred and fifty crowns a year (about eighteen pounds sterling) with which he is content. This you may imagine would not afford the expense of riding to Paris, so he came on foot; such was his zeal for peace, and the hope of forwarding and securing it, by communicating his ideas to great men here. His rustic and poor appearance, has prevented his access to them; or obtaining their attention; but he does not seem yet to be discouraged. I honour much the character of this *veritable philosophe.*

"I thank you much for your letters of May 1, 13, and 25, with your proposed preliminaries. It is a pleasure to me to find our sentiments so concurring on points of importance: it makes discussions as unnecessary as they might, between us, be inconvenient.—I am, my dear sir, with great esteem and affection, yours ever, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Benjamin Vaughan.*

"PASSY, July 10, 1782.

"BY the original law of nations, war and extirpation was the punishment of injury. Humanizing by degrees, it admitted slavery, instead of death. A farther step was, the exchange of prisoners instead of slavery. Another, to respect more the property of private persons under conquest, and to be content with acquired dominion. Why should not the law of nations go on improving? Ages have intervened between its several steps; but as knowledge of late increases rapidly, why should not those steps be quickened? Why should it not be agreed to as the future law of nations, that in any war hereafter the following descriptions of men should be undisturbed, have the protection of both sides, and be permitted to follow their employments in surety; viz.

"1. Cultivators of the earth, because they labour for the subsistence of mankind.

"2. Fishermen, for the same reason.

"3. Merchants and traders, in unarmed ships, who accommodate different nations by communicating and exchanging the necessaries and conveniences of life.

"4. Artists and mechanics, inhabiting and working in open towns.

"It is hardly necessary to add, that the hospitals of enemies should be unmolested; they ought to be assisted.

"In short, I would have nobody fought with, but those who are paid for fighting. If obliged to take corn from the farmer, friend, or enemy, I would pay him for it; the same for the fish or goods of the others.

"This once established, that encouragement to war which arises from a spirit of rapine, would be taken away, and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"Passy, July 11, 1782.

"Dear Sir,—In mine of yesterday, which went by Mr. Young, I made no mention of yours of May 11, it not being before me. I have just found it.

"You speak of a 'proposed dependent state of America, which you thought Mr. Oswald would begin with.' As yet I have heard nothing of it. I have all along understood (perhaps I have understood more than was intended) that the point of dependence was given up, and that we are to be treated with as free people. I am not sure that Mr. Oswald has explicitly said so, but I know that Mr. Grenville has, and that he was to make that declaration previous to the commencement of the treaty. It is now intimated to me from several quarters, that lord Shelburne's plan is to retain the sovereignty for the king, giving us otherwise an independent parliament, and a government similar to that of late intended for Ireland. If this be really his project, our negotiation for peace will not go very far, the thing is impracticable and impossible, being inconsistent with the faith we have pledged, to say nothing of the general disposition of our people. Upon the whole I should believe, that though lord Shelburne might formerly have entertained such an idea, he had probably dropped it before he sent Mr. Oswald here: your words above cited do however throw a little doubt in my mind, and have, with the intimations of others, made me less free in communication with his lordship, whom I much esteem and honour, than I should otherwise have been. I wish therefore you would afford me what you can of eclaircissement.

"This letter, going by a courier, will probably get to hand long before the one (preceding in date,) which went by Mr. Young, who travels on foot. I therefore enclose the copy of it which was taken in the press. You may return it to me when the other arrives.

"By the return of the courier, you may oblige me, by communicating, what is fairly communicable, of the history of Mr. Fox's and lord J. Cavendish's resignation, with any other changes made or likely to be made.

"With sincere esteem, I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Richard Oswald.*

"Passy, July 12, 1782.

"Sir,—I enclose a letter for lord Shelburne, to go by your courier, with some others of which I request his care. They may be put into the penny post. I have received a note informing me, that 'some opposition given by his lordship to Mr. Fox's decided *plan* of *unequivocally acknowledging American independence*, was one cause of that gentleman's resignation;' this from what you have told me, appears improbable. It is farther said, 'that Mr. Grenville thinks Mr Fox's resignation will be fatal to the present negotiation.' This perhaps is as groundless as the former. Mr. Grenville's next courier will probably clear up matters. I did understand from him, that such an acknowledgment was intended previous to the commencement of the treaty; until it is made, and the treaty formally begun, propositions and discussions seem in consideration, to be untimely; nor can I enter into particulars without Mr. Jay, who is now ill with the influenza. My letter therefore to his lordship, is merely complimentary on his late appointment. I wish a continuance of your health, in that at present sickly city, being with sincere esteem, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"I send you enclosed the late resolutions of the state of Maryland; by which the general disposition of people in America, may be guessed, respecting any treaty to be proposed by general Carleton if intended, which I do not believe."

"*Earl Shelburne.*

"Passy, July 12, 1782.

"My Lord,—Mr. Oswald informing me that he is about to despatch a courier, I embrace the opportunity of congratulating your lordship on your appointment to the treasury. It is an extension of your power to do good, and in that view, if in no other, it must increase your happiness, which I heartily wish.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"Versailles, July 18, 1782.

"Sir,—I have the honour to send you a memorial which respects the emperor's subjects, and which has been recommended to me by the government general of the Low Countries. I make no doubt but that it will make it your duty to forward the same to congress, and request that body to take it into consideration.—I have the honour to be, &c.

"DE VERGENNES."

MEMORIAL.

From the Sieurs Liebaert, Baes, Derdeyn & Co. transmitted to Dr. Franklin by the Count de Vergennes.

"The Sieurs Liebaert, Baes, Derdeyn and Co., merchants, residing in Ostend, subjects of his imperial and royal majesty, set forth, that in the course of the present year, they have equipped in the said port, and loaded on account of the capitulants of Dominica, and consigned to them agreeable to manifest, divers harmless merchandizes (that is to say, not contraband in war, and the traffic of which is at this very time allowed to neutral persons) on board their vessel the brig *Den Ersten*, destined for the island and plantations of Dominica, open and free agreeable to the capitulation to all neutral nations.

"All the despatches were regular, and imperial passport, bills of lading and manifest of the cargo, captain and major part of the crew were imperialists, and the remainder neutral subjects. In short, all the papers on board tended to prove the property belonging to the colonists, and to neutral representatives, and were verified before the respective magistrates and consuls.

"This vessel having sailed on the route of her destination, was met by a frigate carrying an English flag, who ordered her to salute, and examined her papers. The commander of the frigate, on seeing the nature of these papers, proposed to the captain of the vessel to sign an acknowledgment proving that his cargo had been taken on board in London, and his papers and provisions at Ostend.

"Peter Thompson, (the name of the captain of the brig) believing himself in the hands of an English privateer, consented to sign this declaration (without knowing however what he signed,) which in this case would not possibly be prejudicial to him, but the captain of the privateer, with an intention of abusing the ignorance and innocence of the said Thompson, had written this declaration in a language which he could neither read nor comprehend, and in quite other terms than what had been read to him, and which implied that he had been loaded in London, and that his merchandize belonged to the English, and that he only came to Ostend to exchange papers, and avoid falling into the hands of the English rebels; which is totally contrary to his bill of lading, and was not at all in his power to do, as the cargo was not under his direction nor ever had been.

"Possessed of this writing, the captain of the frigate hoisted the American flag, and proved himself to be the Hope privateer from Boston, and accordingly informed captain Thompson that he arrested him, and after taking out eleven men from the brig, he substituted several others of his own people, who, after having torn to pieces, pillaged, and carried off, all the papers from on board, &c. carried her into Philadelphia, and afterwards to Boston, where the crew are detained and treated with inhumanity.

"This prize is irregular, unjust, and contrary to the rights of nations, and Sieurs Liebaert, Baes, Derdeyn and Co. have reason that the conduct of the said captain Darby will be disapproved by congress, and the ship and cargo restored with damages and interest.

"It is certain, and the papers on board, which Darby is obliged to show, will prove that this vessel is not English property, but it actually belongs to the Sieurs Liebaert, Baes, Derdeyn and Co. agreeable to the contract of the property, and his imperial and royal majesty's sea letters, that she actually sailed under the protection of this august monarch; that her cargo composed of innocent merchandize, that is to say, not contraband in war, the commerce of which is permitted to neutral powers, even with the belligerent parties, was for account and risk of the said capitulants of Dominica, and the Sieurs Liebaert, Baes, Derdeyn and Co., these facts being proved, it will follow that the Hope privateer had no right to stop the brig, and that by so doing, she contravened the laws adopted by all the powers who have subscribed the covenant of the armed neutrality, laws which the congress of the United States of America have enjoined their cruizers to observe.

"The means which Darby used to legitimate his pretended prize, is a direct act of piracy, which congress cannot punish with too great severity, and it will be easy for them to do it. All the crew of the brig who are detained at Boston, will depose to the facts alleged by the Sieurs Liebaert, Baes, Derdeyn and Co. as follows. 1st. That when Darby stopt them, and visited and interrogated them, his vessel was under English colours. 2d. That the captain of the privateer availed himself of his superiority over Thompson, and the condition he was in, to oblige him to subscribe the paper in question; the force and tenor of which he was certainly ignorant of.

"The stopping of the brig under English colours, was on the part of Darby, an infringement of the regulations which require that every captain, who in the time of war would visit a ship, should summon her only under his proper flag, whoever does otherwise acts as a pirate; and should the vessel prove a neutral one, he exposes himself to the payment of damages and interest, which he is liable for himself, together with his owner, without subjecting the crew.

"This point of the rights of nations, is positively determined and received by all the States of Europe; who either by their arms or by their neutrality favour the independence of America; and on this position, it is not possible to presume that congress permits as subjects, to derogate this principle.

"The falsity and consequently the inutility of the declaration forced or extorted from captain Thomson, is now clearly proved, independent of the proofs which can be furnished by the crew and the ship's papers. These papers demonstrate the property to belong to the aforesaid capitulants, and Sieurs Liebaert, Baes, Derdeyn and Co. both as to the vessel and cargo. They do not pretend to say that the vessel was not bought in London, as is evident from the bill of sale found on board, nor that part of the cargo was also purchased there, which this very vessel brought over to Ostend, where she took in the remainder of the cargo. This circumstance no ways injures the truly neutral property of the capitulants, and aforesaid shippers Leibaert, Baes, Derdeyn and Co. because the neutrality of their august sovereign, authorizes them to negotiate with every freedom with the belligerent powers, in lawful and unprohibited merchandize, as was on board the brig. It therefore follows, that it is a matter of indifference, whether the merchandize and vessel were purchased in London or not, as this commerce is free to every neutral power, and does not contradict the ship's papers, which captain Thompson had no power to renounce, being constrained or deceived into such a measure either through subtilty or force. In this contrariety of circumstances where are we to rest? by what certain title is the rights of the parties to be judged? certainly by the ship's papers, which have a legal and authentic character, and not by a declaration demonstrated false, by every circumstance in this affair, and made at a time when captain Thompson had not his liberty, and was obliged to submit to whatever captain Darby demanded of him, to avoid greater evils.

"A declaration of this kind, contrary to the maxims and laws established among all nations, and opposed to the ship's papers, deserves no attention, and ought to be proscribed as the effect of constraint and fraud, employed by the captain of the privateer with arms in his hands.

"These points are decisive, and it is impossible that the admiralty of Boston should not attend to them, and refuse to restore to captain Thompson the vessel and cargo with damages and interests proportioned to the loss which Darby has caused by an act of hostility alike contrary to the rights of nations, and to the respect due by the Americans to the subjects of his imperial and royal majesty. However as the Sieurs Liebaert and Co. are informed that the crew of the brig has been plundered and very ill treated in the United States, that the first lieutenant has been detained at Philadelphia, under pretext of security for the expenses of lodging the crew in that city, but for the purpose of separating him from the crew, and prevent his giving any information at Boston, concerning the irregularity of the prize, who is more capable of doing it than any other person. That captain Thompson and his people having no money, and still less credit, will with difficulty find the proper persons who will undertake to prosecute their affairs; and there is reason to apprehend that for want of assistance in this particular, they must give up the point, which will be a very great misfortune to themselves, and would cause an irreparable damage to the Sieurs Liebaert, Baes, Derdeyn and Co. they have therefore been advised to request the aid and protection of his excellency the count de Mercy, his imperial and royal majesty's minister to his most christian majesty, and to intreat him to obtain his excellency Mr. Franklin, minister from the United States of America at the court of France, to write to Boston, and to recommend captain Thompson and his claim to the judges of the admiralty of that port, to grant favourable treatment to their persons, and a just and prompt decision to their demand."

To the count de Vergennes.

"PASSY, July 18, 1782.

"SIR,—I received the letter your excellency did me the honour of writing to me this day, enclosing a memorial which relates to the interests of some subjects of the emperor, residing at Ostend, who allege that a ship of theirs has been taken by an American privateer, and carried into Boston, on pretence that the property was English, &c. I shall immediately transmit the memorial to congress, as desired. But their being courts of admiralty established in each of the United States, I conceive that the regular steps to be taken by the complaints, would be an application for justice to those courts by some person on the spot, duly authorized by them as their agents, and in case the judgment of the court is not satisfactory, that then they appeal to the congress, which cannot well take cognizance of such matters in the first instance. The merchants of Ostend may possibly not have as yet correspondents established in all the states, but any merchant of credit in the country would transact such business on receiving their request with the proper power of attorney, or if his imperial majesty should think fit to appoint a consul-general to reside in those states, such an officer might at all times assist his compatriots with his counsels and protection in any affairs that they might have in that country. I am the more particular in mentioning this to your excellency, because I apprehend these cases may hereafter be frequent, and if the complaints are to be addressed to you and to me, we are likely to have a great deal of trouble, as I am informed that it is become a daily practice for outward bound English ships to put into Ostend, make a formal pretended sail of ship and cargo to a merchant of the place, who furnishes imperial papers for the voyage under his own name, and receives a certain sum per cent. for the operation. This is said to be a branch of great profit to the Flemish merchants, and that a very great number of English ships are now at sea with such papers, and I suspect even from their own manner of stating the transaction, that the ship and cargo reclaimed by the complainants are of that kind. This seems to me an abuse of the neutrality, as these fictitious profits added to the advantage of real carriage for the belligerent nations, they make it too much the interest of neutral neighbours to foment wars and obstruct peace, that such profits may continue. And if it is to be understood as a settled point, that such papers are to protect English property, the fitters out of privateers from France, Spain, Holland, and America, will in another year be all ruined, for they will find none but Flemish ships upon the ocean.—With the greatest respect, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

" *To Lafayette.*

"Passy, July 24, 1782.

"In answer to your questions, Mr. Oswald is doing nothing, having neither powers nor instructions; and being tired of doing nothing, has despatched a courier, requesting leave to return. He has I believe received no letters, since I saw you, from lord Shelburne. Mr. Grenville's return hither is I think doubtful, as he was particularly connected in friendship with Mr. Fox; but if he stays, I suppose some other will be sent, for I do not yet see sufficient reason to think they would abandon the negotiation, though from some appearances I imagine they are more intent upon dividing us, than upon making a general peace. I have heard nothing farther from Mr. Laurens, nor received any paper from him respecting lord Cornwallis. And since that general's letter, written after the battle of Camden, and ordering not only the confiscation of rebels' estates, but the hanging of prisoners, has been made public, I should not wonder if the congress were to disallow our absolution of his parole, and recall him to America.—With everlasting esteem and respect, I am, dear sir, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN."

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"London, July 26, 1782.

"My dear Friend,—You will have heard before you receive this, that Mr. Thomas Townshend is appointed secretary of state for that department to which the American correspondence belongs. He is and has been for many years one of my most intimate friends. A more honourable, and honest man, does not exist. I have been requested, in connexion with him, to undertake one branch of his office relating to America, as instrumental to some necessary arrangements in the course of a negotiation for peace with America. The point which I have been requested to undertake is, the case, or rather the diversity of cases of the American refugees. I understand that in the progress of this business, I shall be referred to a correspondence with you, as matter may arise. My purpose, therefore, for the present, is only to advertise you of this, in case you should have any preliminary matter to give or receive elucidation upon. I am very ready to undertake any matter which may be necessary or instrumental towards peace, especially in connexion with my worthy friend Mr. Townshend.

"You know all my principles upon American pacification, and *sweet reconciliation.* I shall always remain in the same. But the delegation of a single point to me, such as the case of the refugees, does not entitle me to advise upon the great outlines or principles of such pacific negotiations. I shall retain my full reservation in such points as events may justify. My personal motive for saying this to you, is obvious. But in point of justice to those who have at present the direction of public measures in this country, I must request that this caution of mine may be accepted only as personal to myself, and not as inferential upon the conduct of others, where I am not a party. Having taken a zealous part in the principles and negotiations of peace, I wish to stand clear from any collateral constructions which might affect myself, and at the same time not to impose any collateral or inferential constructions upon others.

"God prosper the work of peace and *good will* (as the means of peace) among men.

"I am ever, your affectionate friend,
"D. HARTLEY"

" *Lord Grantham.*

"Whitehall, July 26, 1782.

"Sir,—As the first object of my wishes is to contribute to the establishment of an honourable and lasting peace, I address myself to you without ceremony, upon the conviction that you agree with me in this principle. If I was not convinced, that it was also the real system of the ministers of this country, I should not now be co-operating with them. The step they had already taken. in sending Mr. Grenville to Paris, is a proof of their intentions, and as that gentleman does not return to his station there, I trust that the immediate appointment of a person to succeed him, will testify my agreement to the principles upon which he was employed. I therefore beg leave to recommend Mr. Fitzherbert to your acquaintance, who has the king's commands to repair to Paris.

"As I have not the advantage of being known to you, I can claim no pretence for my application to you, but my public situation, and my desire to merit your confidence upon a subject of so much importance, as a pacification between the parties engaged in a calamitous war.—I have the honour to be, with great regard, sir, your most obedient humble servant, GRANTHAM."

Lord Shelburne to Dr. Franklin.

"Shelburne House, July 27, 1782.

"Sir,—I am much obliged by the honour of your letter of the 12th instant. You do me most acceptable justice, in supposing my happiness intimately connected with that of mankind, and I can with truth assure you, it will give me great satisfaction, in every situation, to merit the continuance of your good opinion.

"I have the honour to be, with very sincere regard and esteem, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"SHELBURNE."

" *Richard Oswald.*

"Passy, July 28, 1782, 8 o'clock.

"Sir,—I have but this minute had an opportunity, by the departure of my company, of perusing the letters put into my hands this afternoon; and I return them directly without waiting till our interview to-morrow morning, because I would not give a moment's delay to the delivery of those directed to other persons. The situation of captain Asgill and his family afflicts me: but I do not see what can be done by any one here to relieve them. It cannot be supposed that general Washington has the least desire of taking the life of that gentleman. His aim is to obtain the punishment, committed on a prisoner in cold blood by captain Lippincot. If the English refuse to deliver up or punish this murderer, it is saying that they choose to preserve him rather than captain Asgill. It seems to me, therefore, that the application should be made to the English ministers, for positive orders, directing general Carleton to deliver up Lippincot, which orders being obtained, should be despatched immediately by a swift-sailing vessel. I do not think any other means can produce the effect desired. The cruel murders of this kind, committed by the English on our people, since the commencement of the war, are innumerable. The congress and their generals, to satisfy the people, have often threatened retaliation; but have always hitherto forborne to execute it; and they have often been told insultingly by their enemies, that this forbearance did not proceed from humanity, but fear. General Greene, though he solemnly and publicly promised it in a proclamation, never made any retaliation for the murder of colonel Haynes, and many others in Carolina; and the people, who now think, that if he had fulfilled his promise, this crime would not have been committed, clamour so loudly, that I doubt general Washington cannot well refuse, what appears to them so just and necessary for their common security. I am persuaded, nothing I could say to him on the occasion, would have the least effect in changing his determination. Excuse me then, if I presume to advise the despatching a courier immediately to London, proposing to the consideration of ministers the sending such orders to general Carleton directly. They would have an excellent effect in other views. The post goes to-morrow morning at ten o'clock; but as nine days have been spent in bringing the letters here by that conveyance, an express is preferable. —With sincere esteem, I have the honour to be, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

" *The Count de Vergennes.*

"Passy, August 8, 1782.

"Sir,—Yesterday Mr. Oswald communicated to Mr. Jay and me, a paper he had just received from his court, being a copy of the king's order to the attorney or solicitor-general to prepare a commission to pass the great seal, appointing him to treat with us, &c., and he showed us a letter from Mr. secretary Townshend, which expresses his concern, that the commission itself could not be sent by this courier, the officers who were to expedite it being in the country, which would occasion a delay of eight or ten days; but that its being then sent might be depended on, and it was hoped the treaty might, in the mean time, be proceeded on. Mr. Oswald left with me a copy of the paper, which I enclose for your excellency's consideration, and am, with great respect, sir, your excellency's, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Answer.

"Versailles, 8th August, 1782.

"To Mr. Franklin,—I have received, sir, the letter of this day, with which you have honoured me, and the copy of the power which Mr. Oswald has communicated to you. The form in which it appears is not that which is usual on similar occasions, but it has not prevented me from forming my opinion in the first instance. I have bestowed the greatest attention on it, and if you will be so good as to favour me with a visit on Saturday morning, I shall confer with you and Mr. Jay, if it will be convenient for him to accompany you.—I have the honour to be, most sincerely, sir, your most humble servant. DE VERGENNES."

" *To Robert R. Livingston.*

"Passy, August 12, 1782.

"The second changes in the ministry of England, have occasioned or have afforded pretences for various delays in the negotiation for peace. Mr. Grenville had two successive imperfect commissions. He was at length recalled, and Mr. Fitzherbert is now arrived to replace him, with a commission in due form to treat with France, Spain, and Holland; Mr. Oswald, who is here, is informed, that a commission impowering him to treat with the commissioners of congress will pass the seals, and be sent him in a few days. 'Till it arrives, this court will not proceed in its own negotiation. I send the enabling act, as it is called. Mr. Jay will acquaint you with what passes between him and the Spanish ambassador, respecting the proposed treaty with Spain. I will only mention, that my conjecture of that court's design, to coop us up within the Alleghany mountains, is now manifested: I hope congress will insist on the Mississippi as the boundary, and the free navigation of the river, from which they would entirely exclude us,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Robert Morris.*

"Passy, August 12, 1782.

"Sir,—I have received (many of them at the same time) your sundry letters of March the 23d, April 8th and 17th, May 17th, 18th, two of 23d and 29th. It would be a satisfaction to me if you would likewise mention from time to time the dates of those you receive from me.

"Most of your letters pressing my obtaining more money for the present year, the late losses suffered in the West Indies, and the unforeseen unnecessary expenses, the reparation there and here must occasion, render it more difficult, and, I am told impossible; though the good disposition of the court towards us continues perfect. All I can say on the head of money, more than I have said in preceding letters, is, that I confide you will be careful not to bankrupt your banker by your drafts; and I will do my utmost that those you draw shall be duly honoured.

"The plan you intimate for discharging the bills in favour of Beaumarchais, though well imagined, was impracticable. I had accepted them, and he had discounted them, or paid them away, or divided them amongst his creditors. They were, therefore, in different hands, with whom I could not manage the transactions proposed. Besides, I had paid them punctually when they became due, which was before the receipt of your letter on that subject. That he was furnished with his funds by the government here, is a supposition, of which no foundation appears; he says it was by a company he had formed; and when he solicited me to give up a cargo in part of payment, he urged, with tears in his eyes, the distress himself and associates were reduced to by our delay of remittances. I am glad to see that it is intended to appoint a commissioner to settle all our public accounts in Europe. I hope he will have better success with Mr. Beaumarchais than I have had. He has often promised solemnly to render an account in two or three days. Years have since elapsed and he has not yet done it. Indeed I doubt whether his books have been so well kept as to make it possible.

"You direct me, in yours of May 17th, to pay over into the hands of Mr. Grand, on your account, such monies belonging to the United States as may be in Europe, distinct from those to be advanced for the current year. I would do it with pleasure if there were any such. There may be indeed some in Holland, raised by the new loan, but that is not in my disposition, though I have no doubt that Mr. Adams will, on occasion, apply it in support of your credit. All the aids given by the crown, all the sums borrowed of it, and all the Dutch loans of ten millions, though the orders to receive have been given to me, the payments from the *Tresor Royal* have all been made on my orders in favour of Mr. Grand, and the money again paid away by him on my drafts for public services and expenses, as you will see by his accounts; so that I never saw or touched a livre of it, except what I received from him in discharge of my salary, and some disbursements. He has even received the whole six millions of the current year, so that I have nothing in any shape to pay over to him. On occasion of my lately desiring to know the state of our funds, that I might judge whether I could undertake to pay what you were directed to pay Mr. William Lee, by vote of congress, as soon as the state of public finances would admit, Mr. Grand wrote me a note, with a short sketch of their then supposed situation, which I enclose. You will probably have from him as soon as possible, a more perfect account; but this will serve to show that I could not prudently comply with your wish, of making that payment to Mr. Lee, and I have accordingly declined it; the less unwillingly as he is entitled by the vote to interest.

"I send herewith the accounts of the supplies we have received in goods, which I promised in my last.

"The sum of their value is included in the settlement made with this court, mentioned in a former letter. Herewith I also send a copy of the contract which has been long in hand, and but lately completed. The term of the first yearly payment we are to make, was readily changed at my request, from the first to the third year after the peace; the other marks of the king's bounty towards us, will be seen in the instrument. The interest already due and forgiven, amount to more than a million and a half, what might become due before the peace is uncertain. The charges of exchange, commissions, brokerage, &c. of the Dutch loan, amount to more than five hundred thousand livres, which is also given; so that we have the whole sum neat, and are to pay for it but four per cent. This liquidation of our accounts with the court, was completed before the vote of congress directing it came to hand. Mr. Grand examined all the particulars, and I have no doubt of its being approved.

"Mr. Grand, to whom I have communicated your letter of April 17th, will soon write to you fully. We shall observe the general rule you give respecting the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th bills. The attention, care, and pains necessary to prevent, by exact accounts of those accepted, and examination of those offered, impositions which are often attempted by presenting at a distant time the 2d, 3d, &c. is much greater than I could have imagined. Much has been saved by that attention, of which of late we keep an account; but the hazard of loss by such attempts might be diminished, together with the trouble of examination by making fewer small bills.

"Your conduct, activity, and address as financier and provider for the exigencies of the state, is much admired and praised here, its good consequences being so evident, particularly with regard to the rising credit of our country and the value of bills. No one but yourself can enjoy your growing reputation more than I do.

"Mr. Grand has undertaken to pay any balance that may be found due to Messrs. le Couteulx out of the money in his hands. Applying for so small a sum as 5,000 livres would be giving trouble for a trifle, as all applications for money must be considered in council.

"Mr. Grand having already received the whole six millions, either in money or accepted bills payable at different periods, I expect he will deliver up to me the bills for that sum which you have drawn upon me, the rather as they express value received by you. I never heard any mention here of intended monthly payments, or that the money could not be obtained but by your drafts. I enclose a letter by which the payment was ordered of the last three millions.

"I observe what you mention of the order that the ministers' salaries are to be hereafter paid in America. I hereby impower and desire you to receive and remit mine. I do not doubt your doing it regularly and timely. For a minister without money, I perceive, makes a ridiculous figure here, though secure from arrests. I have taken a quarter's advance of salary from the 4th of last month, supposing it not intended to *muzzle* immediately *the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn.* B. FRANKLIN."

"*The Secretary of Foreign Affairs.*

"Passy, August 12, 1782.

"Sir,—I have lately been honoured with your several letters, No. 10, March 9th; No. 11, May, 22d; and No. 12, May 30th.

"The paper containing a state of the commerce in North America, and explaining the necessity and utility of convoys for its protection, I have laid before the minister, accompanied by a letter pressing that it be taken into immediate consideration; and I hope it may be attended with success.

"The order of congress for liquidating the accounts between this court and the United States, was executed before it arrived. All the accounts against us for money lent, and stores, arms, ammunition, clothing, &c. furnished by government, were brought in and examined, and a balance received, which made the debt amount to the even sum of eighteen millions, exclusive of the Holland loan, for which the king is guarantee. I send a copy of the instrument to Mr. Morris. In reading it you will discover several fresh marks of the king's goodness towards us, amounting to the value of near two millions. These, added to the free gifts before made to us at different times, form an object of at least twelve millions, for which no returns but that of gratitude and friendship are expected. These I hope may be everlasting. The constant good understanding between France and the Swiss cantons, and the steady benevolence of this crown towards them, afford as well grounded hope that our alliance may be as durable and as happy for both nations; there being strong reasons for our union, and no crossing interests between us. I write fully to Mr. Morris on money affairs, who will doubtless communicate to you my letter, so that I need say the less to you on that subject.

"The letter to the king was well received; the accounts of your rejoicings on the news of the dauphin's birth, give pleasure here; as do the firm conduct of congress in refusing to treat with general Carleton, and the unanimous resolutions of the assemblies of different states on the same subject, (all ranks of this nation appear to be in good humour with us, and our reputation rises throughout Europe.) I understand from the Swedish ambassador, that their treaty with us will go on as soon as ours with Holland is finished; our treaty with France, with such improvements as that with Holland may suggest, being intended as the basis.

"There have been various misunderstandings and mismanagements among the parties concerned in the expedition of the Bonhomme Richard, which have occasioned delay in dividing the prize money. M. de Chaumont, who was chosen by the captains of all the vessels in the expedition as their agent, has long been in a state little short of bankruptcy, and some of the delays have possibly been occasioned by the distress of his affairs; he now informs me that the money is in the hands of the minister of the marine. I shall in a few days present the memorial you propose, with one relating to the prisoners, and will acquaint you with the answer. Mr. Barclay is still in Holland: when he returns he may take into his hands what money can be obtained on that account.

"I think your observations, respecting the Danish complaints through the minister of France, perfectly just. I will receive no more of them by that channel, and will give your reasons to justify my refusal.

"Your approbation of my idea of a medal to perpetuate the memory of York and Saratoga victories, gives me great pleasure, and encourages me to have it struck. I wish you would acquaint me with what kind of a monument, at York, the emblems required are to be fixed on, whether an obelisk or a column; its dimensions; whether any part of it is to be marble, and the emblems carved on it, and whether the work is to be executed by the excellent artists in that way which Paris affords; and if so, to what expense they are to be limited. This puts me in mind of a monument I got made here and sent to America, by order of congress, five years since. I have heard of its arrival, and nothing more. It was admired here for its elegant antique simplicity of design, and the various beautiful marbles used in its composition. It was intended to be fixed against a wall in the state house of Philadelphia. I know not why it has been so long neglected; it would, methinks, be well to inquire after it, and get it put up some where. Directions for fixing it were sent with it. I enclose a print of it. The inscription in the engraving is not on the monument; it was merely the fancy of the engraver. There is a white plate of marble left smooth to receive such inscription as the congress should think proper.

"Our countrymen who have been prisoners in England are sent home, a few excepted, who were sick, and who will be forwarded as soon as recovered. This eases us of a very considerable charge.

"I communicated to the marquis de la Fayette, the paragraph of your letter which related to him. He is still here; and as there seems not much likelihood of an active campaign in America, he is probably more useful where he is. His departure however, though delayed, is not absolutely laid aside.

"The second changes in the ministry of England, have occasioned or have afforded pretences for various delays in the negotiation for peace. Mr. Grenville had two successive imperfect commissions. He was at length recalled, and Mr. Fitzherbert is now arrived to replace him, with a commission in due form to treat with France, Spain, and Holland. Mr. Oswald, who is here, is informed by a letter from the new secretary of state, that a commission impowering him to treat with the commissioners of congress, will pass the seals, and be sent him in a few days; till it arrives, this court will not proceed in its own negotiation. I send the enabling act, as it is called. Mr. Jay will acquaint you with what passes between him and the Spanish ambassador, respecting the proposed treaty with Spain. I will only mention 281. 599. 109. 124. 481. 256. 238. 468. 292. 281. 551. 386. 263. 268. 173. 33. 451. 440. 399. 453. 628. 74. 11. 167. 415. 576. 187. 109. 16. 542. 347. 37. 481. 648. 163. 30. 112. 235. 193. 481. 346. 428. 143. 37. 268. 414. 374. 167. 83. 268. 268. 654. 481. 254. 167. 315. 542. 358. 468. 109. 242. 159. 167. 119. 408. 460. 447. 292. 167. 170. 399. 250. 242. 479. 574. 200. 64. 245. 448. 208. 109. 371. 408. 161. 263. 399.

"*Explication.* That my conjecture of that court's design to coop us up within the Alleghany mountains is now manifested. I hope congress will insist on the Mississippi as the boundary, and the free navigation of the river from which they could entirely exclude us.

"An account of a terrible massacre of the Moravian Indians has been put into my hands. I sent you the papers, that you may see how the fact is repesented in Europe. I hope measures will be taken to secure what is left of those unfortunate people.

"Mr. Laurens is at Nantes, waiting for a passage with his family to America. His state of health is unfortunately very bad. Perhaps the sea air may recover him, and restore him well to his country: I heartily wish it. He has suffered much by his confinement.

Be pleased, sir, to present my duty to the congress, and assure them of my most faithful services. B. FRANKLIN."

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"London, August 16, 1782.

"My dear Friend,—Yours I received by major Young, together with the work of your *veritable philosophe*, which is full of humanity. I was not before that, at a loss where I should have looked for my *veritable philosophe* in the present actual scene of public politics. Your honest, anxious, and unremitted endeavours towards the re-establishment of peace, must endear you to your own country, and to all mankind. Whatever may have been transacting in America, (if it can be possible that the suspicions which you mention should become true) viz., to tamper with America for a breach of faith, of which some suspicions seem to be thrown out by the provinces of Maryland and Philadelphia, I can give the strongest testimonies of the constant honour and good faith of your conduct and correspondencies; and my letters to you will bear me equal testimony, that I have never thrown out any dishonourable suggestions to you. When the proposed congress of your *veritable philosophe* shall meet, neither of us need fear its censures, upon the strictest examination of our correspondence. We will claim the poet's character of the sincere statesman,

> 'Who knew no thought, but what the world might hear.'

In times of suspicion, it must be some satisfaction to both of us to know, that no line or word has ever passed between us, but what the governments of Great Britain, France, and America might freely peruse as the words of good faith, peace, and *sweet reconciliation.*

"The resolutions of Maryland and Philadelphia, together with the slow proceeding of our *plenipotentiaries*, and even the doubt suggested, whether they may not be waiting for events in America, give me much concern. Not being informed to a certainty of the state of the negotiation, I have declined any concern with the ministry upon the subject of the refugees, &c. My assistance cannot be indispensable upon that topic, but I deem it indispensable to myself not to be committed in unknown ground, which, from the points above mentioned, must appear dubious to me. These are the reasons which I gave to the minister for declining. I must at the same time give him the justice of the most absolute and unlimited professions of sincerity for peace. Whatever divisions there may have been, as you say, suspected in the cabinet, there are some of his colleagues still remaining, in whom I have the greatest confidence for sincerity and good intentions. The public prints of this country have stated what are called *shades* of difference as to the mode. Those opinions which are imputed to Mr. Fox, are certainly most suitable to my opinions. I am free to confess to you, that my wishes would have been, to have taken the most decisive ground relating to independence, &c. immediately from the 27th of March last, viz., the accession of the change of ministry. But I agree with you in sentiment, viz., to concur with all the good that offers, when we cannot obtain all the good that we might wish. The situation of my sentiments at present is, an unbiassed neutrality of expectation, as events may justify.

"I shall be obliged to you for the earliest communications of any public events in America which may come to Europe, with any public resolutions of congress or provinces, &c., and all memorials or negotiations which may pass between the parties in America. I am very anxious to have the earliest informations to form my opinions upon, and to be prepared accordingly. My utmost endeavours will always be exerted to the blessed work of peace. —I am ever, your affectionate

"D. HARTLEY."

Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"VERSAILLES, August 23, 1782.

"SIR,—I have received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me the 9th instant, as well as the memorial enclosed in it. I communicated the paper to the marquis de Castries, and I make no doubt but that the minister will take into consideration its contents, as far as circumstances will permit. We are desirous to adopt every measure that may tend to the prosperity of the commerce established between France and the United States, and we shall neglect nothing to accomplish this object to the universal satisfaction of the two countries. Congress will greatly facilitate our labour, if they will communicate their ideas and wishes on this subject; and I make the demand with greater confidence, as I am convinced that that assembly desires as much as we do, to establish, on an advantageous and solid basis, the commercial concerns between France and America.

"DE VERGENNES"

To Richard Oswald, Esq., from the right honourable Thomas Townshend, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, dated

"WHITEHALL, September 1, 1782.

"SIR,—I have received and laid before the king, your letters of the 17th, 18th, and 21st ult.; and I am commanded to signify to you his majesty's approbation of your conduct in communicating to the American commissioners the fourth article of your instructions; which could not but convince them, that the negotiation for peace, and the cession of independence to the Thirteen United Colonies, were intended to be carried on and concluded with the commissioners in Europe.

"Those gentlemen having expressed their satisfaction concerning that article, it is hoped they will not entertain a doubt of his majesty's determinaton to exercise, in the fullest extent, the powers with which the act of parliament hath invested him, by granting to America, full, complete, and unconditional independence, in the most explicit manner, as an article of treaty."

"*The Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs.*

"PASSY, September 3, 1782.

"SIR,—I have just received your No. 13, dated the 23d of June. The accounts of the general sentiments of our people respecting propositions from England, and the rejoicings on the birth of the dauphin, give pleasure here, and it affords me much satisfaction to find the conduct of congress approved by all that hear or speak of it, and to see all the marks of a constantly growing regard for us, and confidence in us among those in whom such sentiments are most to be desired.

"I hope the affair of captain Asgill was settled as it ought to be, by the punishment of Lippincot. Applications have been made here, to obtain letters in favour of the young gentleman; enclosed I send you a copy of the answer I gave to that made to me.

"I had before acquainted M. Tousard, that his pension would be paid in America, and there only; it being unreasonable to expect, that the congress should open a pay office in every part of the world, where pensioners should choose to reside. I shall communicate to him that part of your letter.

"You wish to know what allowance I make to my private secretary: my grandson, William T. Franklin, came over with me, served me as private secretary, during the time of the commissioners, and no secretary to the commission arriving, though we had been made to expect one, he did business for us all, and this without any allowance for his services, though both Mr. Lee and Mr. Deane at times mentioned it to me as a thing proper to be done, and a justice due to him. When I became appointed sole minister here, and the whole business which the commissioners had before divided with me, came into my hands, I was obliged to exact more service from him, and he was indeed, by being so long in the business, become capable of doing more. At length, in the beginning of the year 1781, when he became of age, considering his constant close attention to the duties required of him, and his having thereby missed the opportunity of studying the law, for which he had been intended, I determined to make him some compensation for the time passed, and fix some appointment for the time to come, till the pleasure of congress respecting him should be taken. I accordingly settled an account with him. Allowing him from the beginning of December 1776, to the end of 1777, the sum of 3400 livres; and for the year 1778, the sum of 4000 livres; for 1779, 4300 livres; and for 1780, 6000 livres; since that time, I have allowed him at the rate of 300 louis per annum, being what I saw had been allowed by congress, to the secretary of Mr. William Lee, who could not have had, I imagine, a fourth part of the business to go through; since my secretary, besides the writing and copying the papers relative to my common ministerial transactions, has had all those occasioned by my acting in the various employments of judge of admiralty, consul, purchaser of goods for the public, &c., besides that of the accepter of the congress bills, a business that requires being always at home; bills coming by post from different ports and countries, and often requiring immediate answers whether good or not; and to that end, it being necessary to examine them by the books exactly kept, of all preceding acceptations, in order to detect double presentations, which happen very frequently; the great number of these bills makes almost sufficient business for one person, and the confinement they occasion is such, that we cannot allow ourselves a day's excursion into the country; and the want of exercise has hurt our healths in several instances. The congress pay much larger salaries to some secretaries, who I believe deserve them, but not more than my grandson does; the comparatively small one I have allowed to him, his fidelity, exactitude, and address in transacting business, being really what one could wish in such an officer, and the genteel appearance a young gentleman in his station obliges him to make, requiring at least such an income. I do not mention the extraordinary business that has been imposed upon us in this embassy, as a foundation for demanding higher salaries than others. I never solicited for a public office either for myself or any relative; yet I never refused one that I was capable of executing, when public service was in question; and I never bargained for salary, but contented myself with whatever my constituents were pleased to allow me. The congress will, therefore, consider every article charged in my account, distinct from the salary originally voted, not as what I presumed to insist upon, but as what I propose only for their consideration, and they will allow what they think proper. You desire an accurate estimate of those contingent expenses. I enclose copies of two letters which passed between Mr. Adams and me on the subject, and show the articles of which they consist. Their amount in different years may be found in my accounts, except the article of house rent, which has never yet been settled. M. de Chaumont, our landlord, having originally proposed to leave it till the end of the war, and then to accept for it a piece of American land from the congress, such as they might judge equivalent; if the congress did intend all contingent charges whatever to be included in the salary, and do not think proper to pay on the whole so much, in that case I would humbly suggest that the saving may be most conveniently made by a diminution of the salary, leaving the contingencies to be charged, because they may necessarily be very different in different years, and in different courts. I have been the more diffuse on this subject, as your letter gave occasion for it, and it is probably the last time I shall mention it.

"Be pleased to present my dutiful respects to congress; assure them of my best services, and believe me to be with sincere esteem, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. As you will probably lay this letter before congress, I take the liberty of joining to it an extract of my letter to the president, of the 12th March, 1781, and of repeating my request therein contained, relative to my grandson. I enclose likewise extracts of letters from Messrs. Jay and Laurens, which both show the regard those gentlemen have for him, and their desire of his being noticed by the congress. "B. FRANKLIN.

"*September* 3, 1782."

"*To John Jay.*

"PASSY, Sept. 5, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,—Mr. Oswald's courier being returned, with directions to make the independence of America the first article in the treaty, I would wait on you if I could, to discourse on the subject: but as I cannot, I wish to see you here this evening, if not inconvenient to you.—With great esteem, I have the honour to be, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

R. R. Livingston to Dr. Franklin.

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 5, 1782.

"SIR,—Having written you lately, I should not again trouble you so soon, were it not necessary to remind you, that your last letter is dated in March; since which there have been frequent arrivals from France, and since which, too, we have reason to believe, the most interesting events have taken place in Europe.

"We learn from private letters and common fame, that Mr. Adams was received by the United Provinces in his public character on the 19th of April. We have yet no account of this interesting event, nor of the measures he has pursued to accomplish our objects in Holland. Since then, Mr. Laurens, it is said, has been liberated, has travelled to Holland and to France, has entered upon the execution of his trust; but has left us to gather events, so interesting to him and to us, from private letters, and the public prints. Mr. Jay tells us on the 24th May, that he is about to set out for Paris, and that he presumes Dr. Franklin has assigned the reason for that step. Doctor Franklin has told us nothing.

"As to Mr. Dana, if it were not for the necessity of drawing bills in his favour, we should hardly be acquainted with his existence. It is commonly said, that republics are better informed than monarchs, of the state of their foreign affairs, and they insist upon a greater degree of vigilance and punctuality in their ministers. We, on the contrary, seem to have adopted a new system. The ignorance in which we are kept, of every interesting event, renders it impossible for the sovereign to instruct their servants, and of course forms them into an independent privy council for the direction of their affairs, without their advice or concurrence. I can hardly express to you what I feel on this occasion. I blush when I meet a member of congress who inquires into what is passing in Europe. When the general applies to me for advice on the same subject, which must regulate his movements, I am compelled to inform him, that we have no intelligence but what he has seen in the papers. The following is an extract of his last letter to me. 'But how does it happen, that all our information of what is transacting in Europe, should come to hand through indirect channels, or from the enemy: or does this question proceed from my unacquaintedness with facts?'

"But let me dismiss a subject which gives me so much pain, in the hope that we shall in future have no further cause of complaint.

"Since the evacuation of Savannah, the enemy have, by the general orders enclosed, announced the purposed evacuation of Charleston. We are in daily expectation of hearing, therefore, that tranquillity is restored to the Southern states. Several circumstances lead us to suppose, that they entertain thoughts of evacuating New York some time this fall. You *only* can inform us, whether this step has been taken in consequence of any expectations they entertain of a general peace; or with a view to pursue the system, which the present ministers appear to have adopted, when they so loudly reprobated the American war; and whether, by withdrawing their troops from hence, they only mean to collect their force and direct it against our allies. This knowledge would render such an alteration in our system necessary, that it affords us new reasons for regretting our want of information on these important points.

"The marquis de Vaudreuil has unfortunately lost the Magnifique, sunk by running on a rock in the harbour of Boston, where he now is with the remainder of his fleet, except three, refitting at Portsmouth, consisting of twelve sail of the line. This has enabled congress to show their attention to his Catholic Majesty, and their wish to promote his interests as far as their circumstances will permit, by presenting him the America of seventy-four guns. Enclosed are their resolves on that subject, and the answer given by the minister of France. The ship is in such a state that she may, by diligence, be refitted for sea in about two months; and from the accounts I hear of her, she will, I believe, prove a fine ship. The general is collecting the army. The last division of the French troops marched from here this morning;—when collected they will, I presume, repair to their old post at the White Plains, and perhaps endeavour to accelerate the departure of the enemy.

"I am sorry you did not pursue your first design, and enlarge in your letter upon the subjects which you imagined would be discussed in the negotiations for peace. It might have changed our sentiments and altered our views on some points. Two things are of great moment to us, one of which, at least, would meet with no difficulty, if France and England understand their true interests; I mean the West India trade, and the right to cut logwood and mahogany. Without a free admission of all kinds of provisions into the islands, our agriculture will suffer extremely. This will be severely felt at first, and when it remedies itself, which it will do in time, it will be at the expense of the nations that share our commerce. It will lessen the consumption of foreign sugars, increase the supplies which the poorer people among us draw from the maple, &c., and by reducing the price of provision, and rendering the cultivation of lands less profitable, make proportionable increase of our own manufactures, and lessen our dependence on Europe. This will, I must confess, in some measure check our population, and so far I regard it as an evil. The merchants and farmers, if precluded at a peace from the advantages which this commerce gave them while connected with England, [the sentence is imperfect being in cypher.] Then a variety of arguments on this subject, arising as well from the general interests of France, as from her political connexion with us, might be urged to show the wisdom of adopting the same liberal sentiments on this point which has of late distinguished her on so many others. But if she should not be able to overcome her ancient prejudices, I believe they will be found to have less influence on the British, whom you will press earnestly on this head. Besides the general interest of the kingdom, there is with them a powerful West India interest, to plead, in behalf of a free importation of provisions into their islands. If I mistake not, the present wishes of the nation, as well as the professions of the administration, lead to every measure which may wear away our present resentments, and strengthen the connexion between us and them.

The logwood trade we have some claim to, from our continued exercise of the right; nor can England pretend to exclude us from it, without invalidating her own title, which stands on the same ground. If Spain admits the right in England, she gains nothing by excluding us, since in proportion as she diminishes our commerce in that article, she increases that of Great Britain. Other manufacturing nations are interested in exciting a competition between us at their markets.

"When you write to me, be pleased to be very particular in your relation of every step which leads to a negotiation; every thing of this kind must be interesting.

"R. R. LIVINGSTON"

Richard Oswald to Dr. Franklin.

"Paris, September 5, 1782.

"Sir,—In consequence of the notice I have just now had from Mr. Jay, of your desire of an extract from my last letter from the secretary of state, regarding the proposed treaty on the subject of American affairs, and my authority in relation thereto; I take the liberty to send the same enclosed, which, together with the powers contained in the commission which I had the honour of laying before you and Mr. Jay, I am hopeful will satisfy you of the willingness and sincere desire of his majesty to give you entire content on that important subject.

"This extract I would have sent before now, if I had thought you wished to have it before I had the honour of waiting on you myself; which was only delayed until I should be informed by Mr. Jay, that you was well enough to see me upon business.

"I heartily wish you a recovery of your health, and am, with sincere esteem and regard, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"RICHARD OSWALD."

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"Hotel de Yorck, Sept. 7, 1782.

"My dear Friend,—I beg of you not to forget your letter to Mr. Fox. The purpose of my journey to England will be, to do the best in my power for things and persons, and particularly for my friends. If you have any other private letters, send them to me; I will deliver them. I hope likewise to be personally charged with the answers. I am better this morning, and shall certainly set out very early to-morrow morning. Pray give my best compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Jay, and Mr. Temple Franklin. I wish you all health till I have the pleasure of seeing you again.—Your ever most affectionate friend.

"D. HARTLEY."

"*Richard Oswald.*

"Passy, September 8, 1782.

"Sir,—I have received the honour of yours, dated the 5th instant, enclosing an extract of a letter to your excellency, from the right honourable Thomas Townshend, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, wherein your conduct in communicating to us the fourth article of your instructions appears to have been approved by his majesty. I suppose therefore that there is no impropriety in my requesting a copy of that instruction; and if you see none, I wish to receive it from you, hoping it may be of use in removing some of the difficulties that obstruct our proceeding.—With great and sincere esteem, I am, sir, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

Copy of the fourth article of his majesty's instructions to Richard Oswald, for his government in treating with the commissioners of the Thirteen United Colonies of America for a truce or peace, the said instructions being dated the 31st day of July, 1782, viz.

'4th Article. In case you find the American commissioners are not at liberty to treat on any terms short of independence, you are to declare to them, that you have authority to make that concession. Our ardent wish for peace disposing us to purchase it at the price of acceding to the complete independence of the Thirteen Colonies, namely, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia in North America.

"RICHARD OSWALD.

"*Passy*, 9*th Sept.* 1782."

"*Sir Joseph Banks.*

"Passy, Sept. 9, 1782.

"Dear Sir,—I have just received the very kind, friendly letter, you were so good as to write to me by Dr. Broussonnet. Be assured that I long earnestly for a return of those peaceful times, when I could sit down in sweet society with my English philosophical friends, communicating to each other new discoveries, and proposing improvements of old ones; all tending to extend the power of man over matter, avert or diminish the evils he is subject to, or augment the number of his enjoyments. Much more happy should I be thus employed in your most desirable company, than in that of all the grandees of the earth projecting plans of mischief, however necessary they may be supposed for obtaining greater good.

"I am glad to learn by the doctor that your great work goes on. I admire your magnanimity in the undertaking, and the perseverance with which you have prosecuted it.

"I join with you most perfectly in the charming wish you so well express, 'that such measures may be taken by both parties as may tend to the elevation of both, rather than the destruction of either.' If any thing has happened endangering one of them, my comfort is, that I endeavoured earnestly to prevent it, and gave honest, faithful advice, which, if it had been regarded, would have been effectual. And still if proper means are used to produce, not only a peace, but what is much more interesting, a thorough reconciliation, a few years may heal the wounds that have been made in our happiness, and produce a degree of prosperity of which at present we can hardly form a conception. With great and sincere esteem, and respect, I am, dear sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Earl Grantham.*

"Passy, Sept. 11, 1782.

"My Lord,—A long and severe indisposition has delayed my acknowledging the receipt of the letter your lordship did me the honour of writing to me by Mr. Fitzherbert.

"You do me justice in believing that I agree with you in earnestly wishing the establishment of an honourable and lasting peace; and I am happy to be assured by your lordship that it is the system of the ministers with whom you are co-operating. I know it to be the sincere desire of the United States, and with such dispositions on both sides, there is reason to hope, that the good work in its progress will meet with little difficulty. A small one has occurred in the commencement, with which Mr. Oswald will acquaint you. I flatter myself that means will be found on your part for removing it; and my best endeavours in removing subsequent ones (if any should arise) may be relied on.

"I had the honour of being known to your lordship's father. On several occasions he manifested a regard for me, and a confidence in me. I shall be happy if my conduct in the present important business may procure me the same rank in the esteem of his worthy successor.

"I am, with sincere respect, my lord, your lordship's most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

R. R. Livingston to Dr. Franklin.

"Philadelphia, Sept. 12, 1782.

"Sir,—I have nothing to add to mine of the 5th instant, but to congratulate you on the safe arrival of two vessels from Holland, having on board the goods left by commodore Gillon, and to present you, in the name of Mr. Paine, with three copies of a late work of his, addressed to the abbé Raynal, in which he takes notice of some of the many errors with which his work abounds. The abbé has a fine imagination, and he indulges it. The enclosed resolution contains an important fact which, I am using means to ascertain, but from the ill success I have hitherto met with in every similar attempt, I fear it will be long before I can effect it.

"R. R. LIVINGSTON."

"*M. Dumas.*

"PASSY, September 12, 1782.

"DEAR SIR,—My grandfather has been for these three weeks past, much indisposed with the gravel, and an attendant severe pain in his thigh. This has prevented, and prevents, his answering several of your late letters. He directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your last, dated the 4th instant, and to inform you that the despatch it enclosed shall be duly forwarded, as were the preceding ones you sent him. For your satisfaction, sir, and as a proof of the high sense my grandfather has of your merit, I enclose to you an extract from one of his late letters to our secretary of foreign affairs, which relates to you. That you may soon experience the effect of it, is the sincere wish of your affectionate,

"W. T. FRANKLIN."

R. R. Livingston to Dr. Franklin.

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 18, 1782.

"SIR,—Just after closing my despatches, I was favoured with yours of the 25th and 29th of June. The ships that brought them were so unfortunate as to be chased in the Delaware by a superior force. The Eagle was driven ashore and sunk. The papers and money were, however, happily saved, and part of the crew; but captain la Fouche, not having been heard of, is supposed to be taken. The other frigate has arrived safe, with all the passengers of both ships.

"As I am just about to leave town for a short time, I will not touch upon the important subject mentioned in your letters, which will, on account of my absence, be committed to a special committee.

"I would only observe to you, that the resolution in my last, shows the sense of congress in money matters.

"You will see by the annexed resolutions, that congress have refused to accept Mr. Laurens's resignation, and that they have made some alteration in your powers. I send the papers, which have little news.

"R. R. LIVINGSTON."

"*To David Hartley.*

"PASSY, Sept. 17, 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—Since those acknowledged in my last, I have received your several favours of August 16, 20, and 26. I have been a long time afflicted with the gravel and gout, which have much indisposed me for writing. I am even now in pain, but will not longer delay some answer.

"I did not perfectly comprehend the nature of your appointment respecting the refugees, and I supposed you would in a subsequent letter explain it. But, as I now find you have declined the service, such explanation is become unnecessary.

"I did receive the paper you inquire about, intitled Preliminaries, and dated May, 1782, but it was from you, and I know nothing of their having been communicated to this court. The third proposition, 'that in case of negotiation between Great Britain and the allies of America, should not succeed, but the war continue between them, America should act and be treated as a neutral nation,' appeared at first sight inadmissible, being contrary to our treaty. The truce too, seems not to have been desired by any of the parties.

"With unalterable esteem and affection, I am, my dear friend, ever yours, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Richard Oswald to Doctor Franklin.

"PARIS, September 24, 1782.

"SIR,—Having received, by a courier just now arrived, a letter from Mr. secretary Townshend, in answer to mine which went by the messenger, despatched from hence on the 12th, I take this opportunity of Mr. Whiteford to send you a copy of it. I hope he will bring good accounts of your health, which I sincerely wish, and am your excellency's, &c. "RICHARD OSWALD."

Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"VERSAILLES, Sept. 25, 1782.

"SIR,—I have the honour to send you my despatches for the chevalier de la Luzerne. The packet is voluminous, but it contains many duplicates.

"I should be glad if it were in my power to inform him that our treaty is in as good progress as yours, but this is far from being the case. I cannot even foresee what will be the issue, for difficulties multiply. It will be well for you to forewarn the congress to be prepared for whatever event may arise. I do not despair; I the rather hope; but as yet all is uncertainty. DE VERGENNES."

"*Robert R. Livingston.*

"PASSY, Sept. 26, 1782.

"THE negotiations for peace have hitherto amounted to little more than mutual professions of sincere desires, &c.; being obstructed by the want of due form in the English commissions appointing their plenipotentiaries. The objections made to those for treating with France, Spain, and Holland, were first removed; and by the enclosed, it seems that our objections to that for treating with us will now be removed also; so that we expect to begin in a few days our negotiations. But there are so many interests to be considered and settled, in a peace between five different nations, that it will be well, not to flatter ourselves with a very speedy conclusion.'

"*Commission under the Great Seal of Great Britain, impowering Richard Oswald, Esq., to treat with the Commissioners of the Thirteen United States of America.*

"George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth,—To our trusty and well beloved Richard Oswald, of our city of London, esq., greeting. Whereas, by virtue of an act passed in the last session of parliament, intituled an act to enable his majesty to conclude a peace or truce with certain colonies in North America therein mentioned, it is recited, that it is essential to the interest, welfare, and prosperity of Great Britain, and the colonies or plantations of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, in North America, that peace, intercourse, trade, and commerce should be restored between them; therefore, and for a full manifestation of our earnest wish and desire, and of that of our parliament, to put an end to the calamities of war, it is enacted, that it should and might be lawful for us, to treat, consult of, agree, and conclude with any commissioner or commissioners, named or to be named by the said colonies or plantations, or any of them respectively, or with any body or bodies corporate or politic, or any assembly or assemblies, or description of men, or any person or persons whatsoever, a peace or a truce with the said colonies or plantations, or any of them, or any part or parts thereof, any law, act, or acts of parliament, matter or thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding: Now know ye, that we, reposing especial trust in your wisdom, loyalty, diligence, and circumspection, in the management of the affairs to be hereby committed to your charge, have nominated and appointed, constituted and assigned, and by these presents do nominate and appoint, constitute, and assign, you the said Richard Oswald, to be our commissioner in that behalf, to use and exercise all and every the powers and authorities hereby entrusted and committed to you the said Richard Oswald, and to do, perform, and execute all other matters and things hereby enjoined and committed to your care, during our will and no longer, according to the tenour of these our letters patent: And it is our royal will and pleasure, and we do hereby authorize, impower, and require you the said Richard Oswald, to treat, consult of, and conclude, with any commissioners or persons vested with equal powers, by and on the part of the Thirteen United States of America, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia in North America, a peace or a truce with the said Thirteen United States, any law, act or acts of parliament, matter or thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And it is our further will and pleasure, that every regulation, provision, matter, or thing, which shall have been agreed upon between you the said Richard Oswald, and such commissioners or persons as aforesaid, with whom you shall have judged meet and sufficient to enter into such agreement, shall be fully and distinctly set forth in writing, and authenticated by your hand and seal on one side, and by the hands and seals of such commissioners or persons on the other, and such instrument so authenticated, shall be by you transmitted to us, through one of our principal secretaries of state. And it is our farther will and pleasure, that you the said Richard Oswald, shall promise and engage for us, and in our royal name and word, that every regulation, provision, matter, or thing, which may be agreed to, and concluded by you our said commissioner, shall be ratified and confirmed by us, in the fullest manner and extent; and that we will not suffer them to be violated or counteracted, either in whole or in part, by any person whatsoever. And we do hereby require and command all our officers, civil and military, and all others our loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting unto you the said Richard Oswald, in the execution of this our commission, and of the powers and authorities herein contained. Provided always, and we do hereby declare and ordain, that the several offices, powers, and authorities hereby granted, shall cease, determine, and become utterly null and void, on the first day of July, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, although we shall not otherwise in the mean time have revoked and determined the same. And whereas, in and by your commission and letters patent, under our great seal of Great Britain, bearing date the seventh day of August last, we nominated and appointed, constituted and assigned, you the said Richard Oswald, to be our commissioner, to treat, consult of, agree and conclude, with any commissioner or commissioners, named or to be named by certain colonies or plantations therein specified, a peace or truce with the said colonies or plantations. Now know ye, that we have revoked and determined, and by these presents do revoke and determine our said commission and letters patent, and all and every power, article, and thing, therein contained. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness our self at Westminister, the twenty-first day of September, and the twenty-second year of our reign. By the king himself. YORKE.

"Paris, Oct. 1, 1782. I certify, that the adjoining is a true copy of the commission which it purports to be a copy, and which has been shown to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay.

"RICHARD OSWALD,
"The commissioner therein named."

To the Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

"Passy, September 26, 1782.

"Sir,—I have just received your No. 15, dated the 9th of August, which mentions your not having heard from me since March. I have however written sundry letters, viz. of April 8th, and June 12th, June 25th and 29th, August 12th, and September 3d, and sent copies of the same, which I hope cannot all have miscarried.

"The negotiations for peace have hitherto amounted to little more than mutual professions of sincere desires, &c., being obstructed by the want of due form in the English commissions appointing their plenipotentiaries. The objections made to those for treating with France, Spain, and Holland, were first removed, and by the enclosed it seems that our objections to that for treating with us will now be removed also, so that we expect to begin in a few days our negotiations. But there are so many interests to be considered and settled, in a peace between five different nations, that it will be well not to flatter ourselves with a very speedy conclusion.

"I mentioned, in a former letter, my having communicated to count de Vergennes the state of American commerce which you sent me, and my having urged its consideration, &c. Enclosed is a copy of a letter received from that minister on the subject.

"The copy of general Carleton's letter, and the bills of exchange, which you mentioned as enclosed, do not appear. I hope soon to have a better opportunity of writing, when I shall be fuller.—With great esteem, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Secretary Townshend to Richard Oswald.

"Whitehall, September 30, 1782.

"Sir,—I received, on Saturday last, your packets of the 10th and 11th of this month.

"A meeting of the king's confidential servants was held, as soon as possible, to consider the contents of them, and it was at once agreed to make the alteration in the commission proposed by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay. I trust that the readiness with which this proposal has been accepted, will be considered as an ample testimony of the openness and sincerity with which the government of this country is disposed to treat with the Americans.

"The commission is passing with as much despatch as the forms of office will allow; but I thought it material that no delay should happen, in giving you notice of the determination of his majesty's council upon this subject. You will receive the commission very soon after this reaches you.

"T. TOWNSHEND."

Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"Versailles, Oct. 3, 1782.

"Sir,—I have the honour to return you the commission appointing Thomas Barclay consul of the United States, to reside in France; and I endorse the exequatur, which is requisite for the exercise of his functions. I must inform you, that the latter of these will require the admiral's signature, previous to its being registered, either by the secretary of the Admiralty, at L'Orient, where Mr. Barclay intends to fix his residence, or by those of other ports of the kingdom, where commercial considerations may require his presence. DE VERGENNES."

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"Bath, October 4, 1782.

"My dear Friend,—I only write one line to you to let you know that I am not forgetful of you, or of our common concerns. I have not heard any thing from the ministry yet: I believe it is a kind of vacation with them before the meeting of parliament. I have told you of a proposition which I have had some thoughts to make as a kind of copartnership in commerce. I send you a purposed temporary convention, which I have drawn up. You are to consider it only as one I recommend. The words underlined are grafted upon the proposition of my memorial, dated May 19, 1773. You will see the principle which I have in my thoughts to extend for the purpose of restoring our ancient copartnership generally. I cannot tell you what event things may take, but my thoughts are always employed in endeavouring to arrange that system upon which the *China Vase*, lately shattered, may be cemented together, upon principles of compact and connexion, instead of dependence. I have met with a sentiment in this country which gives some alarm, viz. lest the unity of government in America should be uncertain, and the states reject the authority of congress. Some passages in general Washington's letter have given weight to these doubts. I don't hear of any tendency to this opinion; *that the American States will break to pieces, and then we may still conquer them.* I believe all that folly is extinguished. But many serious and well disposed persons are alarmed lest *this should be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the union, and annihilating the cement of confederation,* (*vide* Washington's letter,) and that Great Britain should thereby lose her best and wisest hope of being reconnected with the American states *unitedly.* I should for one think it the greatest misfortune. Pray give me some opinion upon this. You see there is likewise another turn which may be given to this sentiment by intemperate and disappointed people, who may indulge a passionate revenge for their own disappointments, by endeavouring to excite general distrust, discord, and disunion. I wish to be prepared and guarded at all points. I beg my best compliments to your colleagues; be so good as to show this letter to them. I beg particularly my condolence (and I hope congratulation) to Mr. Adams; I hear that he has been very dangerously ill, but that he is again recovered. I hope the latter part is true, and that we shall all survive to set our hands to some future compacts of common interest, and common affection, between our two countries.—Your ever affectionate D. HARTLEY."

" *Robert R. Livingston.*

" Passy, Oct. 14, 1782.

" Sir,—I have but just received information of this opportunity, and have only time allowed to write a few lines.

" In my last of the 26th past, I mentioned that the negotiations for peace had been obstructed by the want of due form in the English commissions, appointing their plenipotentiaries. In that for treating with us, the mentioning our states by their public name had been avoided, which we objecting to, another is come, of which I send you a copy enclosed. We have now made several peliminary propositions, which the English minister, Mr. Oswald, has approved, and sent to his court. He thinks they will be approved there, but I have some doubts. In a few days, however, the answer expected will determine. By the first of these articles, the king of Great Britain renounces for himself and successor, all claim and pretension to dominion or territory within the Thirteen United States; and the boundaries are described as in our instructions; except that the line between Nova Scotia and New England is to be settled by commissioners after the peace. By another article, the fishery in the American seas is to be freely exercised by the Americans, wherever they might formerly exercise it while united with Great Britain. By another, the the citizens and subjects of each nation, are to enjoy the same protection and privileges in each other's ports and countries respecting commerce, duties, &c., that are enjoyed by native subjects. The articles are drawn up very fully by Mr. Jay, who I suppose sends you a copy; if not it will go by the next opportunity. If these articles are agreed to, I apprehend little difficulty in the rest. Something has been mentioned about the refugees and English debts, but not insisted on, as we declared at once, that whatever confiscations had been made in America, being in virtue of the laws of particular states, the congress had no authority to repeal those laws, and therefore could give us none to stipulate for such repeal.

" The ministry here have been induced to send over M. de Rayneval, secretary of the council, to converse with lord Shelburne, and endeavour to form by that means a more perfect judgment of what was to be expected from the negotiation. He was five or six days in England, saw all the ministers, and returned quite satisfied, that they are sincerely desirous of peace; so that the negotiations now go on with some prospect of success. But the court and people of England are very changeable. A little turn of fortune in their favour sometimes turns their heads; and I shall not think a speedy peace to be depended on, till I see the treaties signed. With great esteem, I have the honour to be, sir, &c.

" B. FRANKLIN."

" *To John Adams.*

" Passy, Oct. 15, 1782.

" Sir,—A long and painful illness has prevented my corresponding with your excellency regularly.

" Mr. Jay has, I believe, acquainted you with the obstructions our peace negotiations have met with, and that they are at length removed. By the next courier, expected from London, we may be able perhaps to form some judgment of the probability of success, so far as relates to our part of the peace. How likely the other powers are to settle their pretensions, I cannot yet learn. In the meantime, America is gradually growing more easy, by the enemy's evacuation of their posts; as you will see, by some intelligence I enclose.—With great respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

" B. FRANKLIN."

T. Townshend, Esq., to Dr. Franklin.

" Whitehall, Oct. 23, 1782.

" Sir,—As Mr. Strachey is going from hence to Paris, with some particulars for Mr

Oswald, which were not easily to be explained in writing, I take the liberty of introducing him to your acquaintance, though I am not sure, that he is not already a little known to you. The confidential situation in which he stands with me, makes me particularly desirous of presenting him to you.

"I believe, sir, I am enough known to you, for you to believe me, when I say, that there has not been from the beginning a single person more averse to the unhappy war, or who wishes more earnestly than I do, for a return of peace and mutual amity between Great Britain and America.

"I am, with great regard, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

"T. TOWNSHEND."

To Thomas Townshend, one of his majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

"Passy, Nov. 4, 1782.

"Sir,—I received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me by Mr. Strachey; and was much pleased with the opportunity it gave me of renewing and increasing my acquaintance with a gentleman of so amiable and deserving a character.

"I am sensible you have ever been averse to the measures that brought on this unhappy war; I have, therefore, no doubt of the sincerity of your wishes for a return of peace. Mine are equally earnest. Nothing, therefore, except the beginning of the war, has given me more concern, than to learn, at the conclusion of our conferences, that it is not likely to be soon ended. Be assured no endeavours on my part would be wanting to remove any difficulties that may have arisen, or even if a peace were made, to procure afterwards any changes in the treaty that might tend to render it more perfect, and the peace more durable. But we who are here at so great a distance from our constituents, have not the possibility of obtaining in a few days fresh instructions, as is the case with your negotiators, and are therefore obliged to insist on what is conformable to those we have, and at the same time appears to us just and reasonable.—With great esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, sir, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To the Ministers Plenipotentiary from the United States.*

"Paris, Nov. 5, 1782.

"Gentlemen,—Knowing the expectation of the king's ministers, that full indemnity shall be provided for the whole body of refugees, either by a restitution of their property, or by some stipulated compensation for their losses, and being confident, as I have repeatedly assured you, that your refusal upon this point will be the great obstacle to a conclusion and ratification of that peace which is meant as a solid, perfect, permanent reconciliation and re-union between Great Britain and America, I am unwilling to leave Paris without once more submitting the matter to your consideration. It affects equally, in my opinion, the honour and humanity of your country, and of ours. How far you will be justified in risking every favourite object of America, by contending against those principles, is for you to determine. Independence, and more than a reasonable possession of territory, seem to be within your reach. Will you suffer them to be outweighed by the gratification of resentment against individuals. I venture to assert that such a conduct hath no parallel in the history of civilized nations.

"I am under the necessity of setting out by two o'clock to-day; if the time is too short for your re-consideration, and final determination of this important point, I shall hope that you will enable Mr. Oswald to despatch a messenger after me, who may be with me before morning at Chantilly, where I propose sleeping to night, or who may overtake me before I arrive in London, with a satisfactory answer to this letter.—I have the honour to be, gentlemen, yours, &c. W. STRACHEY."

"*W. Strachey.*

"Paris, Nov. 6, 1782.

"Sir,—We have been honoured with your favour of the 5th instant, and as our answer to a letter we received from Mr. Oswald on the same subject, contains our unanimous sentiments respecting it, we take the liberty of referring you to the enclosed copy of that answer.

"We have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient, &c."

"*Richard Oswald.*

"Nov. 6, 1782.

"Sir—In answer to the letter you did us the honour to write on the 4th instant, we beg leave to repeat what we often said in conversation, viz. that the restoration of such of the estates of refugees, as have been confiscated, is impracticable, because they were confiscated by laws of particular states, and in many instances have passed by legal titles through several hands. Besides, sir, as this is a matter evidently appertaining to the internal polity of the separate states, the congress, by the nature of our constitution, have no authority to interfere with it.

"As to your demand of compensation to those persons, we forbear enumerating our reasons for thinking it ill founded: in the moment of conciliatory overtures it would not be proper to call certain scenes into view, over which a variety of considerations should induce both parties, at present, to draw a veil. Permit us, therefore, only to repeat, that we cannot stipulate for such compensation, unless on your part it be agreed to make retribution to our citizens for the heavy losses they have sustained by the *unnecessary* destruction of their private property.

"We have already agreed to an amnesty more extensive than justice required, and full as extensive as humanity could demand. We can therefore only repeat, that it cannot be extended further.

"We should be sorry if the absolute impossibility of our complying further with your propositions on this head, should induce Great Britain to continue the war, for the sake of those who caused and prolonged it. But if that should be the case, we hope that the utmost latitude will not be again given to its rigours.

"Whatever may be the issue of this negotiation, be assured, sir, that we shall always acknowledge the liberal, manly, and candid manner in which you have conducted it, and that we shall remain with the warmest sentiments of esteem and regard, your most obedient and very humble servants."

"*R. R. Livingston.*

"Passy, November 7, 1782.

"Sir,—The baron de Kermelin, a Swedish gentleman of distinction, recommended strongly to me by his excellency the ambassador of that nation *to this court*, as a person highly esteemed in his own; purposes a journey through North America, to view its natural productions, acquaint himself with its commerce, and acquire such information as may be useful to his country, in the communication and connexion of interests that seems to be growing, and probably may soon become considerable between the two nations. I therefore beg leave to introduce him to you, and request that you would present him to the president of congress, and to such other persons as you shall think may be useful to him in his views, and I recommend him earnestly to those civilities which you have a pleasure in showing to strangers of merit.

"B. FRANKLIN."

R. R. Livingston to Dr. Franklin.

"Philadelphia, Nov. 21, 1782.

"Sir,—Congress, a few days since, passed the enclosed resolution, No. 1, by which they have added Mr. Jefferson to the commission for concluding a peace. The established character of this gentleman gives me reason to hope that his appointment will be very acceptable to you and the other gentlemen in the commission. I have not yet learned whether he will take the task upon him, but I have reason to believe he will, the death of his wife having lessened, in the opinion of his friends, the reluctance which he has hitherto manifested to going abroad. I think it would be proper to make a formal annunciation of this resolution to the court of France. You will naturally give such a representation of Mr. Jefferson's character, as will secure to him there that esteem and confidence which he so justly merits. The resolution, No. 2, needs no comment; or, if it does, Mr. Morris will prove the able commentator. I resign the task to him.

"For what end is the show of negotiations kept up by England, when peace, upon the only terms she can obtain it, is far from her heart? Her ministers, like some ministers of the gospel, who are unwilling to quit the pulpit when they have tired out their hearers, expect to keep the people together by calling out at every period, 'Now to conclude,' while they continue the same dull tale for want of skill to wind it up.

"By accounts from Jamaica, we learn that the British have recovered most of their settlements on the bay. Some attention will, I hope, be paid in the treaty of peace, to secure to us the share we formerly had in the logwood trade. It was a valuable remittance to us, and the low price at which we were enabled to sell, renders it important to other nations that we should not be excluded from furnishing it as usual. You will find by the enclosed paper, that Mr. Burgess, an English merchant, was not permitted to settle at Boston, and obtain the rights of citizenship, upon principles which must be alarming to England. It shows, at the same time, the *respect* that is paid to the resolutions of congress, notwithstanding all that has been said and written to prove the contrary.

"R. R. LIVINGSTON."

"*Richard Oswald.*

"Passy, November 26, 1782.

"Sir,—You may well remember, that in the beginning of our conferences, before the other commissioners arrived, on your mentioning to me a retribution for the royalists, whose estates had been confiscated, I acquainted you that nothing of that kind could be stipulated by us, the confiscation being made by virtue of laws of particular states which the congress had no power to contravene or dispense with, and therefore could give us no such authority in our commission. And I gave it as my opinion and advice, honestly and cordially, that if a reconciliation was intended, no mention should be made in our negotiations, of those people; for they having done infinite mischief to our properties, by wantonly burning and destroying farmhouses, villages, and towns, if compensation for their losses were insisted on, we should certainly exhibit again such an account of all the ravages they had committed, which would necessarily recall to view scenes of barbarity, that must inflame, instead of conciliating, and tend to perpetuate an enmity that we all profess a desire of extinguishing. Understanding, however, from you, that this was a point your ministry had at heart, I wrote concerning it to congress, and I have lately received the following resolution, viz.

"*By the United States, in Congress assembled.*

"September 10, 1782.

"Resolved, That the secretary for foreign affairs be, and he is hereby directed to obtain, as speedily as possible, authentic returns of the slaves, and other property, which have been carried off or destroyed in the course of the war by the enemy, and to transmit the same to the minister plenipotentiary for negotiating peace.

"Resolved, That in the mean time the secretary for foreign affairs, inform the said ministers, that many thousands of slaves, and other property, to a very great amount, have been carried off, or destroyed by the enemy; and that in the opinion of congress, the great loss of property which the citizens of the United States have sustained by the enemy, will be considered by the several states, as an insuperable bar to their making restitution or indemnification to the former owner of property, which has been or may be forfeited to, or confiscated by any of the states.

"In consequence of these resolutions and circular letters of the secretary, the assembly of Pennsylvania then sitting, passed the following act, viz.

"*State of Pennsylvania, in general Assembly.*

"Wednesday, September 18, 1784.

"The bill entitled 'an act for procuring an estimate of the damages, sustained by the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, from the troops and adherents of the king of Great Britain, during the present war,' was read a second time.

"Ordered to be transcribed, and printed for public consideration.

"Extract from the minutes.

"PETER Z. LLOYD,
"Clerk of the General Assembly."

A BILL entitled "an act for procuring an estimate of the damages, sustained by the inhabitants of Pennsylvania from the troops and adherents of the king of Great Britain, during the present war."

"Whereas great damages, of the most wanton nature, have been committed by the arms of the king of Great Britain, or their adherents, within the territory of the United States of North America, unwarranted by the practice of civilized nations, and only to be accounted for from the vindictive spirit of the said king and his officers; and whereas an accurate account and estimate of such damages, more especially the waste and destruction of property, may be very useful to the people of the United States of America, in forming a future treaty of peace, and, in the mean time, may serve to exhibit in a true light to the nations of Europe, the conduct of the said king, his ministers, officers, and adherents; to the end therefore that proper measures be taken to ascertain the damages aforesaid, which have been done to the citizens and inhabitants of Pennsylvania, in the course of the present war within this state: 'Be it enacted by the house of representatives of the freemen of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met, and by the authority of the same, that in every county of this state, which have been invaded by the armies, soldiers, or adherents of the king of Great Britain, the commissioners of every such county shall immediately meet together, each within their county, and issue directions to the assessors of the respective townships, districts, and places within such county, to call upon the inhabitants of every township and place, to furnish accounts and estimates of the damages, waste, spoil, and destruction, which hath been done and committed as aforesaid, upon the property, real or personal, within the same township or place, since the first day of —— which was in the year of our Lord 177—, and the same accounts and estimates, to transmit to the commissioners without delay. And if any person or persons, shall refuse or neglect to make out such accounts and estimates, the said assessors of the township or place, shall, from their own knowledge, and by any other reasonable and lawful method, take and render such an account and estimate of all damages done, or committed, as aforesaid: Provided always, that all such accounts and estimates to be made out, and transmitted as aforesaid, shall contain a narrative of the time and circumstances; and if in the power of the person aggrieved, the names of the general, or other officers, or adherents, of the enemy by whom the damage in any case was done, or under whose orders the army, detachment, party, or persons, committing the same, acted at that time, and also the name and condition of the person, or persons, whose property was so damaged or destroyed, and that all such accounts and estimates be made in current money, upon oath or affirmation of the sufferer, or of others having knowledge concerning the same: and that in every case it be set forth, whether the party injured hath received any satisfaction for his loss, and by whom the same was given.

"And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the said commissioners, having obtained the said accounts and estimates from the assessor of the several townships and places, shall proceed to inspect and register the same in a book to be provided for that purpose, distinguishing the districts and townships, and entering those of each place together; and if any account and estimate be imperfect, or not sufficiently verified and established, the said commissioners shall have power, and they, or any two of them, are hereby authorized to summon and compel any person whose evidence they shall think necessary, to appear before them at a day and place appointed, to be summoned upon oath or affirmation, concerning any damage or injury as aforesaid; and the said commissioners shall, upon the call and demand of the president, or vice-president, of the supreme executive council, deliver, or send to the secretary of the said council, all or any of the original accounts and estimates aforesaid, and shall also deliver, or send to the said secretary, copies of the book aforesaid, or any part or parts thereof, upon reasonable notice. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all losses of negro or mulatto slaves, and servants, who have been deluded and carried away by the enemies of the United States, and who have not been recovered or recompensed, shall be comprehended within the accounts and estimates aforesaid: and that the commissioners and assessors of any county which had not been invaded as aforesaid, shall nevertheless inquire after, and procure accounts and estimates of any damages, suffered by the loss of such servants and slaves, as is herein before directed as to other property.

"And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the charges and expenses of executing this act, as to the pay of the said commissioners and assessors, shall be as in other cases; and that witnesses shall be rewarded for their loss of time and trouble, as witnesses summoned to appear in the courts of quarter-sessions of the peace; and the said charges and expenses shall be defrayed by the commonwealth; but paid, in the first instance, out of the hands of the treasurer of the county, for county rates, and levies upon orders drawn by the commissioners of the proper county."

"We have not yet had time to hear what has been done by the other assemblies; but I have no doubt that similar acts will be made use of by all of them, and that the mass of evidence produced by the execution of those acts, not only of the enormities committed by those people, under the direction of British generals, but of those committed by the British troops themselves, will form a record that must render the British name odious in America to the latest generations. In that authentic record will be found the burning of the fine towns of Charleston, near Boston; of Falmouth, just before winter, when the sick, the aged, the women and children, were driven to seek shelter where they could hardly find it; of Norfolk, in the midst of winter; of New London, of Fairfield, of Esopus, &c.; besides near a hundred and fifty miles of well settled country laid waste; every house and barn burnt, and many hundreds of farmers, with their wives and children, butchered and scalped.

"The present British ministers, when they reflect a little, will certainly be too equitable to suppose, that their nation has a right to make an unjust war, (which they have always allowed this against us to be), and to do all sorts of unnecessary mischiefs, unjustifiable by the practice of any individual people, which those they make war with are to suffer without claiming any satisfaction; but that if Britons, or their adherents, are in return, deprived of any property, it is to be restored to them, or they are to be indemnified. The British troops can never excuse their barbarities. They were unprovoked. The loyalists may say, in excuse of theirs, that they were exasperated by the loss of their estates, and it was revenge. They have then had their revenge. *Is it right they should have both!*

"Some of those people may have merit in their regard for Britain, and who espoused her cause from affection; these it may become you to reward. But there are many of them who were waverers, and were only determined to engage in it by some occasional circumstance or appearances; these have not much of either merit or demerit; and there are others who have abundance of demerit respecting your country, having, by their falsehoods and misrepresentations, brought on and encouraged the continuance of the war; these, instead of being recompensed, should be punished.

"It is usual, among Christian people at war, to profess always a desire of peace; but if the ministers of one of the parties, choose to insist particularly on a certain article which they have known, the others are not and cannot be impowered to agree to, what credit can they expect should be given to such professions?

"Your ministers require, that we should receive again into our bosom, those who have been our bitterest enemies, and restore their properties who have destroyed ours, and this while the wounds they have given us are still bleeding! It is many years since your nation expelled the Stuarts and their adherents, and confiscated their estates. Much of your resentment against them may by this time be abated; yet if we should propose it, and insist on it as an article of our treaty with you, that that family should be recalled, and the forfeited estates of its friends restored, would you think us serious in our professions of earnestly desiring peace?

"I must repeat my opinion, that it is best for you to drop all mention of the refugees. We have proposed indeed nothing but what we think best for you as well as ourselves. But if you will have them mentioned, let it be in an article which you may provide; that they shall exhibit accounts of their losses to commissioners, hereafter to be appointed, who should examine the same, together with the accounts now preparing in America, of the damages done by them, and state the account, and that if a balance appears in their favour, it shall be paid by us to you, and by you divided among them, as you shall think proper. And if the balance is found due to us, it shall be paid by you.

"Give me leave, however, to advise you to prevent the necessity of so dreadful a discussion, by dropping the article, that we may write to America and stop the inquiry.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Article proposed by the American Plenipotentiaries.

"It is agreed that his Britannic Majesty will earnestly recommend it to his parliament to provide for, and make compensation to the merchants and shopkeepers of Boston, whose goods and merchandize were seized and taken out of their stores, warehouses, and shops, by order of general Gage and others of his commanders or officers there, and also to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, for the goods taken away by his army there, and to make compensation also for the tobacco, rice, indigo, negroes, &c. seized and carried off by his armies under generals Arnold, Cornwallis, and others, from the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia; and also for all vessels and cargoes belonging to the inhabitants of the said United States, which were stopped, seized, or taken either in the ports or on the seas, by his governors or by his ships of war, before the declaration of war against the said States.

"And it is further agreed, that his Britannic Majesty will also earnestly recommend it to his parliament, to make compensation for all the towns, villages, and farms, burnt and destroyed by his troops, or adherents, in the said United States.

Facts stated by Dr. Franklin, respecting the demands of British merchants against American planters, &c.

"There existed a free commerce upon mutual faith, between Great Britain and America. The merchants of the former credited the merchants and planters of the latter, with great quantities of goods, on the common expectation that the merchants having sold the goods, would make the accustomed remittances, that the planters would do the same by the labour of their negroes, and the produce of that labour, tobacco, rice, indigo, &c.

"England, before the goods were sold in America, sends an armed force, seizes those goods in the stores, some even in the ships that brought them, and carries them off; seizes also, and carries off the tobacco, rice, and indigo, divided by the planters to make returns, and even the negroes from whose labour they might hope to raise other produce for that purpose.

"Britain now demands that the debts shall nevertheless be paid.

"Will she, can she, justly refuse making compensation for such seizures?

"If a draper who had sold a piece of linen to a neighbour on credit, should follow him, take the linen from him by force, and then send a bailiff to arrest him for the debt, would any court of law or equity award the payment of the debt, without ordering a restitution of the cloth?

"Will not the debtors in America cry out, that if this compensation be not made, they were betrayed by the pretended credit, and are now doubly ruined: 1st. by the enemy, and then by the negotiators at Paris; the goods and negroes sold them, being taken from them with all they had besides, and they are now to be obliged to pay for what they have been robbed of."

B. Vaughan to Dr. Franklin.

"Paris, Nov 27, 1782.

"My dearest Sir,—I am so agitated with the present crisis, that I cannot help writing to you, to beseech you again and again to mediate upon some mild expedient about the refugees, or to give a favourable ear, and helping hand to such as may turn up.

"Both sides agree, that the matter of expense is nothing; and the matter of honour in my opinion is least to *that* side, which has most sense and most justice on its side. It seems to me, that the matter of present *peace*, and *future happiness*, are the only points of true concern to either.

"If I can judge of favourable moments, the present is of all others most favourable to our views of *reconciliation*. We have liberal American commissioners at Paris, a liberal English commissioner, and a liberal first minister for England. All these circumstances may vanish to-morrow, if this treaty blows over.

"If you wanted to break off your treaty, I am perfectly sensible that you could not do it on grounds in which America would more join with you, than this of the refugees. On the other hand, if *England* wanted to break, she could not wish for better ground on *her* side. You do not break; and therefore I conclude you *both* sincere. But in this way, I see the treaty is likely of *itself* to break. I pray then, my dearest, dearest sir, that you would a little take this matter to heart.

"If the refugees are not silenced, you must be sensible what constant prompters to evil measures you leave us, what perpetual sources of bad information. If the minister is able, on the other hand, to hold up his head on this one point, you must see how much easier it will be for you both to carry on the great work of re-union, as far as relates to prince and people. We are not well informed about the deeds of the refugees in England; and we can only now be well informed by publications, that would do irreparable mischief.

"Besides, you are the most magnanimous nation; and can excuse things to your people, which *we* can less excuse to *ours*. Not to mention, that when congress sent you their last resolutions, she was not aware that you would be so near a settlement as you are at present. To judge which is the hardest task, yours, or England's, put yourself in lord Shelburne's place. The only marks of confidence shown him at Paris, are such as he *dares not name;* and the only marks promised him, are *future* national ones. England has given much ground of confidence to America. In my opinion, England will do HER business in the way of RECONCILIATION, very much in proportion as you do your business generously at the present peace. England is to be won, as well as America is to be won; and I beg you would think with yourself and your colleagues about the means. Excuse this freedom, my dearest sir; it is the result of a very warm heart, that thinks a little property *nothing*, to much happiness. I do not, however, ask you to do a dishonourable thing; but simply to save England; and to give our English ministry the means of saying, on the 5th of December, we have done *more* than the last ministry have done. I hope you will not think this zeal persecution; for I shall not mention this subject to you again, of my own accord.

"I know you have justice on your side; I know you may talk of precedents; but there is such a thing as forgiveness, as generosity, and as a manly policy, that can share a small *loss*, rather than miss a greater *good*.

"B. VAUGHAN."

"*To the Count de Vergennes.*

"PASSY, Nov. 29, 1782.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint your excellency, that the commissioners of the United States have agreed with Mr. Oswald on the preliminary articles of the peace between those states and Great Britain. To-morrow I hope we shall be able to communicate to your excellency a copy of them.

"With great respect, I have the honour to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Provisional articles with Great Britain.

"ARTICLES agreed upon by and between Richard Oswald, Esq. the commissioner of his Britannic majesty, for treating of peace with the commissioners of the United States of America, in behalf of his said majesty, on the one part, and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, four of the commissioners for the said states, for treating of peace with the commissioners of his said majesty, on their behalf, on the other part; to be inserted in, and to constitute the treaty of peace, proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the said United States; but which treaty is not to be concluded, until terms of a peace shall be agreed upon between Great Britain and France, and his Britannic majesty shall be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly.

"Whereas reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience are found by experience to form the only permanent foundation of peace and friendship between states; it is agreed to form the articles of the proposed treaty on such principles of liberal equity and reciprocity, as that partial advantages (those seeds of discord) being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries may be established, as to promise and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony.

Article 1. His Britannic majesty acknowledges the said United States, to wit, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent states: that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, property, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof; and that all disputes which might arise in future, on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States, may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz.

Article 2. From the north west angle of Nova Scotia, to wit, that angle which is found by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river, to the high lands, along the said high lands, which divide these rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Laurence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to 45° of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquoise or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of said river into lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake, to the water communication between that lake and lake Superior; thence through lake Superior, northward of the isles Royal and Phillipeaux to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most north western point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of 31° of north latitude.

" *South* by a line to be drawn due east from the termination of the line last mentioned, in the latitude of 31° north of the equator, to the middle of the river Appalachicola, or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river to the Atlantic ocean.

" *East* by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth on the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid high lands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean, from those which fall into the river St. Laurence; comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and east Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean; excepting such islands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.

" *Article* 3. It is agreed, that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; also in the gulph of St. Laurence, and at all other places on the sea where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish; and also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland, as British fishermen shall use; (but not to dry and cure the same on that island;) and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks, of all others of his Britannic majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to cure and dry fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalene islands, and Labradore, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but as soon as the same, or either of them, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish on such settlement, without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

" *Article* 4. It is agreed, that creditors on either side shall meet with no unlawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money, of all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted.

" *Article* 5. It is agreed, that the congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated belonging to real British subjects; and also of the estates, rights, and properties, of persons resident in districts in the possession of his majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States; and that persons of any other description, shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months, unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiscated; and that congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states, a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should universally prevail; and that congress should also earnestly recommend to the several states, that the estates, rights, and properties, of such last mentioned persons, shall be restored to them, they refunding to any persons, who may be now in possession, the *bona fide* price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties, since the confiscation.

" And it is agreed, that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

" *Article* 6. That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any persons, for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall on that account, suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty, or property; and that those who may be now in confinement on such charges, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

"*Article* 7. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majesty and the said States, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other; wherefore all hostilities, both by sea and by land, shall then immediately cease; all prisoners, on both sides, shall be set at liberty; and his Britannic majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction or carrying away negroes, or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets, from the said United States, and from every port, place, and harbour within the same, leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein; and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers, belonging to any of the said states, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

"*Article* 8. The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and citizens of the United States.

"*Article* 9. In case it should so happen that any place, or territory, belonging to Great Britain, or to the United States, should be conquered by the arms of either, from the other, before the arrival of these articles in America, it is agreed, that the same shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

"*Done at Paris, November* 30, 1782.
"Signed, RICHARD OSWALD, (L. S.)
JOHN ADAMS, (L. S.)
BENJ. FRANKLIN, (L. S.)
JOHN JAY, (L. S.)
HENRY LAURENS, (L. S.)
"Witness, CALEB WHITEFORD,
"*Secretary to the British Commission.*
"Signed, W. T. FRANKLIN,
"*Secretary to the American Commission.*"

Separate Article.

"It is hereby understood and agreed, that in case Great Britain, at the conclusion of the present war, shall recover, or be put in possession of West Florida, the line of the north boundary between the said province and the United States, shall be a line drawn from the mouth of the river Yassous, where it unites with the Mississippi, due east to the river Appalachicola.

"*Done at Paris, November* 30, 1782.
"Signed, RICHARD OSWALD, (L. S.
JOHN ADAMS, (L. S.)
BENJ. FRANKLIN, (L. S.)
JOHN JAY, (L. S.)
HENRY LAURENS, (L. S.)
"Signed, Attest, CALEB WHITEFORD,
"*Secretary to the British Commission.*
"Attest, W. T. FRANKLIN,
"*Secretary to the American Commission*"

"*R. R. Livingston.*

"Passy, December 4, 1781.

"Sir,—We detain the Washington a little longer, expecting an English passport for her in a few days, and as possibly some vessel bound for North America may sail before her, I write this line to inform you, that the French preliminaries with England are not yet signed, though we hope they may be very soon. Of ours I enclose a copy. The Dutch and Spain have yet made but little progress, and as no definitive treaty will be signed, till all are agreed, there may be time for congress to give us farther instructions if they think proper. We hope the terms we have obtained will be satisfactory, though, to secure our main points, we may have yielded too much in favour of the royalists. The quantity of aid to be afforded us remains undecided. I suppose something depends on the event of the treaty; by the Washington you will be fully informed of every thing.

"B. FRANKLIN."

To the same.

"Passy, December 5, 1782.

"Sir,—I am honoured by your several letters, No. 16, 17, 18, and 19, dated September 5th, 13th, 15th, and 18th. I believe the complaints that you make in them, of my not writing, may, ere now, have appeared less necessary, as many of my letters, written before those complaints, must have since come to hand. I will nevertheless mention some of the difficulties your ministers meet with, in keeping up a regular and punctual correspondence. We are far from the sea ports, and not well informed, and often misinformed about the sailing of vessels. Frequently we are told, they are to sail in a week or two, and often they lie in the ports for months after, with our letters on board, either waiting for convoy, or for other reasons. The post office here is an unsafe conveyance, many of the letters we received by it have evidently been opened, and doubtless the same happens to those we send; and at this time particularly, there is so violent a curiosity in all kinds of people, to know something relating to the negotiations, and whether peace may be expected, or a continuance of the war; that there are few private hands, or travellers, that we can trust with carrying our despatches to the sea coast; and I imagine that they may sometimes be opened and destroyed, because they cannot be well sealed; again, the observation you make, that the congress ministers in Europe seem to form themselves into a privy council, transacting affairs without the privity or concurrence of the sovereign, may be in some respects just; but it should be considered, that if they do not write as frequently as other ministers here do to their respective courts; or if, when they write, their letters are not regularly received, the greater distance of the seat of war, and the extreme irregularity of conveyances may be the causes, and not a desire of acting without the knowledge or orders of their constituents. There is no European court to which an express cannot be sent from Paris in ten or fifteen days, and from most of them answers may be obtained in that time. There is, I imagine, no minister who would not think it safer to act by orders, than from his own discretion; and yet, unless you leave more to the discretion of your ministers in Europe than courts usually do, your affairs may sometimes suffer extremely from the distance which, in the time of war especially, may make it five or six months before the answer to a letter shall be received. I suppose the minister from this court will acquaint congress with the king's sentiments, respecting their very handsome present of a ship of the line. People in general here are much pleased with it.

"I communicated, together with my memoir demanding a supply of money, copies of every paragraph in your late letters, which express so strongly the necessity of it. I have been constant in my solicitations both directly, and through the marquis de la Fayette, who has employed himself diligently and warmly in the business; the negotiations for peace are, I imagine, one cause of the great delay and indecision on this occasion beyond what has been usual, as the quantum may be different if those negotiations do or do not succeed. We have not yet learnt what we may expect. We have been told that we shall be aided, but it cannot be to the extent demanded; six millions have been mentioned, but not as a sum fixed. The minister tells me still that he is working upon the subject, but cannot yet give a determinative answer. I know his good will to do the best for us that is possible. It is in vain for me to repeat again what I have so often written, and what I find taken so little notice of, that there are bounds to every thing, and that the faculties of this nation are limited like those of all other nations. Some of you seem to have established as maxims the suppositions that France has money enough for all her occasions, and all ours besides; and that if she does not supply us, it is owing to her want of will, or to my negligence. As to the first, I am sure it is not true, and to the second, I can only say I should rejoice as much as any man in being able to obtain more; and I shall also rejoice in the greater success of those who may take my place. You desire to be very particularly acquainted witth 'every step which tends to a negotiation.' I am therefore encouraged to send you the first part of the journal, which accidents and a long severe illness interrupted; but which, from notes I have by me, may be continued if thought proper. In its present state, it is hardly fit for the inspection of congress, certainly not for public view. I confide it therefore to your prudence.

"The arrival of Mr. Jay, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Laurens, has relieved me from much anxiety, which must have continued, if I had been left to finish the treaty alone; and it has given me the more satisfaction, as I am sure the business has profited by their assistance.

"Much of the summer has been taken up in objecting against the powers given to Great Britain, and in removing those objections, in using any expressions that might imply an acknowledgment of our independence, seemed at first industriously to be avowed. But our refusing otherwise to treat, at length induced them to get over that difficulty, and then we came to the point of making propositions. Those made by Mr. Jay and me before the arrival of the other gentlemen, you will find in the paper No. 1, which was sent by the the British plenipotentiary to London for the king's consideration. After some weeks, an under secretary, Mr. Strachey, arrived; with whom we had much contestation about the boundaries and other articles which he proposed we settled; some which he carried to London, and returned with the propositions; some adopted, others omitted or altered, and new ones added, which you will see in paper* No. 2. We spent many days in disputing, and at length agreed on and signed the preliminaries, which you will see by this conveyance. The British minister struggled hard for two points, that the favours granted to the royalists should be extended, and all our fishery contracted. We silenced them on the first, by threatening to produce an account of the mischief done by those people, and as to the second, when they told us they could not possibly agree to it as we requested it, and must refer it to the ministry in London, we produced a new article to be referred at the same time, with a note of facts in support of it, which you have, No. 3. Apparently it seemed that to avoid the discussion of this, they suddenly changed their minds, dropt the design of recurring to London, and agreed to allow the fishery as demanded.

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* This paper does not appear.

"You will find in the preliminaries, some inaccurate and ambiguous expressions that want explanation, and which may be explained in the definitive treaty, and as the British ministry excluded our proposition relating to commerce, and the American prohibition of that with England, may not be understood to cease merely by our concluding a treaty of peace. Perhaps we may then, if the congress shall think fit to direct it, obtain some compensation for the injuries done us as a condition of our opening again the trade. Every one of the present British ministry has, while in the ministry, declared the war against us unjust, and nothing is clearer in reason, than that those who injure others by an unjust war, should make full reparation. They have stipulated too, in these preliminaries, that in evacuating our towns, they shall carry off no plunder, which is a kind of acknowledgment that they ought not to have done it before.

"The reason given us for dropping the article relating to commerce, was, that some statutes were in the way, which must be repealed before a treaty of that could be well formed, and that this was a matter to be considered in parliament.

"They wanted to bring their boundary down to the Ohio, and to settle their loyalists in the Illinois country. We did not choose such neighbours.

"We communicated all the articles as soon as they were signed, to M. le Compte de Vergennes, (except the separate one) who thinks we have managed well, and told me that we had settled what was most apprehended as a difficulty in the work of a general peace, by obtaining the declaration of our independency.

"December 14. I have this day learnt that the principal preliminaries between France and England are agreed on, to wit:

"1st. France is to enjoy the right of fishing, and drying on all the west coast of Newfoundland, down to Cape Ray. Miquelon and St. Pierre to be restored, and may be fortified.

"2nd. Senegal remains to France, and Goree to be restored. The Gambier entirely to England.

"3d. All the places taken from France in the East Indies, to be restored, with a certain quantity of territory round them.

"4th. In the West Indies, Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Christophers, Nevis and Montserat, to be restored to England. St. Lucia to France. Dominique to remain with France, and St. Vincents to be neutralized.

"5th. No commissioner at Dunkirk.

"The points not yet quite settled, are the territory round the places in the Indies, and neutralization of St. Vincents. Apparently these will not create much difficulty.

"Holland has yet hardly done any thing in her negotiation.

"Spain offers for Gibraltar to restore West Florida and the Bahamas. An addition is talked of the island of Guadaloupe, which France will cede to Spain in exchange for the other half of Hispaniola and Spain to England, but England it is said, chose rather Porto Rico. Nothing yet concluded.

"As soon as I received the commission and instructions for treating with Sweden, I waited on the ambassador here, who told me he daily expected a courier on that subject. Yesterday he wrote a note to acquaint me that he would call on me to-day, having something to communicate to me. Being obliged to go to Paris, I waited on him, when he showed me the full powers he had just received, and I showed him mine. We agreed to meet on Wednesday next, exchange copies, and proceed to business. His commission has some polite expressions in it, to wit: 'that his majesty thought it for the good of his subjects to enter into a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States of America, who had established their independence so justly merited by their courage and constancy;' or to that effect. I imagine this treaty will be soon completed; if any difficulty should arise, I shall take the advice of my colleagues.

"I thank you for the copies of Mr. Paine's letter to the Abbé Raynal, which I have distributed into good hands. The errors we see in histories of our times and affairs weaken our faith in ancient history. M. Hilliard D'Auberteuil has here written another history of our revolution, which however, he modestly calls *an essay*, and fearing that there may be errors, and wishing to have them corrected, that his second edition may be more perfect, he has brought me six sets, which he desires me to put into such hands in America, as may be good enough to render him and the public that service. I send them to you for that purpose, by captain Barney, desiring that one set may be given to Mr. Paine, and the rest where you please. There is a quarto set in the parcel, which please to accept from me.

"I have never learnt whether the box of books I sent to you, and the press to Mr. Thompson, were put on board the Eagle or one of the transports. If the former, perhaps you might easily purchase them at New York; if the latter, you may still receive them among the goods for congress, now shipping by Mr. Barclay. If they are quite lost let me know it, that I may replace them.

"I have received several letters from your office with bills to pay ministers' salaries. Nothing has yet been done with those bills, but I have paid Mr. Laurens 20,000 livres.

"I have this day signed a common letter to you drawn up by my colleagues, which you will receive herewith. We have kept this vessel longer for two things, a passport promised us from England, and a sum to send in her; but she is likely to depart without both, being all of us impatient that congress should receive early intelligence of our proceedings, and for the money, we may probably borrow a frigate.

"I am now entering on my 78th year; public business has engrossed fifty of them; I wish now to be, for the little time I have left, my own master. If I live to see this peace concluded, I shall beg leave to remind the congress of their promise then to dismiss me. I shall be happy to sing with old Simeon, *Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.*

"B. FRANKLIN."

No. I.

"**Articles** agreed upon by and between Richard Oswald, Esq., the commissioner of his Britannic majesty, for treating of peace with the commissioners of the United States of America, on the behalf of his said majesty on the one part, and Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, of the commissioners of the said states, for treating of peace with the commissioner of his said majesty on their behalf, on the other part.

"To be inserted in, and to constitute the treaty of peace, proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the said United States: but which treaty is not to be concluded, until his Britannic majesty shall have agreed to the terms of peace between France and Britain, proposed or accepted by his most Christian majesty; and shall be ready to conclude with him such treaty accordingly. It being the duty and intention of the United States not to desert their ally, but faithfully, and in all things, to abide by, and fulfil their engagements with his most Christian majesty.

"Whereas reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience are found by experience, to form the only permanent foundation of peace and friendship between states, it is agreed to frame the articles of the proposed treaty, on such principles of liberal equality and reciprocity, as that partial advantages (those seeds of discord) being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries may be established, as to promise and secure to both the blessings of perpetual peace and harmony. 1st, His Britannic majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent states; that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof: and that all disputes which might arise in future, on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are, and shall remain to be their boundaries, viz.

"The said states are bounded *north*, by a line to be drawn from the north west angle of Nova Scotia, along the high lands, which divide those rivers which empty themselves into the river St. Laurence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the northermost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, and thence due west in the latitude forty-five degrees north from the equator, to the north westernmost side of the river St. Laurence, or Cadaraqui; thence straight to the south end of the lake *Nipissing*, and thence straight to the source of the river Mississippi, *west* by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to where the said line shall intersect the thirty-first degree of north latitude; south by a line to be drawn due east from the termination of the line last mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator to the middle of the river Appalachicola or Catahouchi; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river; thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river to the Atlantic ocean; and east by a line to be drawn along the middle of St. John's river, from its source to its mouth in the Bay of Fundy; comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries, between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean.

"2d. From and immediately after the conclusion of the proposed treaty, there shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majesty and the United States, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other: wherefore all hostilities, both by sea and land, shall then immediately cease; all prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty: and his Britannic majesty shall forthwith, and without causing any distinction, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets, from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbour within the same, leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein: and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers, belonging to either of the said states, or their citizens, which, in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored, and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

"3d. That the subjects of his Britannic majesty, and people of the said United States, shall continue to enjoy unmolested, the right to take fish of every kind on the banks of Newfoundland, and other places where the inhabitants of both countries used formerly, *to wit*, before the last war, between France and Britain, to fish, and also to dry and cure the same at the accustomed places, whether belonging to his said majesty or to the United States; and his Britannic majesty, and the said United States will extend equal privileges and hospitality to each others fishermen as to their own.

"4th. That the navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open, and that both there, and in all rivers, harbours, lakes, ports, and places, belonging to his Britannic majesty, or to the United States, or in any part of the world, the merchants and merchant ships, of the one and the other shall be received, treated, and protected, like the merchants and merchant ships of the sovereign of the country: That is to say, the British merchants, and merchant ships, on the one hand, shall enjoy in the United States, and in all places belonging to them, the said protection and commercial privileges, and be liable only to the same charges and duties as their own merchants and merchant ships; and on the other hand the merchants and merchant ships of the United States, shall enjoy in all places belonging to his Britannic majesty, the same protection and commercial privileges, and be liable only to the same charges and duties of British merchants and merchant ships, saving always to the chartered trading companies of Great Britain, such exclusive use and trade, and their respective posts and establishments, as neither the subjects of Great Britain, nor any of the more favoured nations participate in.

"Paris, 8th October, 1782. A true copy of which has been agreed on between the American commissioners and me, to be submitted to his majesty's consideration.

"RICHARD OSWALD."

Alteration to be made in the Treaty, respecting the boundaries of Nova Scotia, viz.

"East the true line between which and the United States shall be settled by commissioners, as soon as conveniently may be after the war."

Passport given to the ship Washington, to carry over the Preliminary Articles.

(L. S.) George R.

"George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all admirals, vice-admirals, captains, commanders of our ships of war or privateers, governors of our forts and castles, customhouse comptrollers, searchers, &c., to all and singular our officers, and military and loving subjects whom it may concern, greeting: Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby strictly charge and require you, as we do likewise pray and desire the officers and ministers of all princes and states, in amity with us, to permit and suffer the vessel called the Washington, commanded by Mr. —— Barney,* belonging to the United States of North America, to sail from either of the ports of France, to any port or place in North America, without any lett, hindrance, or molestation whatsoever, but on the contrary, affording the said vessel all such aid and assistance as may be necessary.

"Given at our court at St. James's, the tenth day of December, 1782, in the twenty-third year of our reign, by his majesty's command. (Signed) T. TOWNSHEND."

"*R. R. Livingston, Secretary for Foreign Affairs.*

"Passy, Dec 14, 1782.

"Sir,—We have the honour to congratulate congress on the signature of the preliminaries of a peace between the crown of Great Britain and the United States of America, to be inserted in a definitive treaty so soon as the terms between the crowns of France and Great Britain shall be agreed on. A copy of the articles is here enclosed, and we cannot but flatter ourselves that they will appear to congress as they do to all of us, to be consistent with the honour and interest of the United States; and we are persuaded congress would be more fully of that opinion if they were apprized of all the circumstances and reasons which have influenced the negotiation. Although it is impossible for us to go into that detail, we think it necessary nevertheless to make a few remarks on such of the articles as appear most to require elucidation.

Remarks on Article 2, relative to the Boundaries.

"The Court of Great Britain insisted on retaining all the territories comprehended within the province of Quebec, by the act of parliament respecting it. They contended that Nova Scotia should extend to the river Kennebeck; and they claimed not only all the lands in the western country, and on the Mississippi, which were not expressly included in our charters and governments, but also all such lands within them as remained ungranted by the King of Great Britain: it would be endless to enumerate all the discussions and arguments on the subject. We knew this court and Spain to be against our claims to the western country, and having no reason to think that lines more favourable could ever have been obtained, we finally agreed to those described in this article. Indeed they appear to leave us little to complain of, and not much to desire. Congress will observe, that although our northern line is in a certain part below the latitude of forty five, yet in others it extends above it, divides the Lake Superior, and gives us access to its western and southern waters, from which a line in that latitude would have excluded us."

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* Joshua Barney, distinguished at Bladensburg, during the war of 1814.

Remarks on Article 4, *respecting Creditors.*

"We had been informed that some of the States had confiscated British debts; but although each State has a right to bind its own citizens, yet in our opinion it appertains solely to congress, in whom exclusively are vested the right of making war and peace, to pass acts against the subjects of a power with which the confederacy may be at war. It therefore only remained for us to consider, whether this article is founded in justice and good policy.

"In our opinion no acts of government could dissolve the obligations of good faith, resulting from lawful contracts between individuals of the two countries, prior to the war. We knew that some of the British creditors were making common cause with the refugees, and other adversaries of our independence; besides, sacrificing private justice to reasons of state and political convenience, is always an odious measure, and the purity of our reputation in this respect in all foreign commercial countries is of infinitely more importance to us, than all the sums in question. It may also be remarked, that American and British creditors are placed on an equal footing.

Remarks on Articles 5 *and* 6 *respecting Refugees.*

"These articles were among the first discussed, and the last agreed to. And had not the conclusion of their business, at the time of its date, been particularly important to the British administration, the respect which both in London and Versailles, is supposed to be due to the honour, dignity, and interests of royalty, would probably have for ever prevented our bringing this article so near to the views of congress, and the sovereign rights of the states as it now stands. When it is considered, that it was utterly impossible to render this article perfectly consistent both with American and British ideas of honour, we presume that the middle line adopted by this article, is as little unfavourable to the former, as any that could in reason be expected.

"As to the separate article, we beg leave to observe, that it was our policy to render the navigation of the river Mississippi, so important to Britain, as that their views might correspond with ours on that subject. Their possessing the country on the river, north of the line from the lake of the woods, affords a foundation for their claiming such navigation. And as the importance of West Florida to Britain was for the same reason rather to be strengthened than otherwise, we think it advisable to allow them the extent contained in the separate article, especially as before the war it had been annexed by Britian to West Florida, and would operate as an additional inducement to their joining with us in agreeing that the navigation of the river should for ever remain open to both. The map used in the course of our negotiations was Mitchell's.

"As we had reason to imagine that the articles respecting the boundaries, the refugees, and fisheries, did not correspond with the policy of this court, we did not communicate the preliminaries to the minister, until after they were signed; and not even then the separate article. We hope that these considerations will excuse our having so far deviated from the spirit of our instructions. The Count de Vergennes on perusing the articles, appeared surprised, but not displeased, at their being so favourable to us.

"We beg leave to add our advice, that copies be sent us of the accounts directed to be taken by the different states of the unnecessary devastations and sufferings sustained by them from the enemy in the course of the war; should they arrive before the signature of the definitive treaty, they might possibly answer very good purposes. With great respect, we have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servants,

"Signed, JOHN ADAMS,
B. FRANKLIN,
JOHN JAY,
HENRY LAURENS."

Explanatory Note.

"DR. FRANKLIN thus adroitly endeavoured to soothe the minister's justifiable discontent; but the *private* motives which induced the American plenipotentiaries to deviate from their instructions, and from the expectations of the French government, by signing Preliminary Articles of Peace with the British commissioner, while the negotiation between France and Great Britain was undetermined, and without the knowledge of Count de Vergennes; were an apprehension of a disposition in the Court of France to abridge the right of the Americans to fish on their own coast; excited by a letter written from Philadelphia to Count de Vergennes, by Mons. Marbois, (secretary of the French embassy), and which being intercepted and decyphered by the British government, had been sent by the latter, through Mr. Oswald, to the American commissioners. Also the apprehension of a design in the court of Spain to oppose the United States from forming settlements to the westward of the Alleghany mountains; excited by the pretensions which Count d'Aranda, the Spanish ambassador, had advanced in his negotiation with Mr. Jay.

"The following is a translation of the decyphered letter of M. De Marbois."

Translation of an intercepted and decyphered letter from M. de Marbois to M. le Compte de Vergennes.

"Philadelphia, March 13, 1782.

"Sir,—South Carolina again enjoys the benefit of a legislative body, after having been deprived of it for two years; it was summoned together towards the end of last year, and met in January at Jacksonburgh, only ten leagues distant from Charlestown; where deliberations are carried on with as much tranquillity as if the state was in profound peace. Mr. Rutledge, who was then governor, opened the meeting with a speech greatly applauded, wherein he represents in their full extent, the important services rendered by the king to the United States, expressing their just acknowledgments for the same. This sentiment prevails much, sir; the different states are eager to declare it, in their public acts, and the principle members of government, and the writers employed by them would forfeit their popularity were they to admit any equivocal remarks respecting the alliance. General Green affirms, that in no one state is attachment to independence carried to a higher pitch, but that this affection is yet exceeded by the hatred borne to England. The assembly of Carolina is going to make levies of men, and has imposed pretty large sums; as there is but little money in the country, the taxes will be gathered in indigo; and what deficiency may then be found, will be supplied by the sale of lands of such Carolinians as joined the enemy while they were in possession of the country. South Carolina was the only state that had not confiscated the property of the disaffected. The step just taken puts her on a footing with the other states of the Union. The assembly of this state has passed a resolution, in consequence of which a purchase of land is to be made of the value of 240,000 livres tournois, which Carolina makes a present of to general Green, as the saviour of that province.

"Mr. Matthews, a delegate from congress, lately arrived in Carolina, has, it is said, been chosen governor in the room of Mr. Rutledge: he has communicated to persons of the most influence in his state, the ultimatum of the month of ——— last, who approved of the clauses in general, and particularly that one which leaves the king master of the terms of the treaty of peace or truce, excepting independence, and treaties of alliance. A delegate from South Carolina told me that this ultimatum was equally well known by persons of note in his state, and this had given entire satisfaction there; it is the same with regard to several other states, and I believe I may assure you, upon the testimony of several delegates, that this measure is approved by a great majority; but Mr. Samuel Adams is using all his endeavours to raise in the state of Massachusetts a strong opposition to peace, if the eastern states are not thereby admitted to the fisheries, and particularly to that of Newfoundland. S. Adams delights in trouble and difficulty, and prides himself on forming an opposition against the government, whereof he is himself president. His aim and attention are to render the minority of consequence, and at this very moment he is attacking the constitution of Massachusetts, although it be in a great measure his own work; but he had disliked it since the people had shown their uniform attachment to it. It may be expected that, with this disposition, no measure can meet the approval of Mr. S. Adams, and if the United States should agree relative to the fisheries, and be certain of partaking therein, all his manœuvres and intrigues would be directed towards the conquest of Canada, and Nova Scotia; but he could not have used a fitter engine than the fisheries for stirring up the passions of the eastern people. By renewing this question, which had lain dormant during his two years' absence from Boston, he has raised the expectation of the people of Massachusetts to an extraordinary pitch. The public prints hold forth the importance of the fisheries; the reigning toast in the east is, *may the United States ever maintain their right to the fisheries*. It has been often repeated in the deliberation of the general court; *No peace without fisheries*. However clear this principle may be in this manner, it would be needless and even dangerous to attempt informing the people through the public papers, but it appears to me possible to use means for preventing the consequences of success to Mr. S. Adams and his party, and I take the liberty of submitting them to your discernment and indulgence; one of those means would be for the king to cause it to be intimated to congress or to the ministers, 'His surprise that the Newfoundland fisheries have been included in the additional instructions; that the United States set forth therein pretensions *without paying regard to the king's rights*, and without considering the impossibility they are under of making conquests, and keeping what belongs to Great Britain.' His majesty might at the same time cause a promise to be given to congress 'of his assistance for procuring admission to the other fisheries, declaring however, that he would not be answerable for the success, and that he is bound to nothing, as the treaty makes no mention of that article.' This declaration being made before the peace, the hopes of the people could not be supported, nor could it one day be said that we left them in the dark on this point. It were even to be wished that this declaration should be made whilst New York, Charlestown, and Penobscot are in the enemy's hands; our allies will be less tractable than ever upon these points whenever they recover these important posts. There are some judicious persons to whom one may speak of giving up the fisheries and the* ——— of the West for the sake of peace. But there are enthusiasts who fly out at this idea, and their numbers cannot fail increasing when, after the English are expelled this continent, the burden of the war will scarce be felt. It is already observable, that the advocates for peace are of those who lived in the country. The inhabitants of towns, whom commerce enriches, mechanics who receive there a higher pay than before war, and 5 or 6 times more than in Europe, do not wish for it: but it is a happy circumstance that this division be nearly equal in the congress and among the states, since our influence can incline the beam either for peace or war which ever way we choose. Another means of preserving to France so important a branch of her commerce and navigation is that proposed to you, sir, by M——, viz. the conquest of Cape Breton; it seems to me, as it does to that minister, the only sure means of containing within bounds, when peace is made, those swarms of smugglers who, without regard to treaties, will turn all their activity, daring spirit, and means towards the fisheries, whose undertakings congress will not perhaps have the power or the will to repress. If it be apprehended that the peace which is to put an end to the present war will prove disagreeable to any of the United States, there appears to me a certain method of guarding against the effects of this discontent, of preventing the declarations of some states, and other resources which turbulent minds might employ for availing themselves of the present juncture. This would be, for his majesty to cause a memorial to be delivered to congress, wherein should be stated the use made by his ministers of the powers entrusted to them by that assembly; and the impediments which may have stood in the way of a fuller satisfaction on every point. This step would certainly be pleasing to congress; and should it become necessary to inform the people of this memorial, it could easily be done; they would be flattered by it, and it might probably beget the voice and concurrence of the public. I submit these thoughts to you early, and although peace appears yet to be distant, sir, by reason of delays and difficulties attending the communications, that period will be a crisis when the partizans of France and England will openly appear, and when that power will employ every means to diminish our influence, and re-establish her own; it is true, the independent party will always stand in great want of our support; that the fears and jealousies which a remembrance of the former government will always produce, most operate as the safeguard to our alliance, and as a security for the attachment of the Americans to us. But it is best to be prepared for any discontent, although it should be but temporary. It is remarked by some, that as England has other fisheries besides *Newfoundland*, she may perhaps endeavour that the Americans should partake in that of the Great Bank, in order to conciliate their affection, or procure them some compensation, or create a subject of jealousy between them and us: but it does not seem likely that she will act so contrary to their true interest, and were she to do so, it will be for the better to have declared at an early period to the Americans, that their pretension is not founded, *and that his majesty does not mean to support it.*

"I here enclose, sir, translations of the speech made by the governor of South Carolina to the assembly, and of their answer. These interesting productions convey in a forcible manner the sentiments of the inhabitants of that state, and appeared to me worth communicating to you.—I am, &c.

"BARBE DE MARBOIS."

"*To the Count de Vergennes.*

"Passy, Dec. 15, 1782.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint your excellency, that our courier is to set out to-morrow at ten o'clock, with the despatches we send to congress, by the Washington, captain Barney, for which ship we have got a passport from the king of England. If you would make any use of this conveyance, the courier shall wait upon you to-morrow at Versailles, and receive your orders.

"I hoped I might have been able to send part of the aids we have asked, by this safe vessel. I beg that your excellency would at least inform me, what expectations I may give in my letters. I fear the congress will be reduced to despair, when they find that nothing is yet obtained.—With the greatest and most sincere respect, I am, sir, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

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* Supposed settlements, or lands.

"B. FRANKLIN."

The answer.

"VERSAILLES, Dec. 15, 1782.

"I CANNOT but be surprised, sir, that after the explanation I have had with you, and the promise you gave, that you would not press the application for an English passport for the sailing of the packet Washington, that you now inform me, you have received the passport; and that at ten o'clock to-morrow morning your courier will set out to carry your despatches. I am at a loss, sir, to explain your conduct, and that of your colleagues, on this occasion. You have concluded your preliminary articles without any communication between us, although the instructions from congress prescribes, that nothing shall be done without the participation of the king. You are about to hold out a certain hope of peace to America, without even informing yourself on the state of the negotiation on our part——You are wise and discreet, sir; you perfectly understand what is due to propriety; you have all your life performed your duties. I pray you to consider how you propose to fulfil those which are due to the king? I am not desirous of enlarging these reflections; I commit them to your own integrity. When you shall be pleased to relieve my uncertainty, I will entreat the king to enable me to answer your demands.—I have the honour to be, sir, with sincere regard, your very humble and obedient servant,

"DE VERGENNES."

The Count de Vergennes.

"PASSY, Dec. 17, 1782.

"SIR,—I received the letter your excellency did me the honour of writing to me on the 15th instant. The proposal of having a passport from England was agreed to by me the more willingly, as I at that time had hopes of obtaining some money to send in the Washington, and the passport would have made its transportation safer, with that of our despatches, and of yours also, if you had thought fit to make use of the occasion. Your excellency objected, as I understood it, that the English ministers by their letters sent in the same ship, might convey inconvenient expectations into America. It was therefore I proposed not to press for the passport till your preliminaries were also agreed to. They have sent the passport without being pressed to do it, and they have sent no letters to go under it, and ours will prevent the inconvenience apprehended. In a subsequent conversation, your excellency mentioned your intention of sending some of the king's cutters, whence I imagined that detaining the Washington was no longer necessary; and it was certainly incumbent on us to give congress as early an account as possible of our proceedings, who think it extremely strange to hear of them by other means without a line from us. I acquainted your excellency, however, with our intention of despatching that ship, supposing you might possibly have something to send by her.

"Nothing has been agreed in the preliminaries contrary to the interests of France; and no peace is to take place between us and England, till you have concluded yours. Your observation is, however, apparently just, that in not consulting you before they were signed, we have been guilty of neglecting a point of *bienseance.* But as this was not from want of respect for the king, whom we all love and honour, we hope it will be excused; and that the great work which has hitherto been so happily conducted, is so nearly brought to perfection, and is so glorious to his reign, will not be ruined by a single indiscretion of ours. And certainly the whole edifice sinks to the ground immediately, if you refuse on that account to give us any farther assistance.

"We have not yet despatched the ship, and I beg leave to wait upon you on Friday for your answer.

"It is not possible for any one to be more sensible than I am, of what I and every American owe to the king, for the many and great benefits and favours he has bestowed upon us. All my letters to America are proofs of this; all tending to make the same impressions on the minds of my countrymen, that I felt in my own. And I believe that no prince was ever more beloved and respected by his own subjects, than the king is by the people of the United States. *The English, I just now learn, flatter themselves they have already divided us.* I hope this little misunderstanding will therefore be kept a secret, and that they will find themselves totally mistaken.—With great and sincere respect, I am, sir, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Francis Hopkinson.*

"PASSY, Dec. 24, 1782.

"I THANK you for your ingenious paper in favour of the trees. I own I now wish we had two rows of them in every one of our streets. The comfortable shelter they would afford us when walking, from our burning summer suns, and the greater coolness of our walls and pavements, would, I conceive, in the improved health of the inhabitants, amply compensate the loss of a house now and then by fire, if such should be the consequence; but a tree is soon felled: and as axes are at hand in every neighbourhood, may be down before the engines arrive.

"You do well to avoid being concerned in the pieces of personal abuse, so scandalously common in our newspapers, that I am afraid to lend any of them here, till I have examined and laid aside such as would disgrace us: and subject us among strangers to a reflection like that used by a gentleman in a coffee-house to two quarrellers, who after a mutually free use of the words rogue, villain, rascal, scoundrel, &c. seemed as if they would refer their dispute to him: I know nothing of you, or your affairs, said he; I only perceive *that you know one another.*

"The conductor of a newspaper, should, methinks, consider himself as in some degree the guardian of his country's reputation, and refuse to insert such writings as may hurt it. If people will print their abuses of one another, let them do it in little pamphlets, and distribute them where they think proper. It is absurd to trouble all the world with them; and unjust to subscribers in distant places, to stuff their paper with matters so unprofitable and so disagreeable.—With sincere esteem and affection, I am, my dear friend, ever yours,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*R. R. Livingston.*

"PASSY, Dec. 24, 1782.

"SIR,—Sundry circumstances occurring since mine of the 5th and 14th, have hitherto retarded the departure of our despatches.—They will now go under the security of a British passport, be accompanied by a sum of money, and by some further intelligence from England, which shows the still unsettled state of minds there, and, together with the difficulties and small progress in the Dutch and Spanish negotiations, makes the speedy conclusion of peace still uncertain.

"The Swedish ambassador has exchanged full powers with me. I send a copy of his herewith. We have had some conferences on the proposed plan of our treaty, and he has despatched a courier for further instructions respecting some of the articles.

"The commissioners have joined in a letter to you, recommending the consideration of a proposal from Mr. Brigden, relating to a copper coin. With this you have a copy of that proposal, and a sample of the copper. If it should be accepted, I conceive the weight and value of the pieces (charge of coinage deducted) should be such that they may be aliquot parts of a Spanish dollar. By the copy enclosed, of an old letter of mine to Mr. Brigden, you will see the ideas I had of the additional utility such a coinage might be of in communicating instruction.

"*Dec.* 25. Enclosed is a copy of a letter just received from count de Vergennes, upon the present state of the negotiation with England. B. FRANKLIN."

JOURNAL OF NEGOTIATION

FOR PEACE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

"PASSY, May 9, 1782.

"As since the change of ministry in England, some serious professions have been made of their disposition to peace, and of their readiness to enter into a general treaty for that purpose; and as the concerns and claims of five nations are to be discussed in that treaty, which must, therefore, be interesting to the present age and to posterity, I am inclined to keep a Journal of the proceedings, as far as they come to my knowledge, and to make it more complete, will first endeavour to recollect what has already past.

"Great affairs sometimes take their rise from small circumstances. My good friend and neighbour, Madame Brillon, being at Nice all last winter for her health, with her very amiable family, wrote to me that she had met with some English gentry there, whose acquaintance proved agreeable; among them she named lord Cholmondely, who, she said, had promised to call on his return to England, and drink tea with us at Passy.

"He left Nice sooner than she supposed, and came to Paris long before her. On the 21st of March I received the following note:"

[RECEIVED MARCH 21, 1782.]

"Lord Cholmondely's compliments to Dr. Franklin; he sets out for London to-morrow evening, and should be glad to see him for five minutes before he went: lord Cholmondely will call on him at any time in the morning, he shall please to appoint.

"*Thursday evening, Hotel de Chartres.*"

I wrote for answer, that I should be at home all the next morning, and glad to see his lordship, if he did me the honour of calling upon me. He came accordingly. I had before no personal knowledge of this nobleman. We talked of our friends whom we left at Nice; then of affairs in England; and the late resolutions of the commons, on Mr. Conway's motion.

He told me that he knew lord Shelburne had a great regard for me, that he was sure his lordship would be pleased to hear from me, and that if I would write a line he should have a pleasure in carrying it. On which I wrote the following:

"*To Earl Shelburne.*

"PASSY, March 22, 1782.

"Lord Cholmondely having kindly offered

to take a letter from me to your lordship, I embrace the opportunity of assuring the continuance of my ancient respect for your talents and virtues, and of congratulating you on the returning good disposition of your country in favour of America, which appears in the late resolutions of the commons; I am persuaded it will have good effects. I hope it will tend to produce a *general peace*, which I am sure your lordship, with all good men, desires, which I wish to see before I die, and to which I shall with infinite pleasure, contribute every thing in my power. Your friends the Abbé Morellet and Madame Helvetius are well. You have made the latter very happy by your present of gooseberry bushes, which arrived in five days, and in excellent order. B. FRANKLIN."

Soon after this we heard from England, that a total change had taken place in the ministry, and that lord Shelburne was come in as secretary of state. But I thought no more of my letter, till an old friend and neighbour of mine many years in London, appeared at Passy, and introduced a Mr. Oswald, whom he said had a great desire to see me; and Mr. Oswald, after some little conversation, gave me the following letters from lord Shelburne and Mr. Laurens

"*To Dr. Franklin.*

"London, April 6, 1782

"Dear Sir,—I have been favoured with your letter, and am much obliged by your remembrance. I find myself returned nearly to the same situation which you remember me to have occupied nineteen years ago, and should be very glad to talk to you as I did then, and afterwards in 1767, upon the means of promoting the happiness of mankind: a subject much more agreeable to my nature, than the best concerted plans for spreading misery and devastation. I have had a high opinion of the congress, of your mind, and of your foresight. I have often been beholden to both, and shall be glad to be so again, as far as is compatible with your situation. Your letter discovering the same disposition, has made me send you Mr. Oswald. I have had a longer acquaintance with him, than even I have had the pleasure to have with you. I believe him a honest man, and after consulting some of our common friends, I have thought him fittest for the purpose. He is a pacifical man, and conversant in those negotiations which are most interesting to mankind. This has made me prefer him to any of our speculative friends, or to any person of higher rank: he is fully apprised of my mind, and you may give full credit to every thing he assures you of. At the same time, if any channel occurs to you, I am ready to embrace it. I wish to retain the same simplicity and good faith which subsisted between us in transactions of less importance.—I have the honour to be, &c. SHELBURNE."

To the same.

"London, April 7, 1782.

"Dear Sir,—Richard Oswald, esquire, who will do me the honour of delivering this, is a gentleman of the strictest candour and integrity. I dare give such assurance, from an experience little short of thirty years, and to add, you will be perfectly safe in conversing freely with him on the business which he will introduce, a business which Mr. Oswald has disinterestedly engaged in from motives of benevolence, and from the choice of the man, a persuasion follows that the electors mean to be in earnest. Some people in this country, who have too long indulged themselves in abusing every thing American, have been pleased to circulate an opinion that Doctor Franklin is a very cunning man, in answer to which, I have remarked to Mr. Oswald, Doctor Franklin knows very well how to manage a cunning man; but when the doctor converses and treats with a man of candour, there is no man more candid than himself. I do not know whether you will ultimately agree in political sketches; but I am sure as gentlemen, you will part very well pleased with each other.

"Should you, sir, think proper to communicate to me your sentiments and advice on our affairs, the more amply the more acceptable, and probably the more serviceable, Mr. Oswald will take charge of your despatches, and afford a secure means of conveyance. To this gentleman I refer you for general information of a journey which I am immediately to make, partly in his company, at Ostend, to file off for the Hague. I feel a willingness, infirm as I am, to attempt doing as much good as can be expected from such a prisoner upon parole. As general Burgoyne is certainly exchanged, a circumstance by the by which possibly might have embarrassed us, had your proposition been accepted. May I presume, at my return, to offer another lieutenant-general now in England, a prisoner upon parole, in exchange, or what shall I offer in exchange for myself, a thing in my own estimation, of no great value.

"HENRY LAURENS."

I entered into conversation with Mr. Oswald. He was represented in the letter as fully apprized of lord Shelburne's mind, and I was desirous of knowing it. All I could learn was, that the ministry sincerely wished for peace, that they considered the object of the war to France and America as obtained. That if the independence of the U. States was agreed to, there was no other point in dispute, and therefore nothing left to hinder a pacification; that they were ready to treat of *peace;* but he intimated, that if France should insist upon terms too humiliating to England, they could still continue the war, having yet great strength and many resources left. I let him know that America would not treat but in concert with France; and that my colleagues not being here, I could do nothing of importance in the affair, but that if he pleased, I would present him to the count de Vergennes, secretary of state for foreign affairs. He consenting, I wrote and sent the following letter:

" *Count de Vergennes.*

" Passy, April 15, 1782.

" Sir,—An English nobleman, lord Cholmondely, lately returning from Italy, called on me at a time when we received the news of the first resolutions of the house of commons relating to America. On conversation, he said, that he knew his friend lord Shelburne had a great regard for me: that it would be pleasing to him to hear of my welfare, and to receive a line from me, of which he, lord Cholmondely, should like to be the bearer; adding, that if there should be a change of ministry, he believed lord Shelburne would be employed. I thereupon wrote a few lines, of which I also enclose a copy. This day I received an answer, which I also enclose, together with another letter from Mr. Laurens. They both, as your excellency will see, recommend the bearer, Mr. Oswald, as a very honest, sensible man. I have had a little conversation with him. He tells me there has been a desire of making a separate peace with America, and continuing the war with France and Spain; but that now all wise people give up that idea as impracticable; and it is his private opinion, that the ministry do sincerely desire a *general peace,* and that they will readily come into it, provided France does not insist upon conditions too humiliating for England; in such case, she will make great and violent efforts rather than submit to them, and that much is still in her power, &c. I told the gentleman, that I could not enter into particulars with him, but in concert with the ministers of this court. And I proposed introducing him to your excellency, after communicating to you the letters he had brought me, in case you should think fit to see him, with which he appeared to be pleased. I intend waiting on you to-morrow, when you will please to acquaint me with your intentions, and favour me with your counsels. He had heard nothing of Forth's mission, and the old ministry had not acquainted the new with that transaction. Mr. Laurens came over with him in the same vessel, and went from Ostend to Holland. B. FRANKLIN."

The next day, being at court with the foreign ministers, as usual on Tuesdays, I saw M. de Vergennes, who acquainted me, that he had caused the letter to be translated, had considered the contents, and should like to see Mr. Oswald. We agreed that the interview should be on Wednesday at ten o'clock.

Immediately on my return home I wrote to Mr. Oswald, acquainting him with what had passed at Versailles, and proposing that he should be with me at half past eight the next morning, in order to proceed thither.

I received from him the following answer:

" Sir,—I have the honour of yours by the bearer, and shall be sure to wait on you to-morrow, at half past eight, and I am, with much respect, &c.

" RICHARD OSWALD.

" *Paris, April* 16."

He came accordingly, and we arrived at Versailles punctually. M. de Vergennes received him with much civility. Mr. Oswald, not being ready in speaking French, M. de Rayneval interpreted. The conversation continued near an hour. Mr. Oswald, at first, thought of sending an express, with an account of it, and was offered a passport, but finally concluded to go himself, and I wrote the next day to lord Shelburne the following letter:

" *Lord Shelburne.*

" Passy, April 18, 1782.

" My Lord,—I have received the lette your lordship did me the honour of writing to me the 6th instant. I congratulate you on your new appointment to the honourable and important office you formerly filled so worthily, an office which must be so far pleasing to you, as it affords you more opportunities of doing good, and serving your country essentially in its great concerns. I have conversed a good deal with Mr. Oswald, and am much pleased with him; he appears to me a wise and honest man. I acquainted him that I was commissioned, with others, to treat of and conclude a peace: that full powers were given us for that purpose; and that the congress promised, in good faith, to ratify, confirm, and cause to be faithfully observed, the treaty we should make; but that we would not treat separately from France; and I proposed introducing him to M. le compte de Vergennes, to whom I communicated your lordship's letter, containing Mr. Oswald's character, as a foundation for the interview. He will acquaint you, that the assurance he gave of his Britannic majesty's good disposition towards peace was well received, and assurances returned of the same good dispositions on the part of his most Christian majesty. With regard to circumstances relative to a treaty, M. de Vergennes observed, that the king's engagements were such, as that he could not treat without the concurrence of his allies; that the treaty should therefore be for a general, not a partial, peace; and if the parties were not disposed to finish the war speedily by themselves, it would perhaps be best to treat at Paris, as an ambassador from Spain was already there, and the commissioners from America might easily and soon be assembled there: or if they chose to make use of the proposed mediation, they might treat at Vienna; but that the king was truly willing to put a speedy end to the war: that he would agree to any place the king of England should think proper. I leave the rest of the conversation, to be related to your lordship by Mr. Oswald; and that he might do it more easily and fully than he could by letter, I was of opinion with him, that it would be best he should return immediately, and do it *vivâ voce.*

"Being myself but one of the four persons now in Europe, commissioned by the congress to treat of peace, I can make no proposition of much importance, without them. I can only express my wish that, if Mr. Oswald returns hither, he may bring with him the agreement of your court to treat for a general peace, and the proposal of place and time, that I may immediately write to Messrs. Adams, Laurens, and Jay. I suppose that, in this case, your lordship will think it proper to have Mr. Laurens discharged from the engagements he entered into, when he was admitted to bail. I desire no other channel of communication between us, than that of Mr. Oswald, which I think your lordship has chosen with much judgment. He will be witness of my acting with all the simplicity, and good faith, which you do me the honour to expect from me; and if he is enabled, when he returns hither, to communicate more fully your lordship's mind on the principal points to be settled, I think it may contribute much to the blessed work our hearts are engaged in.

"By the act of parliament, relative to American prisoners, I see the king is impowered to exchange them. I hope those you have, in England and Ireland, may be sent home soon to their country in flags of truce, and exchanged for an equal number of your people. Permit me to add, that I think it would be well if some kindness were used in the transaction, with regard to their comfortable accommodation on ship-board, as those poor unfortunate people have been long absent from their families and friends, and rather hardly treated. B. FRANKLIN."

To the account, contained in this letter, of what passed in the conversation with the minister, I should add his frank declaration, that as the foundation of good and durable peace should be laid in justice, whenever a treaty was entered upon, he had several demands to make of justice from England. Of this, says he, I give you previous notice. What these demands were, he did not particularly say; one occurred to me, to wit, reparation for the injury done in taking several French ships by surprise, before the declaration of the preceding war, contrary to the law of nations. Mr. Oswald seemed to wish obtaining some propositions to carry back with him; but M. de Vergennes said to him very properly, there are four nations engaged in the war against you, who cannot, till they have consulted and known each other's minds, be ready to make propositions. Your court, being without allies, and alone, knowing its own mind, can express it immediately. It is therefore more natural to expect the first propositions from you.

On our return from Versailles, Mr. Oswald took occasion to impress me with ideas, that the present weakness of the government in England, with regard to continuing the war, was owing chiefly to the division of sentiments about it. That in case France should make demands too humiliating for England to submit to, the spirit of the nation would be roused, unanimity would prevail, and resources would not be wanting. He said, there was no want of money in the nation: that the chief difficulty lay in the finding out new taxes to raise it; and perhaps that difficulty might be avoided, by shutting up the exchequer; stopping the payment of the interest of public funds, and applying that money to the support of the war. I made no reply to this; for I did not desire to discourage their stopping payment, which I consider as cutting the throat of the public credit, and a means of adding fresh exasperation against them with the neighbouring nations. Such menaces were besides an encouragement with me, remembering the adage, that *they who threaten are afraid.*

The next morning, when I had written the above letter to lord Shelburne, I went with it to Mr. Oswald's lodgings, and gave it to him to read before I sealed it, that in case any thing might be in it with which he was not satisfied, it might be corrected; but he expressed himself much pleased. In going to him I had also in view the entering into a conversation, which might draw out something of the mind of his court, on the subject of Canada and Nova Scotia. I had thrown some loose thoughts on paper, which I intended to serve as memorandums for my discourse; but without a fixed intention of showing them to him. On his saying, that he was obliged to me for the good opinion I had expressed of him to lord Shelburne, in my letter, and assuring that he had entertained the same of me; I observed, that I had perceived lord S. placed great confidence in him, and as we had happily the same in each other, we might possibly, by a free communication of sentiments, and a previous settling of our own minds on some of the important points, be the means of great good, by impressing our sentiments on the minds of those with whom they might have influence; and where their being received might be of importance. I then remarked, that his nation seemed to desire a reconciliation with America: that I heartily wished the same thing: that a mere peace would not produce half its advantages, if not attended with a sincere reconciliation: that, to obtain this, the party which had been the aggressor, and had cruelly treated the other, should show some marks of concern for what was past, and some disposition to make reparation: that perhaps there were things which America might demand, by way of reparation, and which England might yield; but that the effect would be vastly greater, if they appeared to be voluntary, and to spring from returning good will: that I therefore wished England would think of offering something to relieve those who had suffered by its scalping and burning parties. Lives indeed could not be restored nor compensated; but the villages and houses, wantonly destroyed, might be rebuilt, &c. I then touched upon the affair of Canada; and, as in a former conversation he had mentioned his opinion, that the giving up that country to the English, at the last peace, had been a politic act in France; for that it had weakened the ties between England and her colonies, and that he himself had predicted from it the late revolution; I spoke of the occasions of future quarrels that might be produced, by her continuing to hold it; hinting at the same time, but not expressing too plainly, that such a situation to us so dangerous, would necessarily oblige us to cultivate and strengthen our union with France. He appeared much struck with my discourse; and as I frequently looked at my paper, he desired to see it. After some little delay, I allowed him to read it. The following is an exact copy.

NOTES OF CONVERSATION.

To make a peace durable, what may give occasion for future wars should, if practicable, be removed.

The territory of the United States, and that of Canada, by long extended frontiers, touch each other.

The settlers on the frontiers of the American provinces, are generally the most disorderly of the people, who being far removed from the eye and control of their respective governments, are more bold in committing offences against neighbours, and are for ever occasioning complaints, and furnishing matter for fresh differences between their states.

By the late debates in parliament, and public writings, it appears that Britain desires a *reconciliation* with the Americans. It is a sweet word. It means more than a mere peace, and what is heartily to be wished for. Nations make a peace whenever they are both weary of making war. But if one of them has made war upon the other unjustly, and has wantonly, and unnecessarily, done it great injuries, and refuses reparation; though there may, for the present, be peace, the resentment of those injuries will remain, and will break out again in vengeance when occasions offer. These occasions will be watched for by one side, feared by the other, and the peace will never be secure, nor can any cordiality subsist between them.

Many houses and villages have been burnt in America by the English, and their allies the Indians. I do not know that the Americans will insist on reparation, perhaps they may. But would it not be better for England to offer it? Nothing would have a greater tendency to conciliate, and much of the future commerce and returning intercourse, between the two countries, may depend on the reconciliation. Would not the advantage of reconciliation, by such means, be greater than the expense.

If then a way can be proposed, which may tend to efface the memory of injuries, at the same time that it takes away the occasions of fresh quarrels and mischief, will it not be worth considering, especially if it can be done, not only without expense, but be a means of saving?

Britain possesses Canada. Her chief advantage from that possession consists in the trade for peltry. Her expenses in governing and defending that settlement must be considerable. It might be humiliating to her to give it up on the demand of America. Perhaps America will not demand it. Some of the political rulers may consider the fear of such a neighbour, as the means of keeping the thirteen states more united among themselves, and more attentive to military discipline. But, on the mind of the people in general, would it not have an excellent effect, if Britain should voluntarily offer to give up this province, though, on these conditions, that she shall, in all times coming, have and enjoy the right of free trade thither, unincumbered with any duties whatsoever; that so much of the vacant lands there shall be sold, as will raise a sum sufficient to pay for the houses burnt by the British troops, and the Indians; and also to indemnify the royalists for the confiscation of their estates.

This is mere conversation matter, between Mr. Oswald and Mr. Franklin, as the former is not impowered to make propositions, and the latter cannot make any without the concurrence of his colleagues.

He then told me, that nothing in his judgment could be clearer, and more satisfactory and convincing, than the reasonings in that paper: that he would do his utmost to impress lord Shelburne with them: that as his memory might not do them justice, and it would be impossible for him to express them so well, or state them so clearly as I had written them, he begged that I would let him take the paper with him, assuring me that he would return it safely into my hands. I at length complied with this request also. We parted exceeding good friends, and he set out for London.

By the first opportunity after his departure, I wrote the following letter to Mr. Adams, and sent the paper therein mentioned, that he might be fully apprized of the proceedings. I omitted only the paper of notes for conversation with Mr. Oswald, but gave the substance, as appears in the letter.

The reason of my omitting it was, that, on reflection, I was not pleased with my having hinted a reparation to the tories for their forfeited estates. I was a little ashamed of my weakness in permitting the paper to go out of my hands.

"*John Adams.*

"Passy, April 20, 1782.

"Sir,—I hope your excellency received the copy of our instructions, which I sent by the courier from Versailles some weeks since. I wrote you on the 13th to go by captain Smedley, and sent a packet of correspondence with Mr. Hartley. Smedley did not leave Paris so soon as I expected, or you should have had it by this time. With this I send a fresh correspondence, which I have been drawn into, to wit, 1st. A letter I sent to lord Shelburne before he was minister. 2d. His answer, since he was minister, by Mr. Oswald. 3d. A letter from Mr. Laurens. 4th. My letter to M. de Vergennes. 5th. My answer to lord Shelburne. 6th. My answer to Mr. Laurens. 7th. Copy of ——— Reports. These papers will inform pretty well of what passed between me and Mr. Oswald, except that, in a conversation at parting, I mentioned to him, that I observed they spoke much in England of obtaining a *reconciliation* with the colonies: that this was more than a peace; that the latter might possibly be obtained, without the former; that the cruel injuries constantly done us, by burning our towns, &c. had made deep impressions of resentment that would long remain: that much of the advantage to the commerce of England, from a peace, would depend on a *reconciliation:* that the peace without reconciliation, would probably not be durable: that after a quarrel between friends, nothing tended so much to conciliate, as offers made by the aggressor, of reparation for injuries done by him in his passion. And hinted, that if England should make us a voluntary offer of Canada expressly for that purpose, it might have a good effect. Mr. Oswald liked much the idea, said they were too much straitened for money to make us pecuniary reparation, but he should endeavour to persuade their doing it in that way. He is furnished with a passport to go and return by Calais, and I expect him back in ten or twelve days. I wish you and Mr. Laurens could be here when he arrives, for I shall much want your advice, and cannot act without your concurrence. If the present crisis of your affairs prevents your coming, I hope at least Mr. Laurens will be here, and we must communicate with you by expresses, for your letters to me per post are generally opened. I shall write per next post, requesting Mr. Jay to be here also as soon as possible.

"I received your letter, advising of your draft on me for a quarter's salary, which will be duly honoured. B. FRANKLIN."

Supposing Mr. Laurens to be in Holland with Mr. Adams, I at the same time wrote him the following letter.

"*Henry Laurens.*

"Passy, April 20, 1782.

"Sir,—I received, by Mr. Oswald, the letter you did me the honour of writing to me the 7th instant. He brought me also a letter from lord Shelburne, which gave him the same character that you did; adding, 'he is fully apprized of my mind, and you may give full credit to every thing he assures you of.' Mr. Oswald, however, could give me no other particulars of his lordship's mind; but that he was sincerely disposed to peace. As to me the message seemed therefore rather intended to procure or receive propositions than to make any, I told Mr. Oswald, that I could make none but in concurrence with my colleagues in the commission, and that if we were together, we should not treat but in conjunction with France; and I proposed introducing him to M. de Vergennes, which he accepted. He made to that minister the same declaration of the disposition of England to peace; who replied, that France had assuredly the same good disposition: that a treaty might be immediately begun, but it must be for a general, and not a particular peace; that as to the place, he thought Paris to be the most convenient, as Spain had here already an ambassador, and the American commissioners could easily be assembled there. This upon a supposition of the parties treating directly with each other, without the intervention of mediators; but if the mediation was to be used, it might be at Vienna. The king, his master, however, was so truly disposed to peace, that he would agree to any place that the king of England should choose, and would at the treaty give proof of the confidence that might be placed in any engagement he should then enter into, by the fidelity and exactitude with which he should observe those already had with his present allies. Mr. Oswald is returned, with these general answers, by the way of Calais, and expects to be here again in a few days. I wish it might be convenient for you and Mr. Adams to be here at the same time; but if the present critical situation of affairs there, makes his being in Holland necessary just now, I hope you may nevertheless be here, bringing with you his opinion and advice. I have proposed to lord Shelburne to discharge you from the obligations you entered into at the time of your enlargement, that you may act more freely in the treaty he desires. I had done myself the honour of writing to you a few days before the arrival of Mr. Oswald. My letter went by Mr. Young, your secretary, and enclosed a copy of our commission, with an offer of money if you had occasion for any. Hoping that you will not return to England before you have been at Paris, I forbear enlarging on the state of our affairs here and Spain. M. de Vergennes told me, he should be very glad to see you here. I found Mr. Oswald to answer perfectly the character you gave me of him, and was much pleased with him.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Just after I had despatched these letters, I received the following from Mr. Adams.

John Adams to Dr. Franklin.

"Amsterdam, April 16, 1782.

"Sir,—Yesterday noon Mr. William Vaughan, of London, came to my house with Mr. Laurens, the son of the president; and brought me a line from the latter, and told me that the president was at Haerlem, and desired to see me; I went to Haerlem, and found my old friend at the Golden Lion.

"He told me that he was come partly for his health and the pleasure of seeing me, and partly to converse with me, and see if he had at present just ideas and views of things, at least to see if we agreed in sentiment, and having been desired by several of the new ministry to do so.

"I asked him if he was at liberty: he said no, that he was still under parole, but at liberty to say what he pleased to me.

"I told him I could not communicate to him, being a prisoner, even his own instructions, nor enter into any consultation with him as one of our colleagues in the commission for peace; that all I should say to him would be as one private citizen conversing with another, but that upon all such occasions, I should reserve a right to communicate whatever should pass to our colleagues and allies.

"He said that lord Shelburne and others of the new ministry, were anxious to know whether there was any authority to treat of a separate peace, and whether there could be an accommodation upon any terms short of independence, that he had ever answered them, that nothing short of an express or tacit acknowledgment of our independence, in his opinion, would ever be accepted, and that no treaty ever would or could be made separate from France. He asked me if his answers had been right; I told him I was fully of that opinion.

"He said that the new ministers had received ——— Report, but his character was such that they did not choose to depend upon it; that a person by the name of Oswald, I think, set off for Paris to see you, about the same time that he came away to see me.

"I desired him, between him and me, to consider without saying anything of it to the ministry, whether we could ever have a real peace, with Canada or Nova Scotia in the hands of the English: and whether we ought not to insist at least upon a stipulation that they should keep no standing army or regular troops, nor erect any fortifications upon the frontiers of either. That at present, I saw no motive that we had to be anxious for a peace, and that if the nation was not ripe for it upon proper terms, we might wait patiently until they should be so.

"I found the old gentleman perfectly sound in his system of politics; he has a very poor opinion both of the integrity and abilities of the new ministry, as well as of the old. He thinks they know not what they are about: that they are spoiled by the same insincerity, duplicity, falsehood, and corruption with the former. Lord Shelburne still flatters the king with ideas of conciliation and separate peace; yet the nation and the best men in it, are for universal peace, and an express acknowledgment of American independence; and many of the best are for giving up Canada and Nova Scotia.

"His design seemed to be solely to know how far ——— Report was true. After an hour or two of conversation, I returned to Amsterdam, and left him to return to London.

"These are all but artifices to raise the stocks, and if you think of any method to put a stop to them, I will cheerfully concur with you. They now know sufficiently that our commission is to treat of a general peace, and with persons vested with equal powers, and if you agree to it, I will never wish to see another messenger that is not a plenipotentiary.

"It is expected that the seventh province, Guelderland, will this day acknowledge American independence. I think we are in such a situation now, that we ought not upon any consideration, think of a truce or any thing short of the express acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the United States.

"I should be glad, however, to know your sentiments upon this point.

"JOHN ADAMS."

To the above, I immediately wrote the following answer.

"*John Adams.*

"Passy, April 20, 1782.

"Sir,—I have just received the honour of yours, dated the 16th instant, acquainting me with the interview between your excellency and Mr. Laurens. I am glad to learn that his political sentiments coincide with ours, and that there is a disposition in England to give us up Canada and Nova Scotia.

"I like your idea of seeing no more messengers that are not plenipotentiaries; but I cannot refuse seeing again Mr. Oswald, as the minister here considered the letter to me from lord Shelburne, as a kind of authentication given to that messenger, and expects his return with some explicit propositions. I shall keep you advised of what passes.

"The late act of parliament for exchanging American prisoners, *as prisoners of war*, according to the law of nations, *any thing in their commitments notwithstanding*, seems to me a renunciation of their pretensions to try our people as subjects guilty of high treason, and to be a kind of tacit acknowledgment of our independency. Having taken this step, it will be less difficult for them to acknowledge it expressly. They are now preparing transports to send the prisoners home. I yesterday sent the passports desired of me.

"Sir George Grand shows me a letter from Mr. Fizeaux, in which he says, that if advantage is taken of the present enthusiasm in favour of America, a loan might be obtained in Holland of five or six millions of florins for America; and if their house is employed to open it, he has no doubt of success; but that no time is to be lost. I earnestly recommend this matter to you as extremely necessary to the operations of our financier, Mr. Morris, who, not knowing that the greatest part of the last five millions has been consumed by purchase of goods, &c. in Europe, writes me advice of large drafts that he shall be obliged to make upon me this summer. This court has granted us six millions of livres for the current year, but it will fall vastly short of our occasions; there being large orders to fulfil, and near two millions and a half to pay Mr. Beaumarchais, besides the interest bills, &c. The house of Fizeaux and Grand, is now appointed banker for France, by a special commission from the king, and will on that as well as other accounts, be in my opinion, the fittest for this operation. Your excellency being on the spot, can better judge of the terms, &c. and manage with that house the whole business, in which I shall be glad to have no other concern than that of receiving assistance from it when pressed by the dreaded drafts. B. FRANKLIN."

In reply to this, Mr. Adams wrote me as follows:

John Adams to Dr. Franklin.

"Amsterdam, May 2, 1782.

"Sir,—I am honoured with your favour of the 20th of April, and Mr. Laurens's son proposes to carry the letter to his father forthwith. The instructions by the courier from Versailles came safe, as all other despatches by that channel no doubt will do. The correspondence with Mr. Hartley, I received by captain Smedley, and will take the first good opportunity by a private hand to return it, as well as that with the E. of S.

"Mr. Laurens and Mr. Jay will, I hope, be able to meet at Paris; but when it will be in my power to go I know not. Your present negotiation about peace, falls in very well to aid a proposition which I am instructed to make as soon as the court of Versailles shall judge proper, of a triple or quadruple alliance. This matter, the treaty of commerce, which is now under deliberation, and the loan, will render it improper for me to quit the station, unless in case of necessity. If there is a real disposition to permit Canada to accede to the American association, I should think there would be no great difficulty in adjusting all things between England and America, provided our allies are contented too. In a former letter, I hinted that I thought an express acknowledgment of our independence might now be insisted on: but I did not mean that we should insist upon such an article in the treaty. If they make a treaty of peace with the United States of America, this is acknowledgment enough for me.

"The affair of a loan gives me much anxiety and fatigue. It is true I may open a loan for five millions, but I confess I have no hopes of obtaining so much; the money is not to be had. Cash is not infinite in this country. Their profits by trade have been ruined for two or three years; and their loans open for France, Spain, England, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and several other powers, as well as their own national, provincial, and collegiate loans. The undertakers are already loaded with burdens greater than they can bear; and all the brokers in the republic are so engaged, that there is scarcely a ducat to be lent but what is promised.

"This is the true cause why we shall not succeed: yet they will seek an hundred other pretences. It is considered such an honour, and such an introduction to American trade to be the house; that the eagerness to obtain the title of American banker, is prodigious. Various houses have pretensions which they set up very high, and let me choose which I will, I am sure of a cry and a clamour. I have taken some measures to endeavour to calm the heat, and give a general satisfaction, but have as yet small hopes of success. I would strike with any house that would insure the money, but none will undertake it now it is offered, although several were very ready to affirm that they could, when it began to be talked of. Upon inquiry, they don't find the money easy to obtain, which I could have told them before. It is to me, personally, perfectly indifferent which is the house, and the only question is, which will be able to do best for the interest of the United States. This question, however simple, is not easy to answer.

"But I think it clear, after very painful and laborious inquiries for a year and a half, that no house whatever will be able to do much. Enthusiasm at some times, and in some countries, may do a great deal, but there has as yet been no enthusiasm in this country for America, strong enough to untie many purses. Another year, if the war should continue, perhaps we may do better.

"JOHN ADAMS."

During Mr. Oswald's absence, I received the following from Mr. Laurens.

Henry Laurens to Dr. Franklin.

"London, April 20, 1782.

"Sir,—I writ to you on the 7th inst. by Mr. Oswald, since which, that is to say, on the 28th, I was honoured by the receipt of your letter of the 12th, enclosing a copy of the commission for treating for peace, by the hands of Mr. Young. The recognizance exacted from me by the late ministry, has been vacated and done away by the present: these have been pleased to enlarge me without formal conditions; but, as I would not consent the United States of America should be outdone in generosity, however late the marks appeared on this side, I took upon me to assure lord Shelburne, in a letter of acknowledgment for the part which his lordship had taken for obtaining my release, that congress would not fail to make a just and adequate return. The only return in my view is lieutenant-general lord Cornwallis. Congress were pleased, some time ago, to offer a British lieutenant-general for my ransom, and as I am informed the special exchange of lord Cornwallis for the same subject, was lately in contemplation; it would afford me very great satisfaction to know, that you will join me in cancelling the debt of honour which we have impliedly incurred, by discharging his lordship from the obligation of his parole.

"For my own part, though not a bold adventurer, I think I shall not commit myself to the risk of censure, by acting conjunctly with you in such a bargain. I entreat you, sir, at least to reflect on this matter; I shall take the liberty of requesting your determination, when I reach the continent, which will probably happen in a few days.

"Lord Cornwallis, in a late conversation with me, put the following case: suppose, said his lordship, it shall have been agreed, in America, that lord Cornwallis should be offered in exchange for Mr. Laurens, don't you think, although you are now discharged, I ought to reap the intended benefit? A reply from the feelings of my heart, as I love fair play, was prompt; undoubtedly, my lord: you ought to be, and shall be, in such case discharged; and I will venture to take the burden upon myself. Certain legal forms, I apprehend, rendered the discharge of me, without condition, unavoidable; but I had previous, refused to accept of myself for nothing, and what I now aim at was understood as an adequate return; 'tis not to be doubted, his lordship's question was built on this ground. I had uniformly and explicitly declared to the people here, people in the first rank of importance, that nothing short of independence in terms of our treaty of alliance would induce America to treat for truce or peace; and that no treaty could be had without the consent of our ally first obtained; in a word, if you mean to have peace, you must seek for a general peace. The doctrine was ill relished, especially by those whose power only could set the machine in motion; but, having since my return from Haerlem, asserted in very positive terms, that I was confirmed in my former opinions, the late obduracy has been more than a little softened, as you will soon learn from the worthy friend by whom I addressed you on the 7th, who two days ago set out on his return to Passy and Versailles, with (as I believe) a more permanent commission than the former.

"Accept my thanks, sir, for the kind office of a supply of money; I know too well how much you have been harassed for that article, and too well how low our American finances in Europe are. Therefore, if I can possibly avoid it, I will not further trouble you, nor impoverish them, or not till the last extremity. Hitherto I have supported myself without borrowing from any body; and I am determined to continue living upon my own stock while it lasts. The stock is indeed small, my expenses have been and shall be in a suitably modest style. I pray God to bless you.

"HENRY LAURENS.

"P. S. I judged it proper, not only to show the peace commission to lord Shelburne, but to give his lordship a copy of it, from an opinion that it would work no evil, being shown elsewhere."

On the 4th May, Mr. Oswald returned, and brought me the following letter from lord Shelburne:

Earl Shelburne to Dr. Franklin.

"Shelburne House, April 20, 1782.

"Dear Sir,—I have received much satisfaction in being assured by you, the qualifications of wisdom and integrity which induced me to make choice of Mr. Oswald, as the fittest instrument for the renewal of our friendly intercourse, have also recommended him so effectually to your approbation and esteem. I most heartily wish the influence of his first communication of our mutual sentiments, may be extended to a happy conclusion of all our public differences.

"The candour with which M. le compte de Vergennes expresses his most Christian majesty's sentiments and wishes, on the subject of a speedy pacification, is a pleasing omen of its accomplishment. His majesty is not less decided in the same sentiments and wishes, and it confirms his majesty's ministers in their intention to act in like manner, as most consonant to the true dignity of a great nation.

"In consequence of these reciprocal advances, Mr. Oswald is sent back to Paris, for the purpose of arranging and settling with you the preliminaries of time and place. And I have the pleasure to tell you, that Mr. Laurens is already discharged from those engagements which he entered into when he was admitted to bail. It is also determined that Mr. Fox, from whose department that communication is necessarily to proceed, and shall send a proper person who may confer and settle immediately with M. de Vergennes, the further measures and proceedings which may be judged proper to adopt, towards advancing the prosecution of this important business. In the mean time, Mr. Oswald is instructed to communicate to you, my thoughts upon the principal objects to be settled.

"Transports are actually preparing for the purpose of conveying your prisoners to America, to be there exchanged; and we trust, that you will learn, that due attention has not been wanting to their accommodation and good treatment. SHELBURNE."

Having read the letter, I mentioned to Mr. Oswald the part which refers me to him for his lordship's sentiments. He acquainted me that they were very sincerely disposed to peace, that the whole ministry concurred in the same dispositions; that a good deal of confidence was placed in my character for open, honest dealing; that it was also generally believed, I had still remaining some part of my ancient affection and regard for Old England, and it was hoped it might appear on this occasion. He then showed me an extract from the minutes of council, but did not leave the paper with me.

As well as I can remember, it was to this purpose.

"At a cabinet council, held April 27th, 1782.
"Present, Lord ROCKINGHAM,
Lord CHANCELLOR,
Lord PRESIDENT,
Lord CAMDEN, &c., &c., &c.,
(to the number of fifteen or twenty, being all ministers and great officers of state,) It was proposed to present to his majesty, that it would be well for Mr. Oswald to return to Doctor Franklin, and acquaint him that it is agreed to treat for a general peace, and at Paris; and that the principal points in contemplation are the allowing of American independence, on condition that England be put in the same situation that she was left in by the peace of 1763."

Mr. Oswald also informed me, that he had conversed with lord Shelburne on the subject of my paper of notes, relating to reconciliation. That he had shown him the paper, and had been prevailed on to leave it with him a night, but it was on his lordship's solemn promise of returning it, which had been complied with, and he now returned it to me; that it seemed to have made an impression; and he had reason to believe, that matter might be settled to our satisfaction towards the end of the treaty; but in his own mind he wished it might not be mentioned at the beginning. That his lordship indeed said he had not imagined reparation would be expected, and he wondered I should not know whether it was intended to demand it. Finally, Mr. Oswald acquainted me, that as the business now likely to be brought forward, more particularly appertained to the department of the other secretary, Mr. Fox; he was directed to announce another agent coming from that department, who might be expected every day; (to wit) the honourable Mr. Grenville, brother of lord Temple, and son of the famous Mr. George Grenville, formerly chancellor of the exchequer.

I immediately wrote the following note to

"*Count de Vergennes.*

"Passy, May 4, 1782.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint your excellency, that Mr. Oswald has just returned from London, and is now with me: he has delivered me a letter from lord Shelburne, which I enclose for your perusal, together with a copy of my letter, to which it is an answer. He tells me that it has been agreed in council to meet at Paris, and to treat of *a general* peace, and that as it is more particularly in the department of Mr. Fox, to regulate the circumstantials: a gentleman (Mr. Grenville) to be sent by him for that purpose, may be daily expected here; Mr. Oswald will wait on your excellency, whenever you shall think fit to receive him.

"B. FRANKLIN."

And the next day received the following answer:

Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"Versailles, May 5, 1782.

"Sir,—I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write to me the 4th instant, as also those which accompanied it. I will see you with your friend with pleasure, at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

"DE VERGENNES."

Accordingly, on Monday morning, I went with Mr. Oswald to Versailles, and we saw the minister. Mr. Oswald acquainted him with the disposition of his court, to treat for a general peace, and at Paris; and he announced Mr. Grenville, who he said was to set out about the same time with him; but as he would probably set out by way of Ostend, might be a few days longer on the road.—Some general conversation passed, agreeable enough, but not of importance. In my return, Mr. Oswald repeated to me his opinion, that the affair of Canada would be settled to our satisfaction, and his wish that it might not be mentioned till the end of the treaty. He intimated too, that it was apprehended the greatest obstruction in the treaty might come from the part of Spain. But said, if she was unreasonable, there was means to bring her to reason. That Russia was a friend to England had lately made great discoveries on the back of North America; could make establishments there, and might easily transport an army from Kamtskatka to the coast of Mexico, and conquer all those countries. This appeared to me a little visionary at present, but I did not dispute it. On the whole, I was able to draw so little from Mr. O. of the sentiments of lord S. who had mentioned him as entrusted with the communication of them, that I could not but wonder at his being sent again to me, especially as Mr. Grenville was so soon to follow.

On Tuesday I was at court, as usual on that day. M. de Vergennes asked me, if Mr. Oswald had not opened himself farther to me. I acquainted him with the sight I had of the minute of council, and of the loose expressions contained in it of what was in contemplation. He seemed to think it odd, that he had brought nothing more explicit. I supposed Mr. Grenville might be better furnished.

The next morning I wrote the following letter to

"*John Adams.*

"Passy, May 8, 1782.

"Sir,—Mr. Oswald, whom I mentioned in a former letter, which I find you have received, is returned, and brought me another letter from lord Shelburne, of which the above is a copy. It says, Mr. Oswald is instructed to communicate to me his lordship's thoughts. He is however very sparing of such communication. All I have got from him is, that the ministry have in contemplation the allowing independence to America, on condition of Britain being put again into the state she was left in by the peace of 1763; which I suppose means to be put again in possession of the islands France has taken from her. This seems to me a proposition of selling to us a thing that is already our own, and making France pay the price they are pleased to ask for it. Mr. Grenville, who is sent by Mr. Fox, is expected here daily. Mr. Oswald tells me that Mr. Laurens will soon be here also.

"Yours of the second instant, is just come to hand; I shall write to you on this affair hereafter, by the court couriers, for I am certain your letters to me are opened at the post office, either here or in Holland, and I suppose mine to you are treated in the same manner. I enclose the cover of your last that you may see the seal. B. FRANKLIN."

I had but just sent away this letter, when Mr. Oswald came in, bringing with him Mr. Grenville, who was just arrived. He gave me the following letter from Mr. secretary Fox.

Charles J. Fox to Dr. Franklin.

"St. James, May 1, 1782.

"Sir,—Though Mr. Oswald will no doubt have informed you of the nature of Mr. Grenville's commission, yet I cannot refrain from making use of the opportunity of his going offers me to assure you of the esteem and respect which I have borne to your character, and to beg you to believe that no change in my situation, has made any in those ardent wishes for reconciliation—which I have invariably felt from the very beginning of this unhappy contest. Mr. Grenville is fully acquainted with my sentiments upon this subject, and with the sanguine hopes which I have conceived, that those with whom we are contending, are too reasonable to continue a contest, which has no longer any object either real or even imaginary.

"I know your liberality of mind too well, to be afraid lest any prejudices against Mr. Grenville's *name*, may prevent you from esteeming those excellent qualities of heart and head which belong to him, or from giving the fullest credit to the sincerity of his wishes for peace, in which no man in either country goes beyond him. C. J. FOX."

I imagined the gentlemen had been at Versailles, as I supposed Mr. G. would first have waited on M. de Vergennes before he called on me; but finding in conversation that he had not, and that he expected me to introduce him, I immediately wrote to that minister, acquainting him that Mr. G. was arrived, and desired to know when his excellency would think fit to receive him, and I sent an express with my letter. I then entered into conversation with him on the subject of his mission, Mr. Fox having referred me to him as being fully acquainted with his sentiments. He said, that peace was really wished for by every body, if it could be obtained on reasonable terms; and as the idea of subjugating America was given up, and both France and America had thereby obtained what they had in view originally, it was hoped that there remained now no obstacle to a pacification: that England was willing to treat of a general peace, with all the powers at war against her, and that the treaty should be at Paris. I did not press him much for further particulars, supposing they were reserved for an interview with M. de Vergennes. The gentlemen did me the honour of staying to dinner with me, on the supposition which I urged, that my express might be back before we parted. This gave me an opportunity of a good deal of general conversation with Mr. Grenville, who appeared to me a sensible, judicious, intelligent, good tempered, and well instructed young man, answering well the character Mr. Fox had given me of him; they left me however about six o'clock, and my messenger did not return till nine.—He brought me the answer of M. le compte de Vergennes, that he was glad to hear of M. Grenville's arrival, and would be ready to receive us to-morrow at half past ten or eleven o'clock. I immediately enclosed his note in one to Mr. Grenville, requesting him to be with me at Passy by eight, that we might have time to breakfast before we set out. I have preserved no copy of these three last mentioned notes, or I should have inserted them, as I think, that though they seem of almost too trifling a nature, they serve usefully sometimes to settle dates, authenticate facts, and show something of the turn and manner of thinking of the writers on particular occasions. The answer I received was as follows:

"Mr. Grenville presents his compliments to Mr. Franklin, and will certainly do himself the honour of waiting upon Mr. Franklin to-morrow morning at eight o'clock.

"*Rue de Richelieu, Wednesday night.*"

We set out accordingly the next morning in my coach from Passy, and arrived punctually at M. de Vergennes's, who received Mr. Grenville in the most cordial manner, on account of the acquaintance and friendship that had formerly subsisted between his uncle and M. de Vergennes, when they were ambassadors together at Constantinople. After some little agreeable conversation, Mr. Grenville presented his letters from Mr. secretary Fox, and I think from the duke of Richmond.—When these were read, the subject of peace was entered on. What my memory retains of the discourse, amounts to little more than this, that after mutual declarations of the good dispositions of the two courts, Mr. Grenville having intimated that in case England gave America independence, France, it was expected, would restore the conquests she had made of British islands, receiving back those of Miquelon and St. Pierre. And the original object of the war being obtained; it was supposed that France would be contented with that. The minister seemed to smile at the proposed exchange, and remarked, on the offer of giving independence to America. "America," says he, "does not ask it of you; there is Mr. Franklin, he will answer you as to that point." To be sure, I said, we do not consider ourselves as under any necessity of bargaining for a thing that is our own, which we have bought at the expense of so much blood and treasure, and which we are in possession of. "As to our being satisfied with the original object of the war," continued he, "look back to the conduct of your nation in former wars: in the last war for example, what was the object? It was the disputed right to some waste lands on the Ohio, and the frontiers of Nova Scotia: did you content yourselves with the recovery of those lands? No; you retained at the peace all Canada, all Louisiana, all Florida, Grenada, and other West India islands, the greater part of the northern fisheries, with all your conquests in Africa and the East Indies." Something being mentioned of its not being reasonable that a nation, after making an unprovoked and unsuccessful war upon its neighbours should expect to sit down whole, and have every thing restored which she lost in such a war, I think Mr. Grenville remarked, that the war had been provoked by the encouragement given by France to the Americans to revolt. On which M. de Vergennes grew a little warm, and declared firmly that the breach was made, and our independence declared, long before we received the least encouragement from France; and he defied the world to give the smallest proof to the contrary. "There sits," says he, "Mr. Franklin, who knows the fact, and can contradict me if I do not speak the truth."—He repeated to Mr. Grenville what he had before said to Mr. Oswald, respecting the king's intentions of treating fairly, and keeping faithfully the conventions he should enter into, of which disposition, he should give at the treaty convincing proofs, by the fidelity and exactitude with which he should observe his engagements with his present allies: and added, that the points which the king had chiefly in view, were *justice* and *dignity*. These he could not depart from. He acquainted Mr. Grenville, that he should immediately write to Spain and Holland, to communicate to those courts what had passed, and request their answers, that in the meantime, he hoped Mr. Grenville would find means to amuse himself agreeably, to which he should be glad to contribute; that he would communicate what had passed to the king; and he invited him to come again the next day.

On our return, Mr. G. expressed himself as not quite satisfied with some part of M. de Vergennes's discourse, and was thoughtful. He told me that he had brought two state messengers with him, and perhaps after he had had another interview with the minister, he might despatch one of them to London. I then requested leave to answer by that opportunity, the letters I had received from lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox, and he kindly promised to acquaint me in time, of the messenger's departure. He did not ask me to go with him the next day to Versailles, and I did not offer it.

The coming and going of these gentlemen was observed, and made much talk at Paris; and the marquis de la Fayette having learnt something of their business from the minister's discourse with me about it; agreeable to the resolutions of congress, directing me to confer with him, and take his assistance in our affairs, I communicated to him what had passed. He told me, that during the treaty at Paris, for the last peace, the duke de Nivernois had been sent to reside in London, that this court might, through him, state what was from time to time transacted in the light they thought best, to prevent misrepresentations and misunderstandings; that such an employ would be extremely agreeable to him on many accounts; that as he was now an American citizen, and spoke both languages, and was well acquainted with our interests, he believed he might be useful in it; and that as peace was likely from appearances to take place, his return to America was not perhaps so immediately necessary. I liked the idea, and encouraged his proposing it to the ministry. He then wished I would make him acquainted with Messrs. Oswald and Grenville, and for that end, proposed meeting them for breakfast with me, which I undertook to contrive if I could, and endeavour to engage them for Saturday.

Friday morning the 10th of May, I went to Paris and visited Mr. Oswald: I found him in the same friendly disposition. and very desirous of doing good, and seeing an end put to this ruinous war. But I got no further light as to the sentiments of lord S. respecting the terms. I told him the marquis de la Fayette would breakfast with me to-morrow, and as he, Mr. Oswald, might have some curiosity to see a person who had in this war rendered himself remarkable, I proposed his doing me the same honour. He agreed to it cheerfully. I came home intending to write to Mr. Grenville, whom I supposed might stay and dine at Versailles, and therefore did not call on him. But he was returned, and I found the following note from him:

"Paris, May 10

"Mr. Grenville presents his compliments to Mr. Franklin; he proposes sending a courier to England at ten o'clock to-night, and will give him in charge, any letters Mr. Franklin may wish to send by him."

I sat down immediately, and wrote the two short letters following, to the secretaries of state, viz.

"*Charles J. Fox.*

"Passy, May 10, 1782.

"Sir,—I received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me by Mr. Grenville, whom I find to be a very sensible, judicious, and amiable gentleman; the name I assure you does not with me lessen the regard that his excellent qualities inspire. I introduced him as soon as possible to M. de Vergennes, he will himself give you an account of his reception. I hope his coming may forward the blessed work of pacification, in which for the sake of humanity, no time should be lost, no reasonable cause as you observe existing at present for the continuance of this abominable war. Be assured of my endeavours to put an end to it. I am much flattered by the good opinion of a person whom I have long highly esteemed, and I hope it will not be lessened by my conduct in the affair that has given rise to our correspondence.—With great respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Lord Shelburne.*

"Passy, May 10, 1782

"My Lord,—I have received the honour of your lordship's letter, dated the 28th past, by Mr. Oswald, informing me that he is sent back to settle with me the preliminaries of time and place. Paris, as the place, seemed to me yesterday to be agreed between Mr. Grenville and M. de Vergennes, and it is perfectly agreeable to me. The time cannot well be settled till this court has received answers from Madrid and the Hague, and until my colleagues are arrived; I expect daily Messrs. Jay and Laurens. Mr. Adams doubts whether he can be here, but that will not hinder our proceeding.

"It gave me great pleasure, to hear that Mr. Laurens is discharged entirely from the obligation he had entered into. I am much obliged, by the readiness with which your lordship has conferred that favour. Please to accept my thankful acknowledgments. I am happy too in understanding from your letter that transports are actually preparing to convey our prisoners to America, and that attention will be paid to their accommodation and good treatment. Those people on their return, will be dispersed through every part of America, and the accounts they will have to give of any marks of kindness received by them under the *present* ministry, will lessen much the resentment of their friends against the nation, for the hardships they suffered under the *past*.

"Mr. Oswald rests here a while by my advice, as I think his presence likely to be useful. B. FRANKLIN."

And I sent them to Mr. Grenville, with the following note:

"Mr. Franklin presents his compliments to Mr. Grenville, with thanks for the information of his courier's departure, and his kind offer of forwarding Mr. F.'s letters, who accepts the favour and encloses two.

"The marquis de la Fayette and Mr. Oswald, will do Mr. Franklin the honour of breakfasting with him to-morrow, between nine and ten o'clock. Mr. F. will be happy to have the company also of Mr. Grenville, if agreeable to him. He should have waited on Mr. G. to-day, at Paris, but he imagined Mr. Grenville was at Versailles.

"*Passy, Friday evening, May* 10."

To which Mr. G. sent me this answer.

"Mr. Grenville presents his compliments to Mr. Franklin, and will, with great pleasure, do himself the honour of breakfasting with Mr. Franklin, to-morrow, between nine and ten o'clock.

"Mr. Grenville was at Versailles to-day, and should have been sorry that Mr. Franklin should have given himself the trouble of calling at Paris this morning. The courier shall certainly take particular care of Mr. Franklin's letters.

"*Paris, Friday, May* 10."

The gentlemen all met accordingly; had a good deal of conversation at, and after breakfast; staid till after one o'clock, and parted much pleased with each other. The Monday following I called to visit Mr. G. I found with him Mr. Oswald, who told me he was just about returning to London. I was a little surprised at the suddenness of the resolution he had taken, it being, as he said, to set out the next morning early. I conceived the gentlemen were engaged in business; so I withdrew, and went to write a few letters, among which was the following to lord Shelburne; being really concerned at the thought of losing so good a man as Mr. Oswald.

"*Earl Shelburne.*

"Passy, May 13, 1782.

"My Lord,—I did myself the honour of writing to your lordship a few days since, by Mr. Grenville's courier, acknowledging the receipt of yours of the 28th past, by Mr. Oswald. I then hoped that gentleman would have remained here some time; but his affairs, it seems, recall him sooner than he imagined. I hope he will return again, as I esteem him more, the more I am acquainted with him; and believe his moderation, prudent counsels, and sound judgment may contribute much, not only to the speedy conclusion of a peace, but to the framing such a peace as may be firm and long lasting. B. FRANKLIN."

I went in the evening to Mr. Oswald's lodging with my letters: when he informed me his intention was to return immediately hither from England, and, to make the more despatch in going and returning, he should leave his carriage at Calais, as the embarking and debarking of carriages in the packet boats often occasioned a tide's delay. I did not inquire the reason of this movement. We had but little conversation, for Mr. Grenville coming in, I soon after wished him a good journey, and retired, that I might not interrupt their consultations.

Since his departure, Mr. Grenville has made me a visit; and, entering into conversation with me, exactly of the same tenor with the letters I formerly received from Mr. Hartley; stating suppositions that France might insist on points totally different from what had been the object of our alliance; and that, in such case, he should imagine we were not at all bound to continue the war to obtain such points for her, &c. I thought I could not give him a better answer to this kind of discourse, than what I had given in two letters to Mr. Hartley; and, therefore, calling for those letters, I read them to him. He smiled and would have turned the conversation: but I gave a little more of my sentiments on the general subject of benefit, obligation, and gratitude. I said, I thought people had often imperfect notions of their duty on those points, and that a state of obligation, was, to many, so uneasy a state, that they became ingenious in finding out reasons and arguments to prove they had been laid under no obligation at all, or that they had discharged it, and they too easily satisfied themselves with such arguments. To explain, clearly, my ideas on this subject, I stated a case: A, a stranger to B, sees him about to be imprisoned for a debt by a merciless creditor: he lends him the sum necessary to preserve his liberty. B then becomes the debtor of A; and, after some time repays the money. Has he then discharged the obligation? No; he has discharged the money debt, but the obligation remains, and he is a debtor for the kindness of A in lending the sum so seasonably. If B should afterwards find A in the same circumstances, that he, B, had been in when A lent him the money, he may then discharge this obligation, or debt of kindness, *in part*, by lending him an equal sum. *In part*, I said, and not *wholly*, because when A lent B the money, there had been no prior benefit received to induce him to it; and, therefore, if A should, a second time, need the same assistance, I thought B, if in his power, was in duty bound to afford it to him. Mr. Grenville conceived that it was carrying gratitude very far, to apply this doctrine to our situation in respect to France, who was really the party served and obliged by our separation from England, as it lessened the power of her rival, and relatively increased her own. I told him I was so strongly impressed with the kind assistance afforded us by France in our distress, and the generous and noble manner in which it was granted, without exacting or stipulating for a single privilege, or particular advantage to herself in our commerce or otherwise; that I could never suffer myself to think of such reasonings for lessening the obligation, and, I hoped, and, indeed, did not doubt, but my countrymen were all of the same sentiments. Thus he gained nothing of the point he came to push; we parted, however, in good humour.

His conversation is always polite, and his manner pleasing.

As he expressed a strong desire to discourse with me, on the means of a reconciliation with America; I promised to consider the subject, and appointed Saturday the 1st of June, for our conversation, when he proposed to call on me. The same day I received another letter from my old friend Mr. Hartley. Our former correspondence on the subject of peace since the beginning of this year, I have kept by itself, as it preceded this, was in the time of the old ministry, and consisted wholly of letters unmixed with personal conversation. This being the first letter from him under the new ministry, and, as it may be followed by others, which may relate to the negotiation, I insert it here, with my answer, and shall continue to insert the future letters I may receive from him, relative to the same subject.

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"London, May 3, 1782.

"My dear Friend,—I write to you only one line, just to inform you that a general order is issued, by our government, for the release of all the American prisoners every where. I have had this from lord Shelburne, who informed me that the order was not partial or conditional, but general and absolute. I heartily congratulate you upon this first step towards *sweet reconciliation*. I hope other things will follow. I have had a long conversation with lord Shelburne, relating to America, in which he expressed himself in most favourable terms. I shall have the honour of seeing and conversing with him again. But at present, as you know, certain matters are depending from your side of the water. Mr. Laurens is entirely at liberty: I see him very frequently, and when you see him he will tell you many things from me, which have occurred to me in the course of my poor endeavours to promote the cause of peace. Da pacem Domini in diebus nostris. D. H.

The Answer.

"Passy, May 13, 1783.

"My dear Friend,—I have just received your favour of the 3d instant. I thank you much for the good news you give me that 'an order is issued by your government for the release of all the American prisoners *every where*, an order not *partial* or *conditional*, but *general* and absolute.' I rejoice with you in this step, not only on account of the unhappy captives, who by it will be set at liberty and restored to their friends and families, but as I think it will tend greatly towards a reconciliation, on which alone the hope of a durable peace can be founded. I am much indebted to your good brother, for a very kind and obliging letter, which was mislaid when it should have been answered. I beg you will present to him my thankful acknowledgments and my very sincere respects. I join with you most heartily in the prayer that ends your letter. *Da pacem Domini in diebus nostris.* B. FRANKLIN."

Our business standing still at present till the return of Mr. Oswald, gives me a void that I may fill up with two or three circumstances, not at present connected with this intended treaty, but which serve to show something of the disposition of courts who have, or may have a concern in it.

Mr. Jay had written to me, from time to time, of the unaccountable delays he had met with since his residence at the court of Spain, and that he was now no nearer in the business he had been charged with, than when he first arrived. Upon the first coming of Mr. Oswald, and the apparent prospect of a treaty, I wrote to press his coming hither; and being a little out of humour with that court, I said, "*they have taken four years to consider whether they would treat with us; give them forty, and let us mind our own business*;" and I sent the letter under cover to a person at Madrid, who, I hoped, would open and read it. It seems to me, that we have, in most instances, hurt our credit and importance, by sending all over Europe begging alliances, and soliciting declarations of our independence. The nations, perhaps from thence, seem to think, that our independence is something *they have to sell*, and that we don't *offer enough* for it. Mr. Adams has succeeded in Holland, owing to their war with England, and a good deal to the late votes in the commons towards a reconciliation; but the ministers of other powers refused, as I hear, to return his visits; because our independence was not yet acknowledged by their courts. I had heard here, by good luck, that the same resolution was taken by several of them, not to return the visits I should make them (as they supposed) when I was first received here as minister plenipotentiary, and I disappointed their project by visiting none of them. In my private opinion, the first civility is due from the old resident to the stranger and new-comer. My opinion indeed is good for nothing against custom, which I should have obeyed, but for the circumstance that rendered it more prudent to avoid disputes and affronts, though at the hazard of being thought rude or singular. While I am writing, something ridiculous enough on this head has happened to me.—The count du Nord, who is son to the empress of Russia, arriving at Paris, ordered, it seems, cards to be sent to all the foreign ministers. One of them, on which was written, le compte du Nord et le prince Bariatinski, was brought to me. It was on Monday morning last: being at court the next day, I inquired of an old minister, my friend, what was the etiquette, and whether the count received visits. The answer was, "Non; en se fait ecrire: voila tout." This is done by passing the door, and ordering your name to be writ on the porter's book. Accordingly, on Wednesday, I passed the house of prince Bariatinski, ambassador of Russia, where the count lodged, and left my name on the list of each. I thought no more of the matter; but this day, May 24th, comes the servant, who brought the card, in great affliction, saying, he was likely to be ruined by his mistake in bringing the card here, and wishing to obtain from me some paper, of I know not what kind, for I did not see him. In the afternoon came my friend, M. le Roy, who is also a friend of the prince's, telling me how much he, the prince, was concerned at the accident: that both himself and the count had great personal regard for me and my character; but that our independence not being yet acknowledged by the court of Russia, it was impossible for him to permit himself to make me a visit as minister. I told M. le Roy it was not my custom to seek such honours, though I was very sensible of them when conferred upon me; that I should not have voluntarily intruded a visit; and that in this case I had only done what I was informed the etiquette required of me: but if it would be attended with any inconvenience to prince Bariatinski, whom I much esteemed and respected, I thought the remedy was easy, he had only to *erase my name* out of his book of visits received, and I would *burn their card.*

All the northern princes are not ashamed of a little civility committed towards an American. The king of Denmark travelling in England under an assumed name, sent me a card, expressing in strong terms his esteem for me, and inviting me to dine with him at St. James's. And the ambassador from the king of Sweden, lately asked me, whether I had power to make a treaty of commerce with their kingdom; for he said, his master was desirous of such a treaty with the United States; and had directed him to ask me the question; and had charged him to tell me, that it would flatter him greatly to make it with a person whose character he so much esteemed, &c. Such compliments might make me a little proud, if we Americans were not naturally as much so already, as the porter, who being told, that he had with his burden jostled the great Czar Peter (then in London, walking the street;) poh! says he, *we are all czars here.*

I did not write by Mr. Oswald to Mr. Laurens; because, from some expressions in his letter to me, I expected him here; and I desired Mr. Oswald, if he found him still in London, or met him on the road, to give him that reason. I am disappointed in my expectation; for I have now received (May 25th) the following letter from him:

Henry Laurens to Dr. Franklin.

"Ostend, May 17, 1782.

"Sir,—I had the honour of addresing you, under the 30th ultimo by post, a duplicate of which will accompany this, in order to guard against the effect of a miscarriage, in the first instance, and I beg leave to refer to the contents.

"On the 10th current, and no sooner, your very obliging favour of 20th preceding reached me in London, being then on the point of leaving that place; I deferred a reply until my arrival on this side; this happened yesterday too late to catch the post of the day, except by a single letter put into my hands, I believe by Doctor Price, which I sent forward. I sincerely and heartily thank you, sir, for the cordial contents of your last letter, but from the most mature reflection, and taking into consideration my present very infirm sate of health, I have resolved to decline accepting the honour intended by congress, in the commission for treating with Great Britain; and I find the less difficulty in coming to this determination, from a persuasion in my own mind that my assistance is not essential, and that it was not the view or expectation of our constituents, that every one named in the commission should act. I propose to repair to or near Mr. Adams, and inquire of him, whether I may yet be serviceable under the commission to which I had been first appointed, that for borrowing money for the use of the United States; if he speaks in the affirmative, I shall, though much against my own grain, as is well known at our little court, proceed in the mission with diligence and fidelity, otherwise I shall take a convenient opportunity of returning to give an account there, of having in the course of two years and upwards, done nothing excepting only the making a great number of rebels in the enemy's country, and reconciling thousands to the doctrine of absolute and unlimited independence. A doctrine which I asserted and maintained with as much freedom in the Tower of London, as ever I had in the State House at Philadelphia; and having contentedly submitted to the loss of my estate, and being ready to lay down my life in support of it, I had the satisfaction of perceiving the coming in of converts every day. I must not, however, conclude this head without assuring you, that should you think proper to ask questions respecting American commerce, or the interests of any particular state, I will answer with candour, and the best judgment I am possessed of; but of that judgment I sincerely protest I have the utmost diffidence. God prosper your proceedings in the great work: you shall be called blessed by all the grateful of the present generation, and your name will be celebrated by posterity. I feel myself happy in reflecting, that in the great outlines for a treaty, our opinions exactly coincide, that we shall not want the countenance and assistance of our great and good ally, and that you have so honest a man as Mr. Oswald to deal with for preliminaries: I know him to be superior to all chicanery, and am sure he will not defile his mind by attempting any dirty thing.

"I entreat you, sir, to present my humble respects to M. de Vergennes, and thank his excellency for his polite expressions respecting me; and be so good as to say all that shall appear necessary in excuse for my non-appearance at his court.

"Lord Cornwallis called on me the day I left London, and was, you may suppose, very anxious to know when he might probably hear from me on the subject of his release; let me therefore request your opinion, in answer to what I had the honour of writing in my last concerning that affair. I wish it may prove satisfactory to his lordship, by enabling me, with your consent and concurrence, to cancel a debt which does not sit easy upon me, and which cannot, with honour to our country, remain unpaid. I think we shall not; 'tis impossible we should incur displeasure by doing an act of common justice, and our authority may be fully implied.

"His lordship declares, that he has no intention of returning to Ameirca, but desires to be reinstated in his legislative and military character in his own country, and I am of opinion, that in the former station, he will rather be friendly to us than otherwise; for my own part, if the war continues, I should not be uneasy if his lordship were to go to the Chesapeake again.

"I have a thousand compliments and good wishes to present you, from your friends in England, where males and females, I am sure you have at least so many, your own remembrance may lead you to individuals of your old acquaintance. To-morrow I intend to proceed for Brussels, and thence probably to Hague and Amsterdam. My movements must unavoidably be as slow as water carriage. My weak, tender limbs cannot bear continual thumping on the pavement in the rough machines of this country; and the feebleness of my pocket will not admit the indulgence of a more convenient vehicle.

"I beg, sir, you will write to me at the house of Mr. Edward Jennings, or under the protection of any other friend in that city, that will be at the trouble of finding out a *voyageur* who is——at all times in all places——

"HENRY LAURENS."

I wrote the following answer:

"*Henry Laurens.*

"PASSY, May 25, 1782.

"SIR,—I am now honoured with yours of the 17th; I had before read one of the 17th, which remained unanswered, because from the words in it, 'when I reach the continent, which will probably happen in a few days,' I flattered myself with the pleasure of seeing you here. That hope is disappointed by your last, in which you tell me, you are determined not to act in the commission for treating of peace with Britain. I regret your taking this resolution, principally, because I am persuaded your assistance must have been of great service to our country. But I have besides some private or particular reasons that relate to myself, to encourage me in the arduous task, you kindly tell me I shall be called blessed, &c. I have never yet known of a peace made, that did not occasion a great deal of popular discontent, clamour, and outcry on both sides. This is perhaps owing to the usual management of the ministers, and leaders of the contending nations, who, to keep up the spirits of their people for continuing the war, generally represent the state of their own affairs in a better light, and that of the enemy in a worse than is consistent with the truth; hence the populace on each side, expect better terms than really can be obtained, and are apt to ascribe their disappointment to treachery. Thus the peace of Utrecht, and that of Aix la Chapelle, were said in England to have been influenced by French gold, and in France by English guineas. Even the last peace, the most advantageous and glorious for England that ever she made, was, you may remember, violently decried, and the makers as violently abused. So that the blessings promised to peace-makers, I fancy, relates to the next world, for in this, they seem to have a greater chance of being cursed; and as another, that *in the multitude of counsellors there is safety*, which, I think, may mean safety to the counsellors, as well as to the counselled; because if they commit a fault in counselling, the blame does not fall on one or a few, but is divided among many; and the share of each is so much the lighter, or perhaps because when a number of honest men are concerned, the suspicion of their being biassed is weaker, as being more inviolable; or because *defendit numerus;* for all these reasons, but especially for the support your established character of integrity would afford me, against the attacks of my enemies, if this treaty takes place, and I am to act in it, I wish for your presence, and for the presence of as many of the commissioners as possible; and I hope you will reconsider and change your resolution. In the mean time, as you have had opportunities of conversing with the new ministers, and other leading people in England, and of learning their sentiments relating to the terms of peace, &c. I request you would inform me by letters, of what you think important. Letters from you will come safer by the court courier than by the post; and I desire you would, if you should continue determined not to act, communicate to me your ideas of the terms to be insisted on, and the points to be attended to respecting commerce, fisheries, boundaries, and every other material circumstance, to all or any of the United States. Lord Shelburne having written to me on the subject of the wished for peace, I acquainted him in my answer sent by our friend Mr. Oswald, that you were one of the commissioners appointed by congress to treat with Britain, and that I imagined his lordship would therefore think proper to discharge you entirely from the obligations you entered into, when you were admitted to bail, that you might be at liberty to act freely in the commission. He wrote to me in reply, that you were accordingly discharged immediately. His lordship mentioned nothing of any exchange being expected for you: nevertheless, I honour your sensibility on the point, and your concern for the credit of America, that she should not be outdone in generosity by Britain, and will cheerfully join with you in any act that you may think proper, to discharge in return the parole of lord Cornwallis, as far as in our power may lie; but as we have no express authority for that purpose, and the congress may possibly in the mean time have made some other arrangement relative to his exchange, I conceive that our act should contain a clause, reserving to congress the final approbation or disallowance of the proceeding. And I have some doubts, whether lord Cornwallis will think himself well freed from his engagement, and at liberty to exercise his military employments, by virtue of any concession in his favour, made by persons who are not vested with authority for that purpose. So that on the whole, perhaps the best and surest way will be our writing immediately to congress, and strongly recommending the measure. However, I will do what you shall think best.

"I heartily wish you success in any endeavours you may use in Holland for raising a loan of money. We have pressed rather too hard on this court, and we shall want more than they can conveniently spare us; but I am sorry that too scrupulous a regard to our wants and difficulties should induce you, under the present infirmity of your lower limbs, to deny yourself the necessary comfort of an easy carriage, rather than make use of the public assistance, when the public must be much in your debt. I beg you would get over that difficulty, and take of me what you may have occasion for.

"The letter forwarded to me, was from America's constant friend, the good bishop of St. Asaph. He speaks of you, in terms of the highest esteem and respect.

"Mr. Oswald is gone back again to London, but intended to return immediately. Mr. Grenville remains here, and has received powers to treat; but no farther steps can be taken, till Spain and Holland have impowered ministers for the same purpose. I shall inform you and Mr. Adams (if he does not come) of the proceedings from time to time, and request your counsels in case of any difficulty. I hope you will not think of hazarding a return to America before a peace, if we find any hope of its being soon obtained, and that if you do not find you can be useful in the manner you wish in Holland, you will make me happy by your company and counsels here. B. FRANKLIN."

May 26, I received the following letters, &c.

David Hartley, M. P., to Dr. Franklin.

"LONDON, May 1, 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have received a packet from you, containing several letters of various dates. As I shall probably have a safe conveyance to you when Mr. Laurens leaves this country; I am now sitting down to write to you an *omnium* kind of a letter of various matters as they occur. The late ministry being defeated, I may now speak of things past more freely. I will take a sentence in one of your letters as my text; *vide* yours of April 13th, 1782, in which you say, 'you was of opinion, that the late ministry desired *sincerely* a reconciliation with America, and with that view a separate peace with us was proposed.' I must qualify this sentence much before I can adopt it as my opinion. As to *reconciliation*, I never gave them much credit for that wish: 'it is a sweet expression, it certainly means *more* than peace' The utmost that I ever gave the late ministry credit for, was a wish for peace; and I still believe that the wisest amongst them, grew from day to day more disposed to peace, (or an abatement of the late war) in proportion as they became more alarmed for their own situations and their responsibility. Had the war been more successful, I should not have expected much relating towards peace or reconciliation; that this has been always the measure of my opinion of them, I refer you to some words in a letter from me to you, dated January 5th, 1780, for proof: 'But for the point of sincerity; why as to that, I have not much to say. I have at last expected some hold upon their *prudence*. My argument runs thus: It is a bargain for your ministers to be sincere *now*. Common prudence may hint to you to look to yourselves; it has amazed me beyond measure, that this principle of common, selfish *prudence*, has not had the effect which I expected.' I have not been disposed to be deceived by any conciliatory professions, which I considered only as arising from prudence, and I hope that I have not led you into any deception, having so fully explained myself to you on that head. Had the American war been more propitious on the part of the late ministry, I do not believe the late resignation would have taken place; but it is evident from the proposition to the court of France, which you have communicated to me (and which I have communicated to the present ministry with your letter) that even to the last hour some of the late ministry were still set upon the American war to the last extremity, and probably another more *prudent* part of the ministry would proceed no farther; which if it be so, may reasonably be expected as the cause of the dissolution of the late ministry. These are the arguments which I have already driven and insisted upon with the greatest expectation of success, viz. *prudential* arguments, from the total unpracticability of the war, responsibility, &c. I have been astonished beyond measure, that the arguments have not had their effect sooner. If I could give you an idea of many conferences which I have had upon the subject, I should tell you that many times *Felix has trembled.* When reduced to the terror of responsibility, either to renounce the American war or to relinquish their places; they have chosen the latter, which is a most wretched and contemptible retribution, either to their country or to mankind for the desolation in which they have involved every nation that they have ever been connected with. *Peace* they would not leave behind them, their legacy to their country and to mankind has been, 'let darkness be the burier of the dead!'

"As to the proposal of a *separate* peace arising from a desire of *reconciliation*, it certainly was so on the part of the people of England; but on the part of the late ministry, it probably arose from the hopes of suggesting to France ideas of some infidelity on the part of America towards them. If you should ask me why I have *seemed* to conspire with this, my answer is very plain. In the first place, if I could have prevailed with the late ministry to have actually made an irrevocable offer *on their own part* of a *separate* peace to America, that very offer would in the same instant have become *on their part* also, a consent to a *general* peace, because *they* never had any wish to a separate contest with France; and America being out of the question, *they* would have thought of nothing after that but a general peace. But I never could bring them even to this. *They* wished that *America* should make the offer of a separate treaty, (for obvious views) *my* proposal was, that they should offer irrevocable terms of a peace to America. If they had really meant what they pretended, and what the people of England did really desire, they would have adopted that proposition; then the question would have come forward upon the fair and honourable construction of a treaty between France and America: *the essential and direct end* of which was fully accomplished. When I speak of Great Britain offering irrevocable terms of peace to America, I mean such terms as would effectually have satisfied the provision of the treaty, viz. *tacit* independence. I send you a paper entitled a Breviate, which I laid before the late ministry, and their not having acted upon it, was a proof to me that the disposition of their hearts to America was not altered, but that all their relenting arose from the impracticability of that war and their want of success in it; but desponding as they were at last, it was not inconsistent with my expectations of their conduct, that they should make great offers with France to abandon America; it was the only weapon left in their hands. In course of negotiating with the said ministry, I perceived their courage drooping, from three to five, for the last three or four years, and it was upon that ground that I gave them credit for an increasing disposition towards peace. Some dropt off, others sunk under the load of folly, and at last they all failed.

"My argument, *ad homines* to the late ministry, might be stated thus respecting the

American war; '*If you don't kill them, they will kill you.*' But the war is impracticable *on your part*—Ergo, 'the best thing you can do *for your own sakes*, is to make *peace*.' This was reasoning to men, and *through men to things*. But there is no measure of rage in pride and disappointment—

> ———' Spicula cæca relinquunt,
> Affixe venis animosque; in valuere ponunt.'

So much for the argument of the Breviate, as far as it respected the late ministry. It was a test which proved that *they* were not sincere in their pretensions. If they had been in earnest to have given the war a turn towards the house of Bourbon, and to have dropt the American war, a plain road lay before them. The sentiment of the people of England was conformable to the argument of that Breviate, or rather I should say, what is the real truth, that the argument of that Breviate was dictated by the notoriety of that sentiment in the people of England. My object and wish, has been always to strike at the root of the evil, the American war. If the British nation have jealousies and resentments against the house of Bourbon, yet still the first step in every case should be to rescind the American war, and not to keep it lurking in the rear, to become hereafter, in case of certain events, a *reversionary* war with America for unconditional terms. This reversionary war, was never the object of the people of England; therefore the argument of the British was concluded *bonâ fide*, to accomplish their views, and to discriminate the fallacious pretences of the late administration, from the real wishes of the country, as expressed in the circular resolutions of many counties in the year 1780, first moved at York, on March 28, 1780: every other principle and mode of conduct only implies, as you very justly express it, a secret hope *that war may still produce successes*, and then, &c. The designs which have been lurking under this pretext, could not mean any thing else than this: 'Who knows but we may talk to America at last!' The only test of clear intentions would have been this, to have cut up the American war and all possible return to it, for any cause or under any pretext. I am confident that the sentiments of the people of England is, and always have been, to procure peace and reconciliation with America, and to vindicate the national honour in the contest with the house of Bourbon. If this intention had been pursued in a simple and direct manner, I am confident that the honour and safety of the British nation would long ago have been established in a *general* peace with all the belligerent powers.

"These are the sentiments to which I have always acted in those negotiations, which I have had on the subject of peace with all the late ministry; reconciliation with America, and peace with all the world, upon terms consistent with the honour and safety of my own country. Peace must be sought in such ways as promise the greatest degree of practicability. The sentiments of individuals as philanthropists, may be overborne by the powers of ancient prejudices, which too frequently prevail in aggregates of nations. In such cases the philanthropist, who wishes the good of his own country and of mankind, must be the bulrush bending to the storm, and not the sturdy oak unavailing by resisting. National prejudices are, I hope, upon the decline. Reason and humanity gain ground every day, against their *natural* enemies of folly and injustice. The ideas of nations being *natural* enemies to each other, are generally reprobated. But still *jealousies* and ancient *rivalships* remain, which obstruct the road to peace among men. If one belligerent nation will entertain a standing force of three or four hundred thousand fighting men, other nations must have defended frontiers and barrier towns, and the barrier of the neighbouring island, whose constitution does not allow a standing military force, must consist in a superiority at sea, it is necessary for her own defence. If all nations will by mutual consent, reduce their offensive powers (which they only claim under the pretext of necessary *defence*) and bring forward the reign of the millennium; then away with your frontiers and your barriers, your Gibraltars and the key of the Baltic, and all the hostile array of nations.

> 'Aspersa compositis mitescant sæcula bellis!'

"These must be the sentiments of every philanthropist in his interior thoughts. But if we are not to seek peace by some particular method accommodating to the remaining prejudices of the multitude, we shall not, I fear, in our time see that happy day, if Great Britain and France are ancient rivals, then (until the reign of the millennium shall approach) arrange that rivalship upon equitable terms, as the two leading nations of Europe; set them in the balance by each other, the one by land and the other by sea, give to France her elevated rank among the nations of Europe; give to Great Britain the honour of her flag, and the security of her islands by her wooden walls, and then there would be no obstruction to general and perpetual peace.

"The prejudices of disrespect between nations, prevail only among the inferior ranks. Believe me for once, at least, I have the highest sentiments of respect for the nation of France. I have no other sentiment of hostility but what is honourable towards them, and which, as a member of a rival state, at war with them, constitutes the duty of allegiance, which I owe to the honour and interest of my country. I am not conscious of a word or thought, which *on the point of honour*, I would wish to have concealed—from a French minister. In the mode which I have proposed, of unravelling the present subjects of jealousy and contest, I would make my proposals openly to France herself. Let America be free, and enjoy her happiness and peace for ever. If France and Great Britain have jealousies and rivalships between themselves as European nations, I would then say to France, let us settle those points between ourselves, if unfortunately, we shall not be able, by honourable negotiation, to compromise the indispensable points of national honour and safety. This would be my language to France, open and undisguised. In the mean time, I desire you to observe, that it would not be with reluctance, that I should offer eternal freedom, happiness, and peace to America. You know my thoughts too well to suspect that. I speak only as in a state of war; desirous to arrange the complicated interests, and to secure the respective honour of nations, my wishes are, and always have been, for the peace, liberty, and safety of mankind. In the pursuit of those blessed objects, not only this country and America, but France herself, and the house of Bourbon, may justly claim the conspiring exertions of every free and liberal mind, even among their temporary enemies and rivals.

"DAVID HARTLEY."

BREVIATE.

"February 7, 1782.

"It is stated, that America is disposed to enter into a negotiation of peace with Great Britain, without requiring any formal recognition of independence, always understood that they are to act in conjunction with their allies conformable to treaties.

"It is therefore recommended to give for reply, that the ministers of Great Britain are likewise disposed to enter into a negotiation for peace, and that they are ready to open a general treaty for that purpose.

"If the British ministers should see any objection to a general treaty, but should still be disposed to enter into a separate treaty with America, it is then recommended to to them to offer such terms to America, as shall induce her to apply to her allies for their consent, that she should be permitted to enter into a separate treaty with Great Britain. The condition of which, being the consent of allies, no proposition of any breach of faith can be understood to be required of them, by the requisition of a separate treaty.

"The British ministers are free to make any propositions to America, which they may think proper; provided they be not dishonourable in themselves, which in the present case, is barred by the supposition of consent being obtained. In this case, therefore, if they should be inclined to offer a separate treaty, it is recommended to them, to offer such terms to America, as should induce her to be desirous of closing with the proposal of a separate treaty on the grounds of national security and interests; and likewise, such as may constitute to them a case of reason and justice, upon which they may make requisition to their allies for their consent. It is suggested, that the offer to America of a truce of sufficient length, together with the removal of the British troops, would be equivalent to that case, which is provided for in the treaty of February 6, 1778, between America and France, viz. tacit independence; and the declared ends of that alliance being accomplished, it would not be reasonable that America should be dragged on by their allies in a war, the continuance of which, between France and Great Britain, could only be caused by separate European jealousies, and sentiments (if unfortunately for the public peace, any such should arise) between themselves, independent and unconnected with the American cause. It is to be presumed, that France would not, in point of honour to their allies, refuse their consent so requested, as any rivalship and punctilio between her and Great Britain as European nations, (principles which too often disturb the peace of mankind) could not be considered as *casus fœderis* of the American alliance, and their pride as a belligerent nation, would not prevent them to claim the assistance of America as necessary for their support, thereby proclaiming their nation unequal to the contest, in case of the continuance of a war with Great Britain, after the settlement and pacification with America. Their consent therefore is to be presumed. But if they should demur on this point, if Great Britain should be disposed to concede *tacit* independence to America, by a long truce, and the removal of the troops; and if the obstruction should evidently occur on the part of France, under any equivocal or captious construction of a defensive treaty of alliance between America and France, Great Britain would, from thence forward, stand upon advantageous ground, either in any negotiation with America, or on the continuance of a war including America, but not arising from any further resentment of Great Britain towards America, but imposed reluctantly upon both parties by the conduct of the court of France.

"These thoughts are not suggested with any view of giving any opinion of preference, in favour of a separate treaty, above a general treaty, and above any plan of separate but comcomitant treaties, like the treaties of Munster and Osnaburg, but only to draw out the line of negotiating a separate treaty, in case the British ministers should think it necessary to adhere to that mode. But, in all cases, it should seem indispensable to express some disposition, on the part of Great Britain, to adopt either one mode or the other. An absolute refusal to treat at all, must necessarily drive America into the closest connexion with France, and all other foreign hostile powers, who would take that advantage for making every possible stipulation to the future disadvantage of British interests; and, above all things, would probably stipulate, that America should never make peace with Great Britain, without the most formal and explicit recognition of their independence, absolute and unlimited."

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"London, May 13, 1782.

"My dear Friend,—I wrote you a long letter, dated May the 1st, 1782, by Mr. Laurens, who left London on Saturday last; but I will add a few lines more by a conveyance, that I believe will overtake him, just to tell you two or three things, which I have omitted in my last. Perhaps they may not be of any consequence; but as they relate to my own conduct, I could wish to have you understand them.

"After several conferences with the late ministry, I gave in the paper, called the Breviate, on the 7th of February, but I never received any answer from them. They resigned on the 20th March. Upon the accession of the new ministry, I heard nothing from them upon the subject, nor indeed did I apply to them. I did not know whether the paper would come into their hands by succession, and I doubted whether it might not be more proper for me to wait till I heard from them. While I remained doubtful about this, I received your letters, which determined me to go to lord Shelburne. [This was about the beginning of the present month.] I communicated to him some extracts, such as those about the prisoners, &c. and likewise the whole of your letter of April the 13th, containing the offer of the late ministry, the king of France's answer, together with more reflections on the conclusions respecting peace. As you had given me a general permission, I left with him a copy of the whole letter.

"Upon the occasion of this interview, lord Shelburne told me, that he had made much inquiry in the office for the correspondences and papers, which had passed between the late ministry and me, but that he could not meet with them. He expressed a regret that he had not conversed with me at an earlier day, with many civilities of that kind. In short, I had been backward to intrude myself, and he expressed regret that he had not sent to me. Upon this opening on his part, I stated to him the substance of what had passed between the late ministry and myself, and I left a copy of the Breviate with him. He gave me a very attentive audience, and I took that opportunity of stating my sentiments to him, as far as I could, upon every view of the question. Upon his expressing regret that he had not seen me sooner, I told him, that I always had been, and shall be most ready to give any assistance in my power towards the work of peace. I say the same to you.

"I do not believe there is any difference of sentiment between you and me *personally*, in our own minds upon independence, &c. But we belong to different communities, and the right of judgment, or consent and dissent, is vested in the community. Divide independence into six millions of shares, and you should have been heartily welcome to *my* share from the beginning of the war. Divide Canada into six millions of shares, I could find a better method of disposing of *my* share, than by offering it to France to abandon America. Divide the rock of Gibraltar into six millions of pieces, I can only answer for one portion. Let reason and justice decide, in any such case, as universal umpires between contending parties, and those who wish well to the permanent peace of mankind, will not refuse to give and to receive equal justice. I agree with you, that the equitable and philosophical principles of politics, can alone form a solid foundation of permanent peace, and that the contraries to them (though highly patronised by nations themselves and their ministers,) are no better than vulgar errors; but nations are slow to conviction from the personal arguments of individuals. They are jealous in honour, seeking the '*Bubble reputation*, even in the cannon's mouth.' But until a confirmed millennium, founded upon wiser principles, shall be generally established, the *reputation* of nations is not merely a *bubble*. It forms their real security. To apply all this, in one word, let all nations agree, with one accord, to 'beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks;' or, give me wooden walls to Great Britain!

"I have nothing further to add. My reason for writing this, was just to communicate to you in what position I had delivered over my conferences and arguments, with the late ministry, into the hands of the present. And I will conclude with your own words—May God send us all more wisdom.

"D. HARTLEY."

"P. S. May 17, 1782. Since writing the above, I have likewise left a copy of the enclosed preliminaries with lord Shelburne."

PRELIMINARIES.

"May, 1782.

"1. That the British troops shall be withdrawn from the thirteen provinces of North America, and a truce made between Great Britain and the said provinces, for——— years. (Suppose ten or twenty years.)

"2. That a negotiation for peace shall *bonâ fide* be opened between Great Britain and the allies of America.

"3. If the proposed negotiation between Great Britain and the allies of America, should not succeed so far as to produce peace, but that war should continue between the said parties, that America should act and be treated as a neutral nation.

"4. That whenever peace shall take place between Great Britain and the allies of America, the truce between Great Britain and America shall be converted into a perpetual peace. The independence of America shall be admitted and guaranteed by Great Britain, and a commercial treaty settled between them.

"5. That these propositions shall be made to the court of France for communication to the American commissioners, and for an answer to the court of Great Britain."

The same day Mr. Grenville visited me. He acquainted me that his courier was returned, and had brought him full powers in form, to treat for a peace *with France and her allies.* That he had been at Versailles, and had shown his power to M. de Vergennes, and left a copy with him: that he had also a letter of credence, which he was not to deliver till France should think fit to send a minister of the same kind to London. That M. de Vergennes had told him he would lay it before the king, and had desired to see him again on Wednesday. That Mr. Oswald had arrived in London about an hour before the courier came away; that Mr. Fox in his letter, had charged him to thank me for that which I had written, and to tell me he hoped I would never forget that he and I were of the same country. I answered, that I should always esteem it an honour to be owned as a countryman by Mr. Fox. He had requested, at our last interview, that if I saw no impropriety in doing it, I would favour him with a sight of the treaty of alliance between France and America. I acquainted him that it was printed; but that if he could not readily meet with a copy I would have one written for him; and as he had not been able to find one, I this day gave it to him. He lent me a London Gazette, containing Admiral Rodney's account of his victory over M. de Grasse, and the accounts of other successes in the East Indies, assuring me, however, that these events made not the least change in the sincere desire of his court to treat for peace.

In the afternoon the marquis de la Fayette called upon me. I acquainted him with what Mr. Grenville had told me respecting his credential letter, and the expectation that a person, on the part of this court, would be sent to London with a commission similar to his. The marquis told me, he was on his way to Versailles, and should see M. de Vergennes. We concluded, that it would now be proper for him to make the proposition we had before talked of, that he should be the person employed in that service.

On Monday, the 27th, I received a letter from Mr. Jay, dated the 8th, acquainting me that he had received mine of the 21st and 22d past, and had concluded to set out for Paris about the 19th; so that he may be expected in a few days.

I dined this day with count D'Estaing, and a number of brave marine officers that he had invited. We were all a little dejected and chagrined with the news. I mentioned, by way of encouragement, the observation of the Turkish bashaw, who was taken with his fleet at Lepanto by the Venitians. "Ships," says he, "are like my master's beard: you may cut it, but it will grow again: he has cut off from your government all the Morea, which is like a limb that you will never recover." And his words proved true.

On Tuesday I dined at Versailles with some friends, so was not at home when the marquis de la Fayette called to acquaint me that M. de Vergennes informed him, that a full power, received by Mr. Grenville from London, and communicated by him, related to France only. The marquis left me this information, which I could not understand.

On Wednesday I was at court, and saw the copy of the power. It appeared full, with regard to treating with France; but mentioned not a word of her allies. And as M. de Vergennes had explicitly and constantly, from the beginning, declared to the several messengers, Mr. Forth, Mr. Oswald, and Mr. Grenville, that France could only treat in concert with her allies, and it had in consequence been declared, on the part of the British ministry, that they consented to treat for a general peace, and at Paris, the sending this partial power appeared to be insidious, and a mere invention to occasion delay; the late disaster to the French fleet having probably given the court of England fresh courage and other views. M. de Vergennes said, he should see Mr. Grenville on Thursday, and would speak his mind to him on the subject very plainly: they want, says he, to treat with us for you; but this the king will not agree to. He thinks it not consistent with the dignity of your state; you will treat for yourselves, and every one of the powers at war with England will make its own treaty. All that is necessary to be observed, for our common security, is, that the treaties go hand in hand, and are signed all on the same day.

"Prince Bariatinski, the Russian ambassador, was particularly civil to me this day at court, apologized for what had passed relating to the visit, expressed himself extremely sensible of my friendship in covering the affair, which might have occasioned to him very disagreeable consequences, &c. The compte de Nord came to M. de Vergennes's while we were drinking coffee after dinner. He appears lively and active, with a sensible spirited countenance. There was an opera at night for his entertainment. The house being richly finished with abundance of carving and gilding, well illuminated with wax tapers, and the company all superbly dressed, many of the men in cloth of tissue, and the ladies sparkling with diamonds, formed altogether the most splendid spectacle my eyes ever beheld.

I had some little conference to-day with M. M. Berkenrode, Vanderpiene, and Boeris, the ambassador of Holland, and the agents of the Dutch East India Company; they informed me, that the proud letter of Mr. Fox to the mediating minister of Russia, proposing a separate peace with Holland, made no more impression than the first, and no peace will be made but in concurrence with France.

The Swedish minister told me, he expected orders from his court relative to a treaty, &c.

I had, at our last interview, given Mr. Grenville a rendezvous for Saturday morning, and, having some other engagements for Thursday and Friday, though I wished to speak to him on the subject of his power, I did not go to him, but waited his coming to me on Saturday. On Friday, May 31st, Mr. Oswald called on me, being just returned, and brought me the following letters from lord Shelburne, the first of which had been written before his arrival:

Earl Shelburne to Dr. Franklin.

"WHITEHALL, May 21, 1782.

"SIR,—I am honoured with your letter of the 10th instant, and am very glad to find, that the conduct which the king had impowered me to observe towards Mr. Laurens, and the American prisoners, has given you pleasure.

"I have signified to Mr. Oswald his majesty's pleasure, that he shall continue at Paris till he receives orders from hence to return.

"In the present state of this business there is nothing left, but for me to add my sincere wishes for a happy issue, and to repeat my assurances, that nothing should be wanting on my part which can contribute to it.

"SHELBURNE."

From the same.

"WHITEHALL, May 26, 1782.

"SIR,—I have the honour to receive your letter of the 13th of May, by Mr. Oswald. It gives me great pleasure to find my opinion of the moderation, prudence, and judgment of that gentleman, confirmed by your concurrence. For I am glad to assure you, that we likewise concur in hoping that those qualities may enable him to contribute to the speedy conclusion of a peace, and such a peace as may be firm and long lasting. In that hope he has the king's orders to return immediately to Paris, and you will find him I trust, properly instructed to co-operate to so desirable an object. SHELBURNE."

I had not then time to converse with Mr. Oswald, and he promised to come and breakfast with me on the next Monday.

Saturday, June 1st, Mr. Grenville came according to appointment. Our conversation began by my acquainting him that I had seen M. de Vergennes, and had perused the copy left with him of the power to treat. That after what he, Mr. Grenville, had told me of its being to treat with France *and her allies*, I was a little surprised to find in it no mention of the allies, and that it was only to treat with the king of France and his ministers; that at Versailles there was some suspicion of its being intended to occasion delay, the professed desire of a speedy peace being perhaps abated in the British court, since its late successes; but that I imagined the words relating to the allies, might have been accidentally omitted in transcribing, or that perhaps he had a special power to treat with us distinct from the other. He answered, that the copy was right, and that he had no such special power in form; but his instructions were full to that purpose, and that he was sure the ministers had no desire of delay, nor any of excluding us from the treaty, since the greatest part of those instructions related to treating with me. That to convince me of the sincerity of his court respecting us, he would acquaint me with one of his instructions, though perhaps the doing it now was premature, and therefore a little inconsistent with the character of a politician; but he had that confidence in me, that he should not hesitate to inform me (though he wished that at present it should go no farther,) he was instructed to acknowledge the independence of America, previous to the commencement of the treaty; and he said, he could only account for the omission of America in the power, by supposing that it was an old official form, copied from that given to Mr. Stanley, when he came over hither, before the last peace. Mr. Grenville added, that he had immediately, after his interview with M. de Vergennes, despatched a courier to London, and hoped that with his return the difficulty would be removed. That he was perfectly assured, that their late success had made no change in the disposition of his court to peace; and that he had more reason than M. de Vergennes to complain of delay, since five days were spent, and he could scarce obtain a passport for his courier, and then it was not to go and return by way of Calais, but to go by Ostend, which would occasion a delay of five days longer. Mr. Grenville then spoke much of the high opinion the present ministry had of me, and their great esteem for me; their desire of a perfect reconciliation between the two countries, and the firm and general belief in England, that no man was so capable as myself, of proposing the proper means of bringing about such a reconciliation; adding, that if the old ministers had formerly been too little attentive to my counsels, the present were very differently disposed, and he hoped that in treating with them I would totally forget their predecessors. The time has been, when such flattering language, from great men, might have made me vainer, and had more effect on my conduct than it can at present, when I find myself so near the end of life, as to esteem alike all personal interests and concerns, except that of maintaining to the last, and the leaving behind me the tolerable good character I have hitherto supported.

Mr. G. then discoursed of our resolution not to treat without our allies. This, says he, can properly only relate to France, with whom you have a treaty; that you have none with Spain: you have none with Holland; if Spain and Holland, and even if France should insist on unreasonable terms of advantage to themselves, after you have obtained all you want, and are satisfied, can it be right that America should be dragged on in a war for their interest only? He stated this matter in various lights, and pressed it earnestly. I resolved, from various reasons, to evade the discussion, therefore answered, that the intended treaty not being yet begun, it appeared unnecessary to enter at present into considerations of that kind. The preliminaries being once settled, and the treaty commenced, if any of the other powers should make extravagant demands on England, and insist on our continuing the war till those were complied with, it would then be time enough for us to consider what our obligations were, and how far they extended. The first thing necessary was, for him to procure the full powers; the next, for us to assemble the plenipotentiaries of all the belligerent parties, and then propositions might be mutually made, received, considered, answered, or agreed to. In the mean time, I would just mention to him, that though we were under no obligations to Spain by treaty, we are under obligations of gratitude for the assistance she had afforded us; and as Mr. Adams had some weeks since commenced a treaty in Holland, the terms of which I was not yet acquainted with, I knew not but that we might have already some alliance and obligations contracted there, and perhaps we ought however to have some consideration for Holland, on this account, that it was in vengeance, for the disposition shown by some of her people, to make a treaty of commerce with us, that England had declared the war against her. He said, it would be hard upon England if, having given reasonable satisfaction to one or or two of her enemies, she could not have peace with those, till she had complied with whatever the others might demand, however unreasonable; for she might be obliged to pay for every article fourfold. I observed, that when she made her propositions, the more advantageous they were to each, the more it would be the interest of each to prevail with the others to accept of those offered to them. We then spoke of the reconciliation; but his full power not being yet come, I chose to defer entering upon that subject at present. I told him I had thoughts of putting down in writing the particulars that I judged would conduce to that end, and of adding my reasons; that this required a little time, and I had been hindered by accidents, which was true, for I had begun to write, but had postponed it on account of his defective power to treat; but I promised to finish it as soon as possible. He pressed me earnestly to do it, and urging an expression of mine in a former conversation, that there still remained *roots of good will* in America towards England, which, if properly taken care of, might produce a reconciliation, had made a great impression on his mind, and given him infinite pleasure; and he hoped I would not neglect furnishing him with the information of what would be necessary to nourish those roots; and could assure me, that my advice would be greatly regarded.

Mr. Grenville had shown me, at our last interview, a letter from the duke of Richmond, requesting him to prevail with me for to disengage a captain M'Leod of the artillery, from his parole, the duke's brother, lord George Lennox, being appointed to the command of Portsmouth, and desiring to have him as his aid-de-camp. I had promised to consider of it, and this morning I sent him the following letter:

"*Lord George Lennox.*

"Passy, May 31, 1782.

"Sir,—I do not find that I have any express authority to absolve a parole, given by an English officer in America; but desirous of complying with the request of the duke of Richmond, as far as may be in my power, and being confident that the congress will be pleased with whatever may oblige a personage they so much respect, I do hereby consent that captain M'Leod serve in his military capacity in England only, till the pleasure of congress is known, to whom I will write immediately, and who, I make no doubt, will discharge him entirely.

B. FRANKLIN."

America had been constantly befriended in parliament by the duke of Richmond, and I believed the congress would not be displeased at this opportunity of obliging him; and that they would by their approbation, supply the deficiency of my power; besides, I could not well refuse it, after what had passed between Mr. Laurens and me, and what I had promised to do for the satisfaction of that gentleman.

Sunday, June the 2d, the marquis de la Fayette called and dined with me; he is uneasy about the delay, as he cannot resolve concerning his voyage to America, till some certainty appears of their being a treaty, or no treaty. This day I wrote the following letter to

"*John Adams.*

"PASSY, June 2, 1782.

"SIR,—Since mine of May 8th, I have not had any thing material to communicate to your excellency. Mr. Grenville indeed arrived just after I despatched that letter, and I introduced him to M. de Vergennes; but his mission seems only a repetition of that by Mr. Oswald, the same declarations of the king of England's sincere desire of peace, and willingness to treat of a general pacification with all the powers at war, and to treat at Paris; which were answered by the same declarations of the good dispositions of their court, and that it could not treat without the concurrence of its allies. I omitted writing till something should be produced from a kind of agreement that M. de Vergennes would acquaint Spain and Holland of the overture, and that Mr. Grenville would write for full powers to treat, and make propositions, &c. nothing of importance being in the mean time to be transacted.

"Mr. Grenville accordingly despatched a messenger for London, who returned in about twelve days. Mr. G. called on me, after having been at Versailles, and acquainted me that he had received the favour, and had left a copy of it with M. de Vergennes, and that he was thereby authorized to treat with France and her allies. The next time I went to Versailles, I desired to see that copy, and was surprised to find in it no mention of the allies of France or any one of them; and on speaking with M. de Vergennes about it, I found he began to look upon the whole as a piece of artifice, to amuse us and gain time, since he had uniformly declared to every agent who had appeared here, viz. to Forth, Oswald, and Grenville, that the king would not treat without the concurrence of his allies; and yet England had given a power to treat with France only; which showed that she did not intend to treat at all, but meant to continue the war. I had not till yesterday, an opportunity of talking with Mr. Grenville on the subject, and expressing my wonder, after what he told me, that there should be no mention made of our states in his commission: he could not explain this to my satisfaction, but said, he believed the omission was occasioned by their copying an old commission given to Mr. Stanley at the last treaty of peace, for that he was sure the intention was, that he should treat with us, his instructions being fully to that purpose. I acquainted him that I thought a special commission was necessary, without which we could not treat with him. I imagine that there is a reluctance in their king to take this first step, as the giving such a commission would itself be a kind of acknowledgment of our independence. The late success against count de Grasse, may also have given them hopes, that by delay and more successes they may make that acknowledgment and a peace less necessary.

"Mr. Grenville has written to his court for further instructions, we shall see what the return of his courier will produce, a full power to treat with each of the powers at war against England does not appear. I imagine the negotiations will be broken off.

"Mr. G. in his conversations with me, insists much on our being under no engagements not to make a peace without Holland. I have answered him that I know not but you may have entered into some, and that if these should be done, a general pacification made at the same time would be best for us all, and that I believe neither Holland nor we could be prevailed on to abandon our friends; what happens farther shall be immediately communicated. Be pleased to present my respects to Mr. Laurens, to whom I wrote some days since. Mr. Jay, I suppose, is on his way hither. B. FRANKLIN."

On Monday, the third, Mr. Oswald came according to appointment, he told me he had seen, and had conversations with lord Shelburne, lord Rockingham, and Mr. Fox; that their desire of peace continued uniformly the same, though he thought some of them were a little too much elated with the late victory in the West Indies; and when observing his coolness, they asked him if he did not think it a very good thing. Yes, says he, if you do not rate it too high. He went on with the utmost frankness to tell me, that the peace was absolutely necessary for them; that the nation had been foolishly involved in four wars, and would no longer be able to earn money to carry them on, so that if they continued, it would be absolutely necessary for them to stop payment of the interest money in the funds, which would ruin their future credit. He spoke of stopping on all sums above a thousand pounds, and continuing to pay on those below, because the great sums belonged to the rich, who could better bear the delay of their interest, and the smaller sums to poorer persons, who would be more hurt and make more clamour; and that the rich might be quieted by promising them interest upon their interests; all this looked as if the matter had been seriously thought on. Mr. Oswald has an air of great simplicity and honesty; yet I could hardly take this to be merely a weak confession of their deplorable state; and thought it might be rather intended as a kind of intimidation, by showing us that they had still that resource in their power, which he said would furnish five millions a year; but he added, our enemies may now do what they please with us, *they have the ball at their foot*, was his expression; and I hope they will show their moderation and their magnanimity: he then repeatedly mentioned the great esteem the ministers had for me; that they, with all the considerable people of England, looked towards, and depended on me for the means of extricating the nation from its present desperate situation; and that perhaps, no single man had ever in his hands an opportunity of doing so much good, as I had at this present time; with much more to that purpose. He then showed me a letter to him from lord Shelburne, partly I suppose that I might see his lordship's opinion of me, which, as it has some relation to the negotiation, is here inserted. He left it with me, requesting that I would communicate it to Mr. Walpole.

Earl Shelburne to Mr. Oswald.

"Whitehall, May 21, 1782.

"Sir,—It has reached me that Mr. Walpole esteems himself much injured by your going to Paris, and that he conceives it was a measure of mine, intended to take the present negotiation with the court of France out of his hands, which he conceives to have been previously commenced through his channel, by Mr. Fox. I must desire that you will have the goodness to call upon Mr. Walpole, and explain to him distinctly, how very little foundation there is for so unjust a suspicion, as I knew of no such intercourse. Mr. Fox declares he considered what had passed between him and Mr. Walpole of a mere private nature, not sufficiently material to mention to the king or the cabinet, and will write to Mr. Walpole to explain this distinctly to him. But if you find the least suspicion of this kind has reached Doctor Franklin or M. le compte de Vergennes, I desire this matter may be clearly explained to both. I have too much friendship for Doctor Franklin, and too much respect for the character of M. le compte de Vergennes, with which I am perfectly acquainted, to be so indifferent to the good opinion of either, as to suffer them to believe me capable of an intrigue, when I have both professed and observed a direct opposite conduct. In truth I hold it in such perfect contempt, that however proud I may be to serve the king in my present situation or in any other, and however anxious I may be to save my country, I should not hesitate a moment about retiring from any situation which required such services. But I must do the king the justice to say, that his majesty abhors them, and I need not tell you that is my fixed principle, that no country in any moment can be advantaged by them.

"SHELBURNE."

In speaking farther of the ministry's opinion of the great service it might be in my power to render, Mr. Oswald said, he had told them in one of his conversations, that nothing was to be expected of me but consistence, nothing unsuitable to my character or inconsistent with my duty. I did not ask him the particular occasion of his saying this, but thought it looked a little as if something inconsistent with my duty had been talked of or proposed.

Mr. Oswald also gave me a copy of a paper written by lord Shelburne, to wit:

Memorandums.

"1st. That I am ready to correspond more particularly with Doctor Franklin if wished.

"2d. That the *enabling act* is passing, with the insertion of commissioners recommended by Mr. Oswald, and on our part commissioners will be named, or any character given to Mr. Oswald which Doctor Franklin and he may judge conducive to a final settlement of things between Great Britain and America: which as Doctor Franklin very properly says, requires to be treated in a very different manner from the peace between Great Britain and France, who have been always at enmity with each other.

"3d. That an establishment for the loyalists must always be upon Mr. Oswald's mind, as it is uppermost in lord Shelburne's; besides other steps in their favour to influence the several states to agree to a fair restoration or compensation for whatever confiscations have taken place.

"4th. To give lord Shelburne's letters about Mr. Walpole to Doctor Franklin."

On perusing this paper, I recollected that a bill had been sometime since proposed in parliament, to enable his majesty to conclude a peace or truce with the revolted colonies in America, which I supposed to be the *enabling* bill mentioned, that had hitherto slept, and not having been passed, was perhaps the true reason why the colonies were not mentioned in Mr. Grenville's commission; Mr. Oswald thought it likely, and said that the words "insertion of commissioners recommended by Mr. Oswald,' related to his advising an express mention in the bill of the commissioners appointed by congress to treat of peace, instead of the vague denomination of *any person or persons*, &c. in the first draft of the bill as to the loyalists. I repeated what I had said to him, when first here, that their estates had been confiscated by the laws made in the particular states, where the delinquents had resided; and not by any law of congress; who indeed had no power either to make such laws or to repeal them, or to dispense with them, and therefore could give no power to their commissioners to treat for restoration for those people. That it was an affair appertaining to each state. That if there were justice in compensating them, it must be due from England rather than from America; but in my opinion, England was not under any very great obligations to them, since it was by their misrepresentations and bad counsels, that she had been drawn into this miserable war; and that if an account was brought against us for their losses, we should more than balance it, by an account of the ravages they had committed all along the coasts ot America. Mr. Oswald agreed to the reasonableness of all this, and said he had, before he came away, told the ministers that he thought no recompense to those people was to be expected from us; that he had also, in consequence of our former conversation on that subject, given it as his opinion, that Canada should be given up to the United States, as it would prevent the occasion of future differences; and as the government of such a country was worth nothing, and of no importance if they could have there a free commerce; that the marquis of Rockingham and lord Shelburne, though they spoke reservedly, did not seem very averse to it: but that Mr. Fox appeared to be startled at the proposition. He was, however, not without hopes, that it would be agreed to.

We now come to another article of the note, viz. "on our part commissioners will be named, or any character given to Mr. Oswald, which Doctor Franklin and he may judge conducive to a final settlement of things between Great Britain and America." This he said was left entirely to me, for he had no will in the affair. He did not desire to be farther concerned than to see it *en train;* he had no personal views either of honour or profit. He had now seen and conversed with Mr. Grenville; thought him a very sensible young gentleman, and very capable of the business; he did not therefore see any further occasion there was for himself; but if I thought otherwise, and conceived he might be farther useful, he was content to give his time and service in any character or manner I should think proper. I said his knowledge of America, where he had lived, and with every part of which and of its commerce and circumstances he was well acquainted, made me think that in persuading the ministry to things reasonable, relating to that country, he could speak or write with more weight than Mr. Grenville; and therefore I wished him to continue in the service, and I asked him whether he would like to be joined in a general commission for treating with all the powers at war with England, or to have a special commission to himself for treating with America only. He said he did not choose to be concerned in treating with the foreign powers, for he was not sufficiently a master of their affairs or of the French language, which probably would be used in treating; if therefore he accepted of any commission it should be that of treating with America. I told him I would write to lord Shelburne on the subject; but Mr. Grenville having some time since despatched a courier, partly on account of the commission, who was not yet returned, I thought it well to wait a few days, till we could see what answer he would bring or what measures were taken: this he approved of. The truth is, he appears so good and so reasonable a man, that though I have no objection to Mr. Grenville, I should be loth to loose Mr. Oswald. He seems to have nothing at heart but the good of mankind, and putting a stop to mischief; the other, a young statesman, may be supposed to have naturally a little ambition of recommending himself as an able negotiator. In the afternoon, Mr. Boeris, of Holland, called on me, and acquainted me that an answer had not been given to the last memorial from Russia, relating to the mediation; but it was thought that it would be in respectful terms to thank her imperial majesty for her kind offers, and to represent the propriety of their connexion with France, in endeavouring to obtain a general peace, and that they conceived it would be still more glorious for her majesty to employ her influence in procuring a general than a particular pacification. Mr. Boeris further informed me, that they were not well satisfied in Holland with the conduct of the Russian court, and suspected views of continuing the war for particular purposes.

Tuesday, June 4. I received another packet from Mr. Hartley. It consisted of duplicates of the former letters and papers already inserted, and contained nothing new, but the following letter from colonel Hartley, his brother.*

Wednesday, June the 5th. Mr. Oswald called again to acquaint me, that lord Cornwallis, being very anxious to be discharged from his parole as soon as possible, had sent a major Ross hitherto to solicit it, supposing

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* This paper is missing.

Mr. Laurens might be here with me. Mr. Oswald told me what I did not hear before, that Mr. Laurens while prisoner in the Tower, had proposed obtaining the discharge of lord Cornwallis in exchange for himself, and had promised to use his utmost endeavours to that purpose, in case he was set at liberty, not doubting of his success. I communicated to Mr. Oswald what had already passed between Mr. Laurens and me, respecting lord Cornwallis, which appears in the preceding letters, and told him I should have made less difficulty about the discharge of his parole, if Mr. Laurens had informed me of his being set at liberty, in consequence of such an offer and promise; and I wished him to state this in a letter to me, that it might appear for my justification, in what I might with Mr. Laurens do in the affair; and that he would procure for me, from major Ross, a copy of the parole, that I might be better acquainted with the nature of it. He accordingly in the afternoon sent me the following letter,* to which I wrote this answer.*

Friday, June 7. Major Ross called on me, and thanked me for the favourable intention I had expressed in my letter to Mr. Oswald respecting lord Cornwallis, and to assure me his lordship would for ever remember it with gratitude, &c. I told him it was our duty to alleviate as much as we could the calamities of war; that I expected letters from Mr. Laurens, relating to the affair, after the receipt of which I would immediately complete it; or if I did not hear from Mr. L. I would speak to the marquis de la Fayette, get his approbation, and finish it without further waiting.

Saturday, June 8. I received some newspapers from England, in one of which is the following paragraph:

Extract from the London Evening Post of May 30, 1782.

"If reports on the spot speak truth, Mr. Grenville in his first visit to Doctor Franklin, gained a considerable point of information as to the powers America had retained for treating *separately* with Great Britain, in case her claims or demands were granted.

"The treaty of February 6, 1778, was made the basis of this conversation, and by the spirit and meaning of this treaty, there is no obligation on America not to treat separately for peace, after she is assured England will grant her independence and a free commerce with all the world.

"The first article of that treaty engages America and France to be bound to each other, as long as *circumstances* may require; therefore the granting America all that she asks of England, is breaking the bond by which the *circumstances* may bind America to France.

"The second article says, the meaning and direct end of the alliance is, to ensure the freedom and independence of America. Surely then, when freedom and independence is allowed by Britain, America may, or may not, as she chooses, put an end to the present war between England and America, and leave France to war on through all her mad projects of reducing the power and greatness of England, while America feels herself possessed of what she wishes.

"By the 8th article of the treaty, neither France nor America can conclude peace without the assent of the other, and they engage not to lay down their arms, until the independence of America is acknowledged, but this article does not exclude America from entering into a separate treaty for peace with England, and evinces more strongly than the former articles, that America may enter into a separate treaty with England, when she is convinced that England has insured to her *all that she can reasonably ask*." I conjecture that this must be an extract from a letter of Mr. Grenville, but it carries an appearance as if he and I had agreed in these imaginary discourses of America's being at liberty to make peace without France, &c. Whereas my whole discourse in the strongest terms declared our determinations to the contrary, and the impossibility of our acting not only contrary to the treaty, but the duties of gratitude and honour, of which nothing is mentioned. This young negotiator seems to value himself on having obtained from me a copy of the treaty; I gave it to him freely at his request, it not being so much a secret as he imagined, having been printed first in all the American papers soon after it was made; then at London in Almon's Remembrancer, which I wonder he did not know; and afterwards in a collection of the American Constitutions published by order of congress. As such imperfect accounts of our conversations find their way into the English papers, I must speak to this gentleman of its impropriety.

Sunday, June 9. Doctor Bancroft being intimately acquainted with Mr. Walpole, I this day gave him lord Shelburne's letter to Mr. Oswald, requesting he would communicate it to that gentleman. Doctor Bancroft said it was believed both Russia and the emperor wished the continuance of the war, and aimed at procuring for England a peace with Holland, that England might be better able to continue it against France and Spain.

The marquis de la Fayette having proposed to call on me to-day, I kept back the discharge of lord Cornwallis, which was written and ready, desiring to have his approbation to it, as he had in a former conversation advised it. He did not come, but late in the evening, sent me a note acquainting me that he had been prevented from accompanying the grand duke (afterwards the emperor Paul, then at Paris under the title of the count de Nord,) to the review, but would breakfast with me to-morrow morning.

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* These papers are missing.

This day I received a letter from Mr. Dana, dated St. Petersburgh, April 29th, in which is the following passage: "We yesterday received the news that the states-general had on the 9th of this month (N. S.) acknowledged the independence of the United States; this event gave a shock here, and is not well received, as they at least profess to have flattered themselves, that the mediation would have prevented it, and otherwise brought on a partial peace between Britain and Holland. This resentment, I believe, will not be productive of any ill consequences to the Dutch republic."

It is true, that while the war continues, Russia feels a greater demand for the naval stores, and sells perhaps at a higher price. But is it possible, that for such petty interests, mankind can wish to see their neighbours destroy each other, or has the project lately talked of some foundation, that Russia and the emperor intend driving the Turks out of Europe; and do they therefore wish to see France and England so weakened, as to be unable to assist those people?

Monday, June 10, the marquis de la Fayette did not come till between eleven and twelve. He brought with him major Ross. After breakfast he told me, (major Ross being gone into another room) that he had seen Mr. Grenville lately, who asked him when he should go to America: that he had answered, I have staid here longer than I would otherwise have done, that I might see whether we should have peace or war, but as I see that the expectation of peace is a joke, and that you only amuse us without any real intention of treating, I think to stay no longer, but set out in a few days. On which Mr. Grenville assured him, that it was no joke, that they were very sincere in their proposal of treating, and that four or five days would convince the marquis of it. The marquis then spoke to me about a request of major Ross's in behalf of himself, lord Chewton, a lieutenant-colonel, and lieutenant Haldane, who were aid-de-camps to lord Cornwallis, that they too might be set at liberty with him. I told the marquis he was better acquainted with the custom in such cases than I, and being himself one of the generals to whom their parole had been given, he had more right to discharge it than I had, and that if he judged it a thing proper to be done, I wished him to do it; he went into the bureau, saying, he would write something, which he accordingly did; but it was not as I expected, a discharge that he was to sign, it was for me to sign. And the major not liking that which I had drawn for lord Cornwallis, because there was a clause in it reserving to congress the approbation or disallowance of my act, went away without taking it. Upon which I the next morning, wrote the following:

"*Mr. Oswald.*

"Passy, June 11, 1782

"Sir,—I did intend to have waited on you this morning to inquire after your health, and deliver the enclosed paper, relating to the parole of lord Cornwallis, but being obliged to go to Versailles, I must postpone my visit till to-morrow. I do not conceive that I have any authority in virtue of my office here, to absolve that parole in any degree. I have therefore endeavoured to found it as well as I could, on the express power given me by congress to exchange general Burgoyne for Mr. Laurens. A reservation is made of confirmation or disapprobation by congress, not from any desire in me to restrain the entire liberty of that general; but because I think it decent, and my duty to make such reservation, and that I might not otherwise be blamed as assuming a power not given me, if I undertook to discharge absolutely a parole given to congress without any authority from them for so doing.

"B. FRANKLIN."

I have received no answer from Mr. Laurens.

The following is the paper mentioned in the above letters:

"I did not well comprehend the major's conduct in refusing this paper. He was come express from London to solicit a discharge of lord Cornwallis's parole. He had said that his lordship was very anxious to obtain that discharge, being unhappy in his present situation. One of his objections to it was, that his lordship, with such a limited discharge of his parole, could not enter into foreign service. He declared that it was not his lordship's intention to return to America, yet he would not accept the paper, unless the reservation was omitted. I did not choose to make the alteration, and so he left it not well pleased with me."

This day, Tuesday, June 11th, I was at Versailles, and had a good deal of conversation with M. de Rayneval, secretary to the council. I showed him the letter I had received, by Mr. Oswald, from lord Shelburne, and related all the consequent conversation I had with Mr. Oswald. I related to him also the conversation I had with Mr. Grenville. We concluded that the reason of his courier's not being returned, might be the formalities occasioning delay in passing the enabling bill. I went down with him to the cabinet of M. de Vergennes, where all was repeated and explained. That minister seemed now to be almost persuaded, that the English court was sincere in its declarations of being desirous of peace. We spoke of all its attempts to separate us, and of the prudence of our being together and treating in concert. I made one remark, that as they had shown so strong a desire of disuniting us, by large offers to each particular power, plainly in the view of dealing more advantageously with the rest, and had reluctantly agreed to make a general treaty, it was possible that, after making a peace with all, they might pick out one of us to make war with separately. Against which project I thought it would not be amiss if, before the treaties of peace were signed, we who were at war against England should enter into another treaty, engaging ourselves, that in such case we should again make it a common cause, and renew the general war, which he seemed to approve of. He read lord Shelburne's letter, relating to Mr. Walpole, said that gentleman had attempted to open a negotiation through the marquis de Castries, who had told him he was come to the wrong house, and should go to M. de Vergennes; but he never appeared. That he was an intriguer, knew many people about the court, and was accustomed to manage his affairs by hidden, round-about ways; but, says he, when people have any thing to propose, that relates to my employment, I think they should come directly to me; my cabinet is the place where such affairs are to be treated of. On the whole, he seemed rather pleased that Mr. Walpole had not come to him, appearing not to like him. I learnt that Mr. Jay had taken leave the 7th passed, of the Spanish ministers, in order to come hither, so that he may be daily expected; but I hear nothing of Mr. Laurens or Mr. Adams.

Wednesday, June 12. I visited Mr. Oswald this morning, he said he had received the paper I had sent him, relating to the parole of lord Cornwallis, and had, by conversing with major Ross, convinced him of his error in refusing it. That he saw I had done every thing that could be fairly desired of me, and said every thing in the paper that could give weight to the temporary discharge, and tend to prevail with the congress to confirm and complete it.. Major Ross coming in made an apology for not having accepted it at first, declared his perfect satisfaction with it, and said he was sure lord Cornwallis would be very sensible of the favour. He then mentioned the custom among military people, that in discharging the parole of a general, that of his aids was discharged at the same time. I answered, that I was a stranger to the customs of the army; that I had made the most of the authority I had for exchanging general Burgoyne, by extending it as a foundation for the exchange of lord Conwallis; but that I had no shadow of authority for going farther; that the marquis de la Fayette having been present when the parole was given, and one of the generals who received it, was I thought more competent to the discharge of it than myself, and I could do nothing in it. He went then to the marquis, who in the afternoon sent me the draft of a limited discharge which he should sign, but requested my approbation of it. I made no difficulty, though I observed he had put into it, that it was by my advice. He appears very prudently cautious of doing any thing that may seem assuming a power that he is not vested with.

Friday the 14th. Mr. Boeris called again, wishing to know if Mr. Grenville's courier was returned, and whether the treaty was likely to go on. I could give him no information. He told me that it was intended in Holland, in answer to the last Russian memorial, to say that they could not now enter into a particular treaty with England: that they thought it more glorious for her imperial majesty to be the mediatrix in a general treaty, and wished her to name the place. I said to him, as you tell me that their high mightinesses are not well satisfied with Russia, and had rather avoid her mediation, would it not be better to omit the proposition, at least, of her naming the place, especially as France, and England, and America, have already agreed to treat at Paris. He replied, it might be better; but, says he, we have no politicians among us. I advised him then to write, and get that omitted, as I understood it would be a week before the answer was concluded on. He did not seem to think his writing would be of much importance. I have observed that his colleague, Mr. Vanderpiene, has a greater opinion, by far, of his own influence and consequence.

Saturday, 15th instant, Mr. Oswald came out to breakfast with me. We afterwards took a walk in the garden, when he told me that Mr. Grenville's courier returned last night, that he received by him a letter from Mrs. Oswald, but not a line from the ministry; nor had he heard a word from them since his arrival, nor had he heard of any news brought by the courier. That he should have gone to see Mr. Grenville this morning, but had omitted it, that gentleman being subject to morning head-aches, which prevented his rising so early. I said I supposed he would go to Versailles, and call on me on his return. We had a little farther discourse, having no new subject.

Mr. Oswald left me about noon; and soon after Mr. Grenville came, and acquainted me with the return of his courier, and that he had brought the full powers: that he, Mr. G. had been at Versailles, and left a copy with M. de Vergennes: that the instrument was in the same terms with the former, except that after the power to treat with the king of France, or his ministers, there was an addition of words, importing a power to treat with the ministers of *any other prince or state*, whom it might concern: that M. de Vergennes had at first objected to these general words, as not being particular enough; but said, he would lay it before the king, and communicate it to the ministers of the belligerent powers, and that Mr. Grenville should hear from him on Monday. Mr. Grenville added, that he had further informed M. de Vergennes of his being now instructed to make a proposition, as a basis for the intended treaty, to wit, the peace of 1763. That the proposition intended to be made, under his first powers, not being then received, was now changed; and instead of proposing to allow the independence of America, on condition of England's being put in the situation she was in at the peace of 1763, he was now authorized to declare the independence of America, previous to the treaty, as a voluntary act, and to propose separately as a basis, the treaty of '63. This also M. de Vergennes undertook to lay before the king, and communicate to me. Mr. Grenville then said to me, he hoped all difficulties were now removed, and that we might proceed in the good work. I asked h m if the enabling bill was passed. He said no; it had passed the commons, and had been once read in the house of lords, but was not yet completed. I remarked, that the usual time approached for prorogation of parliament, and possibly this business might be omitted. He said, that there was no danger of that, the parliament would not rise this year till the middle of July. The India affairs had put back other business which must be done, and would require a prolongation of the session until that time. I then observed to him, that though we Americans considered ourselves as a distinct independent power or state; yet as the British government had always hitherto affected to consider us only as rebellious subjects, and as the enabling act was not yet passed, I did not think it could be fairly supposed that his court intended, by the general words, *any other province or state*, to include a people whom they did not allow to be a state; and that therefore I doubted the sufficiency of his power as to treating with America, though it might be good as to Spain and Holland. He replied, that he himself had no doubt of the sufficiency of his power, and was willing to act upon it. I then desired to have a copy of the power, which he accordingly promised me. He would have entered into conversation on the topic of reconciliation; but I chose still to wave it till I should find the negotiation more certainly commenced: and I showed him the London paper, containing the article above transcribed, that he might see how our conversations were misrepresented, and how hazardous it must be for me to make any propositions of the kind at present. He seemed to treat the newspaper lightly, as of no consequence. But I observed, that when he had finished the reading of the article, he turned to the beginning of the paper to see the date, which made me suspect that he doubted whether it might not have taken its rise from some of his letters. When he left me, I went to dine with M. de Chaumont, who had invited me to meet there Mr. Walpole at his request. We shook hands; it was near two years since we had seen each other. Then stepping aside, he thanked me for having communicated to him lord Shelburne's letter to Mr. Oswald; thought it odd that Mr. O. himself had not spoke to him about it; said he had received a letter from Mr. Fox upon the affair of St. Eustatia, in which there were some general words expressing a desire of peace; that he had mentioned this to M. le marquis de Castries, who had referred him to M. de Vergennes, but he did not think it a sufficient authority for him to go to that minister. It was known that he had business with the minister of the marine on the other affair, and therefore his going to him was not taken notice of; but if he had gone to M. de Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs, it would have occasioned speculation, and much discourse; that he had therefore avoided it till he should be authorized, and had written accordingly to Mr. Fox; but that in the mean time Mr. Oswald had been chosen, on the supposition that he (Mr. Walpole) and I were at variance. He spoke of Mr. Oswald as an odd kind of a man; but that indeed his nation were generally odd people, &c. We dined pleasantly together with the family, and parted agreeably, without entering into any particulars of the business. Count D'Estaing was at this dinner, and I met him again at Madame Brillon's.

There is at present, among the people, much censure of count de Grasse's conduct, and a general wish that count D'Estaing had the command in America. I avoided meddling or even speaking on the subject, as improper for me, though I much esteem that commander.

Sunday 16th. I heard nothing from Versailles; I received a letter from Mr. Adams, acquainting me that he had drawn upon me for a quarter's salary, which he hoped would be the last, as he now found himself in a way of getting some money there, though not much. But he says not a word in answer to my late letters on public affairs, nor have I had any line from Mr. Laurens, which I wonder at. I received also a letter from Mr. Carmichael, dated June 5th, at Madrid. He speaks of Mr. Jay being on his journey, and supposes he would be with me before that letter, so that I may expect him daily. We have taken lodging for him at Paris.

Monday 17th. I received a letter from Mr. Hodgson, acquainting me that the American prisoners at Portsmouth, to the number of 330, were all embarked on board the transports; that each had received twenty shillings worth of necessaries at the expense of government, and went on board in good humour. That contrary winds have prevented the transports arriving in time at Plymouth; but that the whole number was there, of our own people, amounting to 700, which with those arrived from Ireland, would soon be on their way home. In the evening the marquis de la Fayette came to see me, and said he had seen M. de Vergennes, who was satisfied with Mr. Grenville's powers. He asked me what I thought of them, and I told him what I had said to Mr. Grenville of the imperfection with respect to us. He agreed in opinion with me: I let him know that I proposed waiting on M. de Vergennes to-morrow. He said he had signed the paper relating to major Ross's parole, and hoped congress would not take it amiss; and added, that in conversation with the major, he had asked him why England was so backward to make propositions! "We are afraid," says the major, "of offering you more than you expect or desire." I find myself in some perplexity with regard to these two negotiators. Mr. Oswald appears to have been the choice of lord Shelburne, Mr. Grenville that of Mr. secretary Fox. Lord Shelburne is said to have lately acquired much of the king's confidence: Mr. Fox calls himself the minister of the people; and it is certain, that his popularity is lately much increased. Lord Shelburne seems to wish to have the management of the treaty; Mr. Fox seems to think it in his department. I hear that the understanding between these ministers is not quite perfect. Mr. Grenville is clear, and seems to feel reason as readily as Mr. O., though not so readily to own it; Mr. Oswald appears quite plain and sincere. I sometimes a little doubt Mr. Grenville and Mr. Oswald. The old man seems to have now no other desire, but that of being useful in doing good. Mr. Grenville, a young man, naturally desirous of acquiring reputation, seems to aim at that of being an able negotiator: Oswald does not solicit to have any share in the business, but submitting the matter to lord S. and me, expresses only his willingness to serve, if we think he may be useful; and is equally willing to be excused, if we judge there is no occasion for him. Grenville seems to think the whole negotiation committed to him, and to have no idea of Oswald's being concerned in it; and is therefore willing to extend the expressions in his commission, so as to make them comprehend America, and this beyond what I think they will bear. I imagine we might go on very well with either of them, though I should rather prefer Oswald, but I apprehend difficulties, if they are both employed, especially if there is any misunderstanding between their principals. I must, however, write to lord S., proposing something, in consequence of his offer of vesting Mr. Oswald with any commission that gentleman and I should think proper.

Tuesday the 18th. I found myself much indisposed with a sudden and violent cold, attended with a feverishness and head-ache. I imagined it to be an effect of the influenza, a disorder now raging in various parts of Europe. This prevented my going to Versailles.

Thursday 20th. Weather excessively hot, and my disorder continues, but is lessened, the head-ache having left me. I am however yet able to go to Versailles.

Friday 21st. I received the following note:

The marquis de la Fayette to Dr. Franklin.

"VERSAILLES, Thursday morning, June 20, 1782.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Agreeable to your desire, I have waited on count de Vergennes, and said to him what I had in command from your excellency. He intends taking the king's orders this morning, and expects he will be able to propose Mr. Grenville a meeting for to-morrow; when he will have time to explain himself respecting France and her allies, that he may make an official communication both to the king and the allied ministers; what count de Vergennes can make out of this conversation will be communicated by him to your excellency, in case you are able to come. In the other case I shall wait upon you to-morrow evening with every information I can collect.

"LA FAYETTE."

In the evening, the marquis called on me, and acquainted me, that Mr. Grenville had been with count de Vergennes, but could not inform me what had passed.

Saturday, 22d. Messieurs Oswald and Whiteford came and breakfasted with me. Mr. O. had received two letters or instructions: I told him I would write to lord Shelburne respecting him, and call on him on Monday morning to breakfast, and show him what I proposed to write, that it might receive such alterations as he might judge proper.

Sunday 23d. In the afternoon Mr. Jay arrived, to my great satisfaction. I proposed going with him the next morning to Versailles, and presenting him to Vergennes. He informed me that the Spanish minister had been much struck with the news from England, respecting the resolutions of parliament to discontinue the war in America, &c. and that they had since been extremely civil to him, and he understood intended to send instructions to their ambassador at this court to make the long-talked-of treaty with him here.

Monday 24th. Wrote a note of excuse to Mr. Oswald, promising to wait on him on Wednesday, and went with Mr. Jay to Versailles. M. de Vergennes acquainted us, that he had given to Mr. Grenville the answer to his propositions, who had immediately despatched it to his court. He read it to us, and I shall endeavour to obtain a copy of it. M. de Vergennes informed us that a frigate was about to be despatched for America, by which we might write; and that the courier, who was to carry down the despatches, would set off on Wednesday morning. We concluded to omit coming to court on Tuesday, in order to prepare our letters. M. de Vergennes appeared to have some doubts about the sincerity of the British court, and the *bon foi* of Mr. Grenville; but said the return of Mr. J.'s courier might give light. I wrote to Mr. secretary Livingston and Mr. Morris.

Wednesday, 26th. I sent away my letters, and went to see Mr. Oswald. I showed him the draft of a letter I had addressed to him, instead of lord S., respecting the commission or public character he might hereafter be vested with. This draft was founded on lord Shelburne's memorandum, which Mr. Oswald had shown to me; and his letter was intended to be communicated by him to lord Shelburne. Mr. Oswald liked the mode, but rather chose that no mention should be made of his having showed me lord S.'s memorandum, though he thought they were given him for that purpose. I struck that part out, and new-modeled the letter which I sent him next day as follows:

"*R. Oswald.*

"Passy, June —, 1782.

"Sir,—The opinion I have of your candour, probity, good understanding, and good-will to both countries, made me hope that you would have been vested with the character of plenipotentiary, to treat with those from America. When Mr. Grenville produced his first commission, which was only to treat with France, I did imagine that the other, to treat with us, was reserved for you, and kept back only till the enacting clause should be passed. Mr. Grenville has demanded a second commission, which, as he informs me, has additional words, impowering him to treat with the ministers of any other prince or state whom it may concern—and he seems to understand that those general words comprehended the United States of America. There may be no doubt that they comprehend Spain and Holland; but as there exist various public acts, by which the government of Britain denies us to be states, and none in which they acknowledge us to be such; it seems hardly clear, that we should be intended at the time that commission was given, the enabling act not being then passed. So that though I can have no objection to Mr. Grenville, nor a right to make it if I had any; yet, as your long residence in America has given you a knowledge of that country, its people, circumstances, &c. which, added to your experience in business, may be useful to both sides in facilitating and expediting the negotiations, I cannot but hope that it is still intended to vest you with the character above-mentioned, respecting the treaty with America, either separately, or in conjunction with Mr. Grenville, as to the wisdom of your ministers may seem best. Be it as it may, I beg you to accept this line as a testimony of the sincere esteem and respect with which, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

Friday, 28th June, M. de Rayneval called on me, and acquainted me that the ministers had received intelligence from England, that besides the orders given to general Carleton, to propose terms of re-union to America, artful emissaries* were sent over to go through the country and stir up the people to call on the congress to accept those terms, they being similar to those settling with Ireland. That it would therefore be well for Mr. Jay and me to unite and caution congress against these practices. He said M. de Vergennes wished to know what I had written respecting the negotiation, as it would be well for us to hold pretty near the same language. I told him I did not apprehend the least danger that such emissaries would meet with success, or that the congress would make any treaty with general Carleton; that I would, however, write as he desired, and Mr. Jay coming in promised the same. He said the courier would go to-morrow. I accordingly wrote to Mr. secretary Livingston.

M. de Rayneval (who is secretary to the council of state) calling again in the evening, I gave him copies of the three preceding letters to peruse and show to M. de Vergennes, to convince him we had no underhand dealings there. I own I had at the same time another view in it, which was that they should see I had been ordered to demand further aids, and had forborne to make the demands, with my reasons, hoping, that if they possibly could help us to some money, they might be induced to do it. I had never made any visit to the count d'Aranda, the Spanish ambassador, for reasons before mentioned. M. de Rayneval told Mr. Jay and me this morning, that it would be well for us to wait on him; and he had authority to assure us we should be well received. We accordingly concluded to wait on his excellency the next morning.

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* It appears from the journal of Mr. Jay, that the afterwards much celebrated sir William Jones was considered as engaged by the British government to proceed to America, for the purposes here expressed; and had proceeded on his way to Paris, where he tarried a short time: but was recalled, and the project abandoned. —Editor.

Saturday, June 29th. We went together to the Spanish ambassador, who received us with civility and politeness. He spoke with Mr. Jay on the subject of the treaty they were to make together, and mentioned, in general, as a principle, that the two powers should consider each other's conveniency, and accommodate and compensate each other as well as they could. That an exact compensation might perhaps not be possible; but should be approached as nearly as the nature of things would admit. Thus, says he, "if there is a certain thing which would be convenient to each of us, but more convenient to one than to the other, it should be given to the one to whom it would be the most convenient, and compensation be made by giving another thing to the other for the same reason." I suppose he had in view something relating to boundaries or territories, because he added, "we will sit down together with maps in our hands, and by that means shall see our way more clearly." I learnt from him, that the expedition against Providence had failed, but no advice was yet received of its success. At our going out he took pains himself to open the folding doors for us, which is a high compliment here, and told us he would return our visit (*rendre son devoir*) and then fix a day with us for dining with him. I dined with Mr. Jay and a company of Americans at his lodgings.

Sunday, July 1. Mr. Grenville called on me.

CORRESPONDENCE, PRIVATE AND POLITICAL—*continued.*

R. R. Livingston to Dr. Franklin.

"Philadelphia, Jan. 3, 1783.

"Sir,—I was honoured with your letter by the Danae. I congratulate you upon the promising state of our negotiations, since peace begins to be no less desirable here than elsewhere.

"But I will not enter into that subject at present, as I mean to write very fully, both to Mr. Jay and to you, by Mr. Jefferson, who will sail in company with this frigate, in the Romulus, a ship of forty-four guns. Lest, however, any accident should happen to prevent his arriving as soon as the Emerald, I enclose a resolution of congress, which was suggested by the proposition you mention to have been made to Mr. Oswald, on the subject of commerce. For my own part, I presume that it is already included in your propositions, but as we have yet been favoured only with that short note of them, which has been transmitted by you, we can form no accurate judgment on the subject. You can hardly conceive the embarrassments that the want of more minute details subjects us to.

"You will learn from the count Rochambeau, that the French army sailed on the 24th ult. Perhaps it were to be wished they had remained here, at least till New York and Charleston were evacuated, or rather till the peace. Congress have, however, given them a good word at parting, as you will see by the enclosed resolves. Not being consulted, they could interpose no objections to their departure, though they were not without many reasons for wishing to detain them.

"Our finances are still in great distress. If the war continues, a foreign loan, in addition to those already received, will be essential. A plan for ascertaining what shall be called contingent expenses, is under the consideration of congress, as well as the objections you have stated with respect to the mode of paying salaries, which will, I believe, be altered. The allowance to Mr. Franklin has been confirmed, and your moderation and his upon this point, have done you both honour in the opinion of congress.

"R. R. LIVINGSTON."

The same.

"Philadelphia, Jan. 6, 1783.

"Sir,—I have before me your letters of the 25th and 29th of June, 12th of August, 3d and 26th of September, and 14th of October last. Several matters contained in them have already been answered, and some others I am unable to reply to, till congress have decided on such propositions as I have submitted to their consideration.

"The convention relative to consuls has been objected to by Mr. Barclay, on account of its prohibiting the consuls from trading. As the funds of congress leave them no means of affording an adequate support to persons who are qualified, they fear that the only inducement to accept the appointment will be taken away by this prohibition. Mr. Barclay's letter on that subject is under consideration.

"I see the force of your objections to soliciting the additional twelve millions, and I feel very sensibly the weight of our obligations to France; but every sentiment of this kind must give way to our necessities. It is not for the interest of our allies to lose the benefit of all they have done, by refusing to make a small addition to it, or at least to see the return that our commerce will make them suspended by new convulsions in this country. The army have chosen committees; a very respectable one is now with congress. They demand with importunity their arrears of pay. The treasury is empty, and inadequate means of filling it presents itself. The people pant for peace; should contributions be exacted, as they have heretofore been, at the point of the sword, the consequences may be more dreadful than is at present apprehended. I do not pretend to justify the negligence of the states in not providing greater supplies. Some of them might do more than they have done; none of them all that is required. It is my duty to confide to you, that if the war is continued in this country, it must be in a great measure at the expense of France. If peace is made, a loan will be absolutely necessary to enable us to discharge the army, that will not easily separate without pay. I am sorry that neither Mr. Jay nor you sent the propositions at large, as you have made them, since we differ in opinion about the construction to be put on your commercial article, as you will find by a resolution enclosed in my letter.

"I wish the concession made of our trade, may be on conditions of similar privileges on the part of Great Britain. You will see that without this precaution, every ally that we have, that is to be treated as the most favoured nation, may be entitled to the same privileges, even though they do not purchase them by reciprocal grants.

"As to confiscated property, it is at present in such a state, that the restoration of it is impossible. English debts have not, that I know of, been forfeited, unless it be in one state; and I should be extremely sorry to see so little integrity in my countrymen, as to render the idea of withholding them a general one; however, it would be well to say nothing about them if it can be conveniently done.

"I am more and more convinced, that every means in your power must be used to secure the fisheries. They are essential to some states, and we cannot but hate the nation that keeps us from using this common favour of Providence. It was one of the direct objects for carrying on the war. While I am upon this subject, I cannot but express my hope, that every means will be used to guard against any mistrusts or jealousies between you and France. The United States have shown their confidence in her by their instructions. She has repeatedly promised to procure for us *all we ask*, as far as it lies in her power. Let our conduct leave her without apology, if she acts otherwise, which I am far from suspecting.

"With respect to the seamen you mention, I wish, if any further order is necessary than that which Mr. Barclay already has, that you would give it, so far as to enable him to state their accounts, and transfer them to Mr. Morris. As the treaty with Holland is concluded, I hope you have made some progress in that with Sweden, a plan of which has been transmitted; another copy will go by Mr. Jefferson.

"I am glad to find you have some prospect of obtaining what is due on the Bonhomme Richard's prize money. That matter has been much spoken of, and occasioned some reflection, as it is alleged that M. Chaumont was imposed on the officers as their agent by the court, and of course that they should be answerable for his conduct, which has certainly been very exceptionable.

"Congress has come to no determination as to the size or expense of the pillar they propose to erect at Yorktown. What I wished of you was, to send me one or two plans, with the estimates of expense, in order to take their sense thereon.

"As to the designs of Spain, they are pretty well known; and Mr. Jay and congress concur so exactly in sentiment, with respect to them, that I hope we have nothing to fear from that quarter.

"Congress have it now under consideration, to determine what should be allowed as contingent expenses. I believe house-rent will not be allowed as such. I mentioned in my last what respected your grandson, to which I have nothing to add. I agree with you in sentiment, that your salaries should not depend on the fluctuations of the exchange, and have submitted that part of your letter to congress. I believe they will direct a stated sum to be paid. Waiting for this determination, I am prevented from drawing bills at this time. As to the money received from me, you will be pleased to replace with it the two quarters you had drawn before it came to hand. You will have bills for a third quarter, which have been sent on some time since.

"Several important political events have taken place here lately. The evacuation of Charleston, the sailing of the French fleet, and the army, the decision of the great cause between Connecticut and Pennsylvania, in favour of the latter, the state of the army, &c.; all of which I should enlarge upon, if this was not to be delivered by Mr. Jefferson, who will be able to inform you fully on those points, and many others that you will deem important to a right knowledge of the present state of this country. [Mr. Jefferson did not go at this time.]

"I enclose a state of the trade between these States and the West Indies, as brought in by a committee of congress, and referred to me. It may possibly afford you some hints, and will serve to show how earnestly we wish to have this market opened to us.

"R. R. LIVINGSTON."

"*Richard Oswald.*

"PASSY, January 14, 1783.

"SIR,—I am much obliged by your information of your intended trip to England; I heartily wish you a good journey, and a speedy return, and request your kind care of a packet for Mr. Hodgson.

"I enclose two papers, that were read at different times by me to the commissioners; they may serve to show, if you should have occasion, what was urged on the part of America on certain points; or may help to refresh your memory. I send you also another paper which I once read to you separately. It contains a proposition for improving the law of nations, by prohibiting the plundering of unarmed and usefully employed people. I rather wish than expect, that it will be adopted. But I think it may be offered with a better grace by a country that is likely to suffer least, and gain most by continuing the ancient practice; which is our case, as the American ships, laden only with the gross productions of the earth, cannot be so valuable as yours, filled with sugars or with manufactures. It has not yet been considered by my colleagues; but if you should think or find that it might be acceptable on your side, I would try to get it inserted in the general treaty. I think it will do honour to the nations that establish it.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Propositions relative to Privateering, &c. communicated to Mr. Oswald.

It is for the interest of humanity in general, that the occasions of war, and the inducements to it should be diminished.

If rapine is abolished, one of the encouragements to war is taken away, and peace therefore more likely to continue and be lasting.

The practice of robbing merchants on the high seas, a remnant of the ancient piracy, though it may be accidentally beneficial to particular persons, is far from being profitable to all engaged in it, or to the nation that authorizes it. In the beginning of a war, some rich ships, not upon their guard, are surprised and taken. This encourages the first adventurers to fit out more armed vessels, and many others to do the same. But the enemy at the same time become more careful, arm their merchant ships better, and render them not so easy to be taken; they go also more under protection of convoys: thus while the privateers to take them are multiplied, the vessels subject to be taken, and the chances of profit are diminished, so that many cruises are made wherein the expenses overgo the gains; and as is the case in other lotteries, though particulars have got prizes, the mass of adventurers are losers, the whole expense of fitting out all the privateers, during a war, being much greater than the whole amount of goods taken. Then there is the national loss of all the labour of so many men during the time they have been employed in robbing; who besides spend what they get in riot, drunkenness, and debauchery, lose their habits of industry, are rarely fit for any sober business after peace, and serve only to increase the number of highwaymen and housebreakers. Even the undertakers who have been fortunate, are by sudden wealth led into expensive living, the habit of which continues, when the means of supporting it ceases, and finally ruins them. A just punishment for their having wantonly and unfeelingly ruined many honest, innocent traders and their families, whose subsistence was employed in serving the common interests of mankind.

Should it be agreed, and become a part of the law of nations, that the cultivators of the earth are not to be molested or interrupted in their peaceable and useful employment, the inhabitants of the sugar islands would perhaps come under the protection of such a regulation, which would be a great advantage to the nations who at present hold those islands, since the cost of sugar to the consumer in those nations, consists not merely in the price he pays for it by the pound, but in the accumulated charge of all the taxes he pays in every war, to fit out fleets and maintain troops for the defence of the islands that raise the sugar, and the ships that bring it home. But the expense of treasure is not all. A celebrated philosophical writer remarks, that when he considered the wars made in Africa, for prisoners to raise sugars in America, the numbers slain in those wars, the numbers that, being crowded in ships, perish in the transportation, and the numbers that die under the severities of slavery, he could scarce look on a morsel of sugar without conceiving it spotted with human blood. If he had considered also the blood of one another, which the white nations shed in fighting for those islands, he would have imagined his sugar not as spotted only, but as thoroughly dyed red. On these accounts I am persuaded that the subjects of the emperor of Germany, and the empress of Russia, who have no sugar islands, consume sugar cheaper at Vienna and Moscow, with all the charge of transporting it after its arrival in Europe, than the citizens of London or of Paris. And I sincerely believe that, if France and England were to decide, by throwing dice, which should have the whole of their sugar islands, the loser in the throw would be the gainer. The future expense of defending them would be saved: the sugars would be bought cheaper by all Europe, if the inhabitants might make it without interruption, and whoever imported the sugar, the same revenue might be raised by duties at the customhouses of the nation that consumed it. And on the whole I conceive it would be better for the nations now possessing sugar colonies to give up their claim to them, let them govern themselves, and put them under the protection of all the powers of Europe as neutral countries, open to the commerce of all; the profits of the present monopolies being by no means equivalent to the expense of maintaining them.

Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"VERSAILLES, Saturday evening, Jan. 18, 1783.

"IT is essential, sir, that I should have the honour of conferring with yourself, with Mr. Adams, and those of your colleagues who may be in Paris. I have therefore to request, sir, that you will be pleased to invite those gentlemen to come to Versailles, with you, on Monday, before ten o'clock in the morning. It will be well, sir, to bring with you your grandson, as it will be necessary to translate some English into French, and also to write. The subject I have to converse with you upon is very interesting to the U. States, your masters.

"I have the honour to be, sir, with profound consideration, your most obedient humble servant, DE VERGENNES."

"*M. le Compte de Vergennes.*

"PASSY, Jan. 18, 1783, at ten P. M.

"SIR,—Agreeable to the notice just received from your excellency, I shall acquaint Mr. Adams with your desire to see us on Monday before ten o'clock at Versailles, and we shall endeavour to be punctual. My other colleagues are absent, Mr. Laurens being gone to Bath in England, to recover his health, and Mr. Jay into Normandy.—With great respect, I have the honour to be, sir, your excellency's, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

"I shall bring my grandson, as you desire."

B. Vaughan to Dr. Franklin.

"PARIS, January 18, 1783.

"MY DEAREST SIR,—I cannot but in the most earnest manner, and from *recent* circumstances, press your going *early* to Versailles to-morrow; and I have considerable reason to think, that your appearance there will not displease the person whom you address. I am of opinion, that it is very likely that you will have the glory of having concluded the peace, by this visit; at least I am sure, if the deliberations of to-morrow evening end unfavourably, that there is the strongest appearance of war; and if they end favourably, perhaps little difficulty may attend the rest.

"After all, the peace will have as much that is conceded in it, as England can in any shape be made just now to relish; owing to the stubborn demands, principally of Spain, who would not, I believe, upon any motive recede from her conquests. What I wrote about Gibraltar, arrived after the subject as I understand was canvassed, and when it of course must have appeared impolitic eagerly and immediately to revive it.

"You reproved me, or rather reproved a political scheme yesterday, of which I have heard more said favourably by your *friends* at *Paris*, than by any persons whatever in London. But do you, my dear sir, make *this* peace, and trust our common sense respecting another war. England, said a man of sense to me the other day, will come out of the war like a convalescent out of a disease, and must be re-established by some physic and much regimen. I cannot easily tell in what shape a bankruptcy would come upon England, and still less easily in what mode and degree it would affect us; but if your confederacy mean to bankrupt us now, I am sure we shall lose the great *fear* that would deter us from another war. Your allies, therefore, for policy, and for humanity's sake, will I hope stop short of this extremity; especially as we should do some mischief first to others, as well as to ourselves.

"B. VAUGHAN."

"*To John Adams.*

"PASSY, Jan. 19, 1783.

"SIR,—Late last night I received a note from M. de Vergennes, acquainting me that it is very essential he should have a conference with us, and requesting I would inform my colleagues. He desires that we may be with him before ten on Monday morning. If it will suit you to call here, we may go together in my carriage.—With great regard, I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Copy of Mr. Fitzherbert's Commission to treat with France.

GEORGIUS Tertius, Dei Gratiâ, Magnæ Britanniæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dux Brunsvicensis et Lunebergensis, Sacri Romani Imperii Archithesaurius et Princeps Elector, etc. Omnibus et Singulis ad quos præsentes hæ Litteræ pervenerint, Salutem. Cum Belli Incendio jam nimis diu diversis orbis Terrarum Partibus flagrante, in id quam maxime incumbamus, ut Tranquillitas publica, tot Litibus controversiisque rite compositis, reduci et stabiliri possit. Cumque eâ de causâ Virum quemdam tanto negotio parem, ad bonum Fratrem nostrum Regem Christianissimum mittere decrevimus, sciatis igitur, quod nos, Fide, Industriâ, Ingenio, Perspicaciâ, et rerum usu fidelis et dilecti nobis Alleini Fitzherbert, Armigeri, plurimum confisi, eundem nominavimus, fecimus et constituimus, sicut per præsentes, nominamus, facimus et constituimus, nostrum verum, certum et indubitatum Commissarium, Procuratorem et Plenipotentiarium, dantes et concedentes eidem omnem et omnimodam Potestatem, Facultatem Authoritatemque, necnon mandatum, generale pariter ac speciale (ita tamen ut generale speciali non deroget nec è contra) pro nobis et nostro nomine, unà cum Ministro Ministrisve prædicti boni Fratris nostri Regis Christianissimi, sufficienti authoritate instructo vel instructis, cumque legatis, Commissariis, Deputatis, et Plenipotentiariis aliorum Principum et Statuum quorum interesse poterit, sufficienti itidem authoritate instructis, tam singulatim ac diversim, quam aggregatim ac conjunctim, congrediendi et colloquendi, atque cum ipsis de pace firmâ et stabili, sincerâque Amicitiâ et Concordiâ quantotius restituendis, conveniendi, tractandi, consulendi et concludendi, eaque omnia quæ ita conventa et conclusa fuerint pro nobis et Nostro Nomine, subsignandi, superque conclusis Tractatum Tractatusve, vel alia Instrumenta quotquot et qualia necessaria fuerint, conficiendi mutuoque tradendi, recipiendique, omniaque alia quæ ad opus supra dictum feliciter exequendum pertinent transigendi, tam amplis modo et formâ, ac vi Effectuque pari, ac nos, si interessemus, facere et præstare possemus; spondentes et in Verbo Regio promittentes, Nos omnia quæcumque à dicto nostro Plenipotentiario transigi et concludi contigerint, grata, rata et accepta omni meliori modo habituros, neque passuros unquam ut in toto vel in parte à quopiam violentur, aut ut iis in contrarium eatur. In quorum omnium majorem Fidem et Robur, præsentibus manu nostrâ regiâ signatis, magnum nostrum Magnæ Britanniæ Sigillum appendi fecimus. Quæ dabantur in Palatio nostro Divi Jacobi, Die vicesimo quarto Mensis Julii, anno Domini millesimo Septingentesimo Octogesimo secundo, Regnique nostri Vicesimo secundo.

A true copy examined by
(Signed) ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT.

"*R. R. Livingston.*

"Passy, Jan. 21, 1783.

"Sir,—I have just received your letters of Nov. 9 and Dec. 3. This is to inform you, and to request you to inform the congress, that the preliminaries of peace between France, Spain, and England, were yesterday signed, and a cessation of arms agreed to by the ministers of those powers, and by us in behalf of the United States; of which act, so far as relates to us, I enclose a copy. I have not yet obtained a copy of the preliminaries agreed to by the three crowns, but hear in general that they are very advantageous to France and Spain. I shall be able in a day or two to write more fully and perfectly. Holland was not ready to sign preliminaries, but their principal points are settled. Mr. Laurens is absent at Bath, and Mr. Jay in Normandy, for their healths, but will both be here to assist in forming the definitive treaty. I congratulate you and our country on the happy prospects afforded us by the finishing speedily this glorious revolution. B. FRANKLIN."

Commission of the United States of America, to John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson, Esquires, dated June 15, 1781.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

To all whom these presents shall come:
Send Greeting:

Whereas these United States, from a sincere desire of putting an end to the hostilities between his most Christian majesty and these United States on the one part, and his Britannic majesty on the other, and of terminating the same by a peace founded on such solid and equitable principles, as reasonably to promise a permanency of the blessings of tranquillity, did heretofore appoint the honourable John Adams, late a commissioner of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, late a delegate in congress from the state of Massachusetts, and chief justice of the said state, their minister plenipotentiary, with full powers, general and special, to act in that quality, to confer, treat, agree, and conclude, with the ambassadors or plenipotentiaries of his most Christian majesty, and of his Britannic majesty, and those of any other princes or states whom it might concern, relating to the re-establishment of peace and friendship: and whereas the flames of war have since that time been extended, and other nations and states are involved therein: Now know ye, that we, still continuing earnestly desirous, so far as depends upon us, to put a stop to the effusion of blood, and to convince the powers of Europe, that we wish for nothing more ardently than to terminate the war by a safe and honourable peace, have thought proper to renew the powers formerly given to the said John Adams, and to join four other persons in commission with him; and having full confidence in the integrity, prudence, and ability of the honourable Benjamin Franklin, our minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles; and the honourable John Jay, late president of congress, and chief justice of the state of New York, and our minister plenipotentiary at the court of Madrid; and the honourable Henry Laurens, formerly president of congress, and commissioned and sent as our agent to the United Provinces of the Low Countries; and the honourable Thomas Jefferson, governor of the commonwealth of Virginia; have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and by these presents do nominate, constitute, and appoint the said Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson, in addition to the said John Adams, giving and granting to them, the said John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, Thomas Jefferson, or the majority of them, or such of them as may assemble; or, in case of the death, absence, indisposition, or other impediment of the others, to any one of them, full power and authority, general and special, conjunctly and separately, and general and special command, to repair to such place as may be fixed upon for opening negotiations for peace, and there for us, and in our name, to confer, treat, agree, and conclude, with the ambassadors, commissioners, and plenipotentiaries of the princes and states whom it may concern, vested with equal powers relating to the establishment of peace: And whatsoever shall be agreed and concluded for us, and in our name, to sign, and thereupon make a treaty, or treaties, and to transact every thing that may be necessary for completing, securing, and strengthening the great work of pacification, in as ample form; and with the same effect, as if we were personally present and acted therein, hereby promising in good faith, that we will accept, ratify, fulfil, and execute whatever shall be agreed, concluded, and signed by our said ministers plenipotentiary, or a majority of them, or of such of them as may assemble, or in the case of the death, absence, indisposition, or other impediment of the others, by any one of them, and that we will never act, nor suffer any person to act, contrary to the same, in whole, or in any part.

In witness whereof we have caused these presents to be signed by our president, and sealed with his seal.

Done at Philadelphia the 15th day of June, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, and in the fifth year of our independence.

By the U. States, in Congress assembled.
SAM. (L. S.) HUNTINGDON, President.
Attest, CHARLES THOMSON, Sec'y.

John Jay to Dr. Franklin.

"PARIS, Jan. 26, 1783.

SIR,—It having been suspected that I concurred in the appointment of your grandson to the place of secretary to the American commission for peace, at *your instance*, I think it right, thus unsolicited, to put it in your power to correct the mistake.

"Your general character, the opinion I have long entertained of your services to your country, and the friendly attention and aid with which you have constantly favoured me after my arrival in Spain, impressed me with a desire of manifesting both my esteem and my attachment by stronger evidence than professions. That desire extended my regard for you to your grandson. He was then, indeed, a stranger to me, but the terms in which you expressed to congress your opinion of his being qualified for another place of equal importance, were so full and satisfactory, as to leave me no room for doubt of his being qualified for the one above mentioned. I was therefore happy to assure you, in one of the first letters I afterwards wrote you from Spain, that in case a secretary to our commission for peace should become necessary, and the appointment be left to us, I should take that opportunity of evincing my regard for you, by nominating him, or words to that effect. What I then wrote was the spontaneous suggestion of my own mind, unsolicited, and I believe unexpected by you.

"When I came here on the business of that commission, I brought with me the same intentions, and should always have considered myself engaged by honour, as well as inclination, to fulfil them, unless I had found myself mistaken in the opinion I had imbibed of that young gentleman's character and qualifications; but that. not being the case, I found myself at liberty to indulge my wishes and be as good as my word. For I expressly declare that your grandson is, in my opinion, qualified for the place in question, and that if he had not been, no consideration would have prevailed upon me to propose or join in his appointment.

"This implicit and unreserved statement of facts is due to you, to him, and to justice, and you have my consent to make any use of it that you may think proper.

"JOHN JAY."

"*Mrs. Hewson.*[*]

"PASSY, January 27. 1783.

"THE departure of my dearest friend,[†] which I learn from your last letter, greatly affects me. To meet with her once more in this life was one of the principal motives of my proposing to visit England again before my return to America. The last year carried off my friends Dr. Pringle and Dr. Fothergill, and lord Kaimes and lord Le Despencer: this has begun to take away the rest, and strikes the hardest. Thus the ties I had to that country, and indeed to the world in general, are loosened one by one; and I shall soon have no attachment left to make me unwilling to follow.

"I intended writing when I sent the eleven books, but lost the time in looking for the first. I wrote with that; and hope it came to hand. I therein asked your counsel about my coming to England: on reflection I think I can from my knowledge of your prudence foresee what it will be; viz. not to come too soon, lest it should seem braving and insulting some who ought to be respected. I shall therefore omit that journey till I am near going to America, and then just step over to take leave of my friends, and spend a few days with you. I purpose bringing Ben* with me, and perhaps may leave him under your care.

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[*] Widow of the eminent anatomist of that name, and formerly Miss Stevenson, to whom several of Dr. Franklin's letters on philosophical subjects are addressed.

[†] Refers to Mrs. Hewson's mother.

"At length we are in peace, God be praised; and long, very long may it continue. All wars are follies, very expensive and very mischievous ones: when will mankind be convinced of this, and agree to settle their differences by arbitration? were they to do it even by the cast of a die, it would be better than by fighting and destroying each other.

"Spring is coming on, when travelling will be delightful. Can you not, when your children are all at school, make a little party and take a trip hither? I have now a large house, delightfully situated, in which I could accommodate you and two or three friends; and I am but half an hour's drive from Paris.

"In looking forward, twenty-five years seems a long period; but in looking back, how short! could you imagine that 'tis now full a quarter of a century since we were first acquainted! it was in 1757. During the greatest part of the time I lived in the same house with my dear deceased friend your mother; of course you and I saw and conversed with each other much and often. It is to all our honours, that in all that time we never had among us the smallest misunderstanding. Our friendship has been all clear sunshine, without any the least cloud in its hemisphere. Let me conclude by saying to you what I have had too frequent occasions to say to my other remaining old friends, *the fewer we become, the more let us love one another.*

"B. FRANKLIN."

By the king, a proclamation, declaring the cessation of arms, as well by sea as land.

"GEORGE R.

"WHEREAS provisional articles were signed at Paris, on the thirtieth day of November last, between our commissioner for treating of peace with the commissioners of the United States of America, and the commissioners of the said states, to be inserted in and to constitute the treaty of peace proposed to be concluded, between us and the said United States, when terms of peace should be agreed upon between us and his most Christian majesty: And whereas preliminaries for restoring peace between us and his most Christian majesty, were signed at Versailles on the twentieth day of January last, by the ministers of us and the most Christian king: And whereas preliminaries for restoring peace between us and the king of Spain, were also signed at Versailles, on the twentieth day of January last, between the ministers of us and the king of Spain: And whereas, for putting an end to the calamity of war as soon and as far as may be possible, it hath been agreed between us, his most Christian majesty, and the king of Spain, the states-general of the United Provinces, and the United States of America, as follows; that is to say,

"That such vessels and effects, as should be taken in the Channel and in the North Seas after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the said preliminary articles, should be restored on all sides; that the term should be one month from the Channel and the North Seas as far as the Canary islands inclusively, whether in the ocean or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary islands as far as the equinoctial line or equator; and, lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any other more particular description of time or place: And whereas the ratifications of the said preliminary articles between us and the most Christian king, in due form, were exchanged by the ministers of us and of the most Christian king, on the third day of the instant February; and the ratification of the said preliminary articles between us and the king of Spain were exchanged between the ministers of us, and of the king of Spain, on the ninth day of this instant February; from which days respectively the several terms above mentioned, of twelve days, of one month, of two months, and of five months, are to be computed: And whereas it is our royal will and pleasure that the cessation of hostilities between us and the states-general of the United Provinces, and the United States of America, should be agreeable to the epochs fixed between us and the most Christian king: We have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to notify the same to all our loving subjects; and we do declare, that our royal will and pleasure is and we do hereby strictly charge and command all our officers, both at sea and land, and all other our subjects whatsoever, to forbear all acts of hostility, either by sea or land, against his most Christian majesty the king of Spain, the states-general of the United Provinces, and the United States of America, their vassals or subjects, from and after the respective terms above mentioned, and under the penalty of incurring our highest displeasure.

Given at our court at St. James's the fourteenth day of February, in the twenty-third year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

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* Benjamin Franklin Bache, a grandson of Dr. Franklin, by his daughter Sarah; he was the first editor of the AURORA at Philadelphia: died of yellow fever in September, 1798.

"*M. Dumas.*

"PASSY, Feb. 17, 1783.

"DEAR SIR,—It is a long time since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you. I hope however that you and yours continue well.

"The bearers, Mr. President Wheelock and his brother, go to Holland on a public spirited design, which you will find recommended by many eminent persons in America.

"I beg leave to request for these gentlemen, your civilities and best counsels, as they will be entire strangers in your country.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States of America.*

"PARIS, Feb. 18, 1783.

"GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a packet containing one hundred passports for American vessels, which I have this moment received by a courier from England.

"I take this opportunity of acquainting you that a proclamation was issued out in the king's name on the 14th instant, making known the cessation of hostilities which has been agreed upon between the several belligerent powers, and declaring further that the several epochas at which the said armistice is to commence between his Majesty and the United States of North America, are to be computed from the third day of this instant February, being the day on which the ratifications of the preliminaries were exchanged between his Majesty and the most Christian King. I must add that his Majesty was induced to take this step under the firm and just expectation that you, gentlemen, will correspond to it on your parts, by adopting the same measure reciprocally in the name of the States your masters.—I have the honour to be with great regard and esteem, gentlemen, yours, &c.

"ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT."

By the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States of America for making peace with Great Britain. A declaration of the cessation of arms, as well by sea as land, agreed upon between his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and the United States of America.

"WHEREAS preliminary articles were signed at Paris, on the thirtieth day of November last, between the plenipotentiaries of his said majesty, the king of Great Britain, and of the said states, to be inserted in, and to constitute the treaty of peace, to be concluded between his said majesty and the said United States, when terms of peace should be agreed upon between his said majesty and his most Christian majesty: And whereas preliminaries for restoring peace between his said majesty the king of Great Britain and his most Christian majesty were signed at Versailles, on the twentieth day of January last, by the respective ministers of their said majesties: And whereas preliminaries for restoring peace between his said majesty the king of Great Britain and his majesty the king of Spain were also signed at Versailles on the twentieth day of January last, by their respective ministers: And whereas for putting an end to the calamity of war, as soon and as far as possible, it hath been agreed between the king of Great Britain, his most Christian majesty, the king of Spain, the States General of the United Provinces, and the United States of America, as follow, that is to say: That such vessels and effects, as should be taken in the Channel and in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the said preliminary articles, should be restored on all sides; that the term should be one month from the Channel and the North Seas as far as the Canary islands inclusively, whether in the ocean or the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary islands, as far as the equinoctial line or equator, and lastly five months in all parts of the world, without any exception, or any other more particular description of time or place.

"And whereas the ratifications of the said preliminary articles between his said majesty the king of Great Britain, and his most Christian majesty, in due form, were exchanged by their ministers on the third day of this instant February, from which day the several terms above mentioned, of twelve days, of one month, of two months, and of five months, are to be computed, relative to all British and American vessels and effects.

"Now, therefore, we, the ministers plenipotentiary from the United States of America for making peace with Great Britain, do notify to the people and citizens of the said United States of America, that hostilities on their part against his Britannic majesty, both by sea and land, are to cease, at the expiration of the terms herein before specified therefor, and which terms are to be computed from the third day of February instant: And we do, in the name and by the authority of the said United States, accordingly warn and enjoin all their officers and citizens to forbear all acts of hostility whatever, either by land or by sea, against his said majesty the king of Great Britain, or his subjects, under the penalty of incurring the highest displeasure of the said United States.

"Given at Paris the twentieth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

"JOHN ADAMS, (L. S.)
B. FRANKLIN, (L. S.)
JOHN JAY." (L. S.)

M. Roseneroni, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Denmark, to M. Wattersdorff.

"COPENHAGEN, Feb. 22, 1783

"SIR,—As I know you are on the point of making a tour to France, I cannot omit warmly recommending to you to endeavour, during your stay in Paris, to gain as much as possible the confidence and esteem of Mr. Franklin.

"You will recollect, sir, what I said to you in our conversations, of the high respect which all the king's ministry have for that minister. You have witnessed the satisfaction with which we have learned the glorious issue of this war for the United States of America, and how fully we are persuaded, that it will be for the general interest of the new states, to form, as soon as possible, reciprocal connexions of friendship and commerce. Nothing would certainly be more agreeable to us than to learn by your letters, that you find the same dispositions in Mr. Franklin, and in that case it seems to me the shortest way of accelerating their new connexions, would be to take the treaty between congress and the States General for the basis, and that Mr. Franklin should communicate to us his ideas on the changes or additions, which he might think reciprocally useful, in the treaty of commerce which congress might conclude with us.

"We should eagerly and frankly reply to such overtures; and, as soon as the changes thus agreed on should have met the approbation of congress, one of the persons commissioned by that body, then in Europe, might, in order to gain time, come here with full powers to conclude, leaving on both sides the most particular stipulations for the negotiations of the ministers which those states shall in the sequel send to reside with each other.

"ROSENERONI."

"*R. R. Livingston.*

"PASSY, March 7, 1783.

"SIR,—I but this moment hear of this opportunity by which I can only send you a line to acquaint you that I have concluded the treaty with Sweden, which was signed on Wednesday last. You will have a copy by the first good opportunity. It differs very little from the plan sent me, in nothing material. The English court is in confusion by another change of ministry, lord Shelburne and his friends have resigned; but it is not yet certainly known who will succeed, though lord North and Mr. Fox are talked of as two, they being reconciled!!! B. FRANKLIN"

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"LONDON, March 12, 1783.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—It is a long while since I have heard from you, or indeed since I writ to you. I heartily congratulate you on those pacific events which have already happened, and I wish to see all other final steps of conciliation succeed speedily. I send you copies of two papers, which I have already communicated to Mr. Laurens; the one called *Conciliatory Propositions, in March*, 1783; the other, *A Sketch of a provisional Treaty of Commerce for opening the ports between Great Britain and the United States of America, without delay;* to each of which is prefixed a short state of the argument on each head.

"As for the news of this country, you have doubtless heard, that lord Shelburne's administration has for some time been considered as at an end; although no other has been as yet substituted in the place of it. It was understood yesterday, and I believe with good foundation, that what is now called the Portland party have been applied to, and they are now considered as the party most likely to succeed. As far as my wishes go, such an event would be most satisfactory to me. I have known the duke of Portland for many years, and by experience I know him to be a nobleman of the strictest honour and of the soundest whig principles, sincere and explicit in every thought and transaction, manly in his judgment, and firm in his conduct. The kingdom of Ireland, of which he was lately lord-lieutenant, bears unanimous testimony to this character of him. The Cavendish family (a good whig name) Mr. Fox, lord Fitzwilliam, &c, &c., form the core of his system and connexions. I most earnestly wish to see a firm administration upon a whig foundation, which I should consider as a solid basis on the part of this country, for a perpetual correspondence of amity and conciliation with America. I am very anxious to hear of your health. God bless you. D. HARTLEY."

Conciliatory Propositions, March, 1783.

"TERMS of peace having been agreed upon between Great Britain and France, on the 20th January, 1783, there need not be any farther delay in proceeding to conclude the proposed treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America, upon the basis of the provisional articles of the 30th of Nov. 1782.

"It is to be observed that none of the articles of the provisional treaty are to take effect, until the conclusion of the definitive treaty with America, at which time likewise all places in the American States, in possession of the British arms, are to be evacuated, and the British army withdrawn from the United States (by article 7.) If therefore it should be wished on the part of Great Britain to bring forward the fifth article respecting the loyalists, before the conclusion of the definitive treaty with America, the bayonet should be withdrawn from the American breast by the voluntary removal of the British troops with all convenient despatch. This condition of the removal of the troops is likewise necessary before any provisional terms of commerce with America can take place.

"By the 6th article of the provisional treaty, all future confiscations in America are precluded, although the prosecutions at present subsisting are not to be stopped before the definitive treaty. But if the substantial pledge of returning amity on the part of Great Britain, viz., the removal of the troops, should be voluntarily anticipated, it would be but reasonable that all prosecutions should be immediately abated on the part of America; and to facilitate the removal of the troops, the loyalists may be permitted to remain in safety and unmolested (if they choose to remain) from the period of removing the troops until twelve months after the definitive treaty.

"There is another article of the provisional treaty, the delay of which is much to be lamented, viz., the mutual release of prisoners of war on both sides. As this is an article of reciprocity, both sides, from principles of humanity, are equally interested to bring it forward into effect speedily; that those unhappy captives may not alone suffer the miseries of war in the time of peace.

"Upon these considerations the following supplemental terms of treaty between Great Britain and the United States are proposed:

"1. That the British troops shall be withdrawn with all convenient speed.

"2. That the commissioners on both sides do proceed to the conclusion of the definitive treaty.

"3. That the commissioners do speedily negotiate a provisional convention of commerce (hereunto annexed) to take place immediately. The terms of this temporary convention not to be pleaded on either side in the negotiation of a final and perpetual treaty of commerce between Great Britain and the United States.

"4. That the commissioners do negotiate a perpetual treaty of commerce.

"5. That all prosecutions of the loyalists in America be immediately abated, and that they be permitted to remain until twelve months after the definitive treaty, unmolested in their endeavours to obtain restitution of their estates.

"6. That all prisoners on both sides be immediately released.

"7. That intercourse of amity and commerce do immediately take place between Great Britain and the United States of America."

Sketch of a Provisional Treaty of Commerce.

"As soon as preliminaries of peace are signed with any independent states, such as Spain, France, and Holland, the course of mutual commerce emerges upon the same terms and conditions as were existing antecedent to the war, the new duties imposed during the war excepted. The case between Great Britain and America is different, because America, from a dependent nation before the war, emerges an independent nation after the war. The basis therefore of provisional treaty between Great Britain and the United States would be simply to arrange such points as would emerge after the war, impracticable and discordant to the newly established independence of the American States, and to leave all others, as much as possible, untouched: For instance, that all instrumental regulations, such as papers, bonds, certificates, oaths, and all other documents should be between Great Britain and the United States upon the same footing, and no other than as between Great Britain and any other independent nation, but that all duties, drawbacks, bounties, rights, privileges, and all pecuniary considerations should emerge into action and effect as before. I say emerge as before, not stipulated for any fixed term, because I am speaking of a provisional *treaty*, not of a provisional *bill* of commerce for a specified period. By this means all difficulties, which otherwise would be accumulated, and obstruct a temporary and provisional act, are avoided *in limine*. The ports will be immediately opened upon specified and known conditions. If the legislature of either country think proper to introduce on its own part any new conditions or regulations, even previous to the intended treaty of commerce, that will not shut the ports again generally, but only operate *pro tanto* according to the case; on which side soever any novel condition should arise, the other will likewise be at liberty to make any corresponding regulations as between independent nations. The great object is to open the ports between Great Britain and the United States immediately on the signature of preliminaries of peace, as between France and Great Britain. By the proposition above stated, Great Britain and France, and Great

Britain and the United States respectively, on the subject of intercourse of commerce, would emerge again after the war, into situations relatively similar to their situation before the war.

"The crown of Great Britain is enabled by the conciliatory act of 1782 to repeal, annul, make void, or suspend, for any time or times, the operation and effect of any act of parliament, or any clause, provision, matter or thing therein contained, relating to the colonies or plantations now become the United States of America; and therefore the crown is not only competent to conclude, but likewise to carry into effect any provisional treaty of commerce with America. The first foundation must be laid in the total repeal of the prohibitory act of December, 1775, not only as prohibiting commerce between Great Britain and the United States, but as the corner stone of the war; by giving up universally all American property at sea to military plunder, without any redress to be obtained by law in any British court of admiralty. After this all obstructions from the act of navigation, and other acts regulating the commerce of the States of America (formerly dependent upon Great Britain,) may be removed. Instructions may be sent to the commissioners of the customs to dispense with bonds, certificates, &c., which by the old laws are required to be discharged or attested by supposed governors, naval or customhouse officers in America. The questions of drawbacks, bounties, &c., after opening the ports, may remain free points of discussion and regulation, as between states having no commercial treaty subsisting between them. As the crown is competent to open an intercourse of commerce with America by treaty, this mode is preferable to any act of parliament, which may be only a jealous and suspicious convention *ex parte*. This mode by treaty avoids the accumulated difficulties which might otherwise obstruct the first opening of the ports by act of parliament, and above all it secures an alternate binding part of the bargain, which no act of parliament can do.

"Breviate of the treaty, viz., Provisional for intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and the United States of America.

"1. That all ports shall be mutually open for intercourse and commerce.

"2. And therefore the king of Great Britain agrees, for the repeal of the prohibitory acts, viz., 16 Geo. 3, chap 5, &c. The king of Great Britain likewise agrees by instructions, according to the laws of Great Britain, to his commissioners of customs and other officers, to remove all obstructions to American ships, either entering inwards or clearing outwards, which may arise from any acts of parliament heretofore regulating the commerce of the American states, under the description of British colonies or plantations, so as to accommdoate every circumstance to the reception of their ships, as the ships of independent states.

"3. All duties, drawbacks, bounties, rights, privileges, and all other money considerations shall remain, respecting the United States of America, upon the same footing as they now remain, respecting the province of Nova Scotia in America, or as if the aforesaid states had remained dependent upon Great Britain. All this subject to regulations or alterations by any future acts of the parliament of Great Britain.

"4. On the part of the states of America, it is agreed that all laws prohibiting the commerce with Great Britain shall be repealed.

"5. Agreed upon the same part, that all ships and merchandise of the British dominions shall be admitted upon the same terms as before the war, except any imposts laid during the war. All this subject to future regulations or alterations by the legislatures of American states respectively.

"6. The principles and spirit of this treaty to be supported on either side by any necessary supplemental arrangements. No tacit compliance on the part of America in any subordinate points to be argued at any time hereafter to the prejudice of their independence."

"*To the Bishop of St. Asaph.*

"Passy, March 17, 1783.

"I RECEIVED with great pleasure my dear and respected friend's letter of the fifth instant, as it informed me of the welfare of a family I so much esteem and love.

"The clamour against the peace in your parliament, would alarm me for its duration, if I were not of opinion with you, that the attack is rather against the minister. I am confident none of the opposition would have made a better peace for England, if they had been in his place; at least I am sure that lord Stormont, who seems loudest in railing at it, is not the man that could have mended it. My reasons I will give you, when I have, what I hope to have, the great happiness of seeing you once more and conversing with you. They talk much of there being no reciprocity in our treaty; they think nothing then of our passing over in silence the atrocities committed by their troops, and demanding no satisfaction for their wanton burnings and devastations of our fair towns and countries. They have heretofore confest the war to be unjust, and nothing is plainer in reasoning, than that the mischiefs done in an unjust war should be repaired. Can Englishmen be so partial to themselves, as to imagine they have a right to plunder and destroy as much as they please, and then, without satisfying for the injuries they have done, to have peace on equal terms! We were favourable, and did not demand what justice entitled us to. We shall probably be blamed for it by our constitutents: and I still think it would be the interest of England voluntarily to offer reparation of those injuries, and effect it as much as may be in her power. But this is an interest she will never see.

"Let us now forgive and forget. Let each country seek its advancement in its own internal advantages of arts and agriculture, not in retarding or preventing the prosperity of the other. America will, with God's blessing, become a great and happy country; and England, if she has at length gained wisdom, will have gained something more valuable, and more essential to her prosperity, than all she has lost; and will still be a great and respectable nation. Her great disease at present, is the number and enormous salaries and emoluments of office. Avarice and ambition are strong passions, and separately act with great force on the human mind; but when both are united and may be gratified in the same object, their violence is almost irresistible, and they hurry men headlong into factions, and contentions, destructive of all good government. As long therefore as these great emoluments subsist, your parliament will be a stormy sea, and your public councils confounded by private interests. But it requires much public spirit and virtue to abolish them; more perhaps than can now be found in a nation so long corrupted.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*The Earl of Buchan.*

"PASSY, March 17, 1783.

"MY LORD,—I received the letter your lordship did me the honour of writing to me, and am obliged, by your kind congratulations on the return of peace, which I hope will be lasting.

"With regard to the terms on which lands may be acquired in America, and the manner of beginning new settlements on them, I cannot give better information than may be found in a book lately printed in London, under some such title as *Letters from a Pennsylvanian Farmer*, by Hector St. John. The only encouragements we hold out to strangers are, a good climate, fertile soil, wholesome air and water, plenty of provisions and fuel, good pay for labour. kind neighbours, good laws, liberty, and a hearty welcome: the rest depends on a man's own industry and virtue. Lands are cheap, but they must be bought. All settlements are undertaken at private expense: the public contributes nothing but defence and justice. I should not however expect much emigration from a country so drained of men as yours (Scotland) must have been by the late war; since the more have left it, the more room, and the more encouragement remains for those who staid at home. But this you can best judge of; and I have long observed of your people, that their sobriety, frugality, industry, and honesty, seldom fail of success in America, and of procuring them a good establishment among us.

"I do not recollect the circumstance you are pleased to mention, of my having saved a citizen at St. Andrew, by giving a turn to his disorder; and I am curious to know what the disorder was, and what the advice I gave which proved so salutary.*

"With great regard I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient and most humble servant.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*David Hartley.*

"PASSY, March 23, 1783.

"DEAR SIR,—I received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me, requesting a recommendation to America of Mr. Joshua Grigby. I have accordingly written one; and having an opportunity the other day, I sent it under cover to Mr. Benjamin Vaughan. The general proclamations you wished for suspending, or rather putting an end to hostilities, are now published; so that your 'heart is at rest,' and mine with it. You may depend on my joining my hearty endeavours with yours, "in cultivating conciliatory principles between our two countries;' and I may venture to assure you, that if your bill for a provisional establishment of the commerce had passed, as at first proposed, a stipulation on our part in the definitive treaty, to allow reciprocal and equal advantages and privileges to your subjects, would have been readily agreed to.

"B. FRANKLIN."

R. R. Livingston to Dr. Franklin.

"PHILADELPHIA, March 26, 1783.

"SIR,—I need hardly tell you that the intelligence brought by the Washington diffused great pleasure. We had long been in suspense with respect to the negotiations, and had received no other lights on that subject, than those of the speech of his Britannic majesty and Mr. Townshend's letters threw upon it. These were by no means sufficient to dissipate all our apprehensions.

"The terms you have obtained for us comprise most of the objects we wish for. I am sorry, however, that you found it necessary to act with reserve, and to conceal your measures from the court of France. I am fearful that you will not be able to produce such facts as will justify this conduct to the world, or free from the charge of ingratitude to a friend who has treated us not only justly but generously.

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* It was a fever in which the earl of Buchan, then lord Cadross, lay sick at St. Andrew's; and the advice was, not to blister, according to the old practice, and the opinion of the learned Dr. Simson, brother of the celebrated geometrician at Glasgow.

"But this is a disagreeable subject, and I refer you for my sentiments and those of congress, to my letter in answer to the joint letter from our ministers. I am sorry that the commercial article is stricken out; it would have been very important to us to have got footing at least in the British West Indies, as a means of compelling France to pursue her true interests and ours, by opening her ports also to us.

"We have just learned, by a vessel from Cadiz, that the preliminary articles for a general peace were signed the 20th. The abstract of the treaty sent me by the marquis de la Fayette does the highest honour to the wisdom and moderation of France. Never has she terminated a war with more glory, and in gaining nothing but that trophy of victory Tobago, she has established a character which confirms her friends, disarms her enemies, and obtains a reputation that is of more value than any territorial acquisitions she could make.

"We have been in great distress with respect to our army. Pains were taken to influence their minds, and make them uneasy at the idea of a peace which left them without support. Inflammatory papers were dispersed in camp, calling them together to determine upon some mad action. The general interposed, postponed the meeting to a future day, on which he met them, and made them an address, that will do him more honour than his victories. After which they passed several resolves, becoming a patriot army. Congress are sincerely engaged in endeavouring to do them justice. I am in great hopes, that we shall shortly be brought back to such a situation as to be enabled to enjoy the blessings you have laid the foundation of.

"I received from Mr. Franklin the papers relative to the Portuguese vessel, which I have caused to be laid before the Court of Appeals, where the cause is now depending.—The cargo having been condemned, and the yatch acquitted at Boston, I doubt not that full justice will be done to the proprietors on the rehearing. You know so much of our constitution, as to see, that it is impossible to interfere further in these matters, than by putting the evidence in a proper train to be examined. I have had the proceedings in the case of the brig Providentia transmitted to me from Boston, with a full state of the evidence, which I have examined. The cargo is condemned and the vessel acquitted, an allowance for freight having been made by the court. The evidence does not admit a doubt of the justice of this decree. Should the court of Denmark not be satisfied with this account, I will cause a copy of the proceedings to be transmitted to you for their satisfaction. I hope this mark of attention to them will induce them to acknowledge the injustice that they have done us in the detention of our prizes. This object should not be lost sight of.

"I thank you for the present of M. d'Aubertavil's essay, and shall dispose of the copies he has sent in the way you recommend. I would have hardly believed it possible, that so many errors and falsehoods, that would shock the strongest faith on this side of the water, could be received as orthodox on the other.

"I remit bills for the salaries of our ministers. It is impossible that I can adjust their amounts here; you must settle with them, and they repay you out of the drafts I have made in their favour, when they have been overpaid. Congress have, in pursuance of your sentiment in your letter of October, passed the following resolutions.

'March 7. 1783 Resolved that the salaries of the ministers and other officers of the United States in Europe, be estimated in future in dollars at the rate of four shillings and sixpence sterling per dollar.

'That they be paid in bills of exchange upon France or Holland, at the rate of five livres five sous tournois per dollar, without regard to the variations which may be occasioned by the course of exchange.'

"So that on the quarter's salary due in April there will be a deduction of all you gained by the course of exchange; and the payments will be reduced to par, at which rate they will always be paid in future. This deduction amounts on your salary to eight thousand three hundred and thirty-six livres, as will appear from the account that will be stated by Mr. Morris. I shall pay your bills into the hands of Mr. Robert Morris, whom you have constituted your agent. The bills for the other gentlemen, who may not be with you, are committed to your care. As the bills are drawn in their favour they can only be paid on their endorsement.

"Congress will I believe agree very reluctantly to let you quit their service. The project, together with Mr. Laurens and Mr. Adams's resignation, is under the consideration of a committee. If they report before this vessel sails you shall know their determination.

"On the arrival of the Triumph from Cadiz, which brought orders for recalling the cruisers of his Britannic majesty, congress passed the enclosed resolution, which I transmitted with the intelligence we had received, to Carleton and Digby. I sent my secretary with my letters, and expect him back this evening. I am anxious to know how the first messenger of peace has been received by them, as well as to discover through him what steps they propose to take for the evacuation.

"I ought to thank you for your Journal before I conclude. The perusal of it afforded me great pleasure. I must pray you to continue it. I much wish to have every step which led to so interesting an event as the treaty which established our independence. And though both Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams are minute in their journals, for which I am much obliged to them, yet new light may be thrown on the subject by you, who having been longer acquainted with the courts of London and Versailles, have the means of more information relative to their principles and measures.

"R. R. LIVINGSTON."

"*The City of Hamburg to Congress.*

"March 29, 1783.

"RIGHT NOBLE, HIGH, MIGHTY, MOST HONOURABLE LORDS!—Since, by the preliminary articles of peace concluded lately between the high belligerent powers, the illustrious United States of America have been acknowledged free, sovereign and independent, and now since European powers are courting in rivalry the friendship of your high mightinesses,

"We, impressed with the most lively sensations on the illustrious event, the wonder of this and the most remote future ages; and desirous fully to testify the part which we take therein, do hereby offer your high mightinesses our service and attachment to the same cause.

"And in the most sincere disposition of heart we take the honour to wish, so, from the omnipotent Providence we do pray, that the most illlustrious republic of the United States of America may, during the remotest centuries, enjoy all imaginable advantages to be derived from that sovereignty, which they gained by prudence and courage.

"That by the wisdom and active patriotism of your illustrious congress, it may for ever flourish and increase, and that the high and mighty regents of those free states may, with ease and in abundance, enjoy all manner of temporal happiness; and at the same time we most obsequiously recommend our city to a perpetual friendly intelligence, and her trade and navigation in matters reciprocally advantageous to your favour and countenance.

"In order to show that such mutual commerce with the merchant houses of this place may undoubtedly be of common benefit, your high mightinesses will be pleased to give us leave to mark out some trading advantages of this trading city.

"Here reigns a free unrestrained republican commerce, charged with but few duties.

"Hamburg's situation upon the river Elbe is, as it were in the centre of the Baltic and North seas, and as canals are cut from the river through the city, goods may be brought in ships to the magazines of the town, and from thence again to all parts of the world.

"Hamburg carries on its trade with economy. It is the mart of goods of all countries where they can be purchased, not only of good quality, but sometimes cheaper than at first hand.

"Here linen, woollen goods, calicoes, glass, copper, and all other numerous produce of manufactured wares of the whole German empire, are bought by the Portuguese, Spaniards, the English, Dutch, French and other nations, and from hence further transported. In exchange whereof considerable quantities of North American goods, much wanted in Germany, may be taken.

"Mr. Penet, who in your country is honoured with several offices, has sojourned here for some time, and with all who had the honour of his acquaintance, borne the character of an intelligent, skilful, and for reciprocally advantageous commerce, a zealous and well disposed man, will certainly have the complaisance to give your high mightinesses further explanation of the advantages of this trading place, which we have but briefly touched upon.

"We now intercessionally and most obsequiously request your high mightinesses to favour and countenance the trade of our merchants, and to suffer them to enjoy all such rights and liberties as you allow to merchants of nations in amity; which in gratitude and with zeal we will in our place endeavour to retribute, not doubting that such mutual intercourse may be effected, since a good beginning thereof is already made on both sides by the friendly reception of the vessels that have arrived in either country.

"In farther testimony of our most attentive obsequiousness and sincere atttachment, we have deputed our citizen John Abraham Van Boor, who is charged with the concerns of a considerable merchant-house, which, like several other merchant-houses of good report in this city, is desirous of entering with merchants of your country into reciprocal commerce.—He is to have the honour to present to your high mightinesses this our most obsequious missive; wherefore we most earnestly recommend him to your favourable reception. He has it from us in express charge, most respectfully to give your high mightinesses if required, such upright and accurate accounts of our situation and constitutions, as may be depended upon, and at the same time in person to testify the assurance of the most perfect respect and attachment with which attentively we remain, right noble, high, mighty, and most honourable lords, your most obsequious and devoted bourgomaster and senate of the imperial free city of Hamburg.—Given under our city seal, the 29th March 1783."

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"London, March 31, 1783.

"My dear Friend,—I send you a paper entitled *Supplemental Treaty*, the substance of which I sent you some time ago, as I read it, in part of a speech in the house of commons. I have given a copy of it to Mr. L., as the grounds upon which my friend the duke of Portland would have wished that any administration in which he might have taken a part should have treated with the American ministers. All negotiations for the formation of a ministry, in concert with the duke of Portland, are at end.

"The 10th article, which is supposed to be referred to the definitive treaty, is a renewal of the same proposition which I moved in parliament some years ago, viz. on the 9th of April, 1778. I see nothing inconsistent with that proposition, either in the declaration of independence or in the treaty with France. Let it therefore remain and emerge after the war, as a point untouched by the war. I assure you my consent should not be wanting to extend this principle between all the nations upon earth. I know full well, that those nations to which you and I are bound by birth and consanguinity would reap the earliest fruits from it; *owing no man hate, and envying no man's happiness*, I should rejoice in the lot of my own country, and on her part say to America, *Nos duo turba sumus.* I send you, likewise, enclosed with this, some sentiments respecting the principles of some late negotiations, drawn up in the shape of parliamentary motions by my brother, who joins with me in the sincerest good wishes to you for health and happiness, and for the peace of our respective countries, and of mankind.

"DAVID HARTLEY."

Supplemental Treaty between Great Britain and the United States of North America.

"1. That the British troops be withdrawn from the United States with all convenient speed.

"2. That all farther prosecutions of loyalists in America be immediately abated, and that they be permitted to remain until twelve months after the definitive treaty with America in safety and unmolested, in their endeavours to obtain restitution of their estates.

"3. That all ports shall be mutually opened for intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and the United States.

"4. Agreed on the part of Great Britain, that all prohibitory acts shall be repealed, and that all obstructions to American ships, either entering inwards or clearing outwards, shall be removed, which may arise from any acts of parliament, heretofore regulating the commerce of the American States, under the description of British colonies and plantations, so as to accommodate every circumstance to the reception of their ships, as the ships of independent states.

"5. Agreed on the part of Great Britain, that all duties, rights, privileges, and all pecuniary considerations shall remain, respecting the United States of America, upon the same footing as they now remain respecting the province of Nova Scotia, or as if the said States had remained dependent upon Great Britain. All this subject to regulations and alterations by any future acts of the parliament of Great Britain.

"6. On the part of the American States, it is agreed, that all laws prohibiting commerce with Great Britain shall be repealed.

"7. Agreed on the part of the American States, that all ships and merchandise of the British dominions shall be admitted upon the same terms as before the war. All this subject to future regulations or alterations by the legislatures of the American States respectively.

"8. That all prisoners on both sides be immediately released.

"9. The spirit and principles of this treaty to be supported on either side by any necessary supplemental arrangements. No tacit compliance on the part of the American States in any subordinate points to be urged at any time hereafter in derogation of their independence."

Separate article to be referred to the definitive treaty.

"10. Neither shall the independence of the United States be construed any farther than as independence, absolute and unlimited in matters of government as well as commerce. Not into alienation, and therefore the subjects of his Britannic majesty and the citizens of the United States shall mutually be considered as natural born subjects, and enjoy all rights and privileges as such in the respective dominions and territories, in the manner heretofore accustomed.

Paper mentioned in the close of Mr. Hartley's Letter of March 21, 1783.

"1. That it is the opinion of this house, that whenever Great Britain thought proper to acknowledge the independence of America, the mode of putting it into effect most honourably for this country, would have been, to have made the declaration of independence previous to the commencement of any treaty with any other power.

"2. That a deviation from that line of conduct, has the effect of appearing to grant the independence of America solely to the demands of the house of Bourbon, and not, as was the real state of the case, from a change in the sentiments of this country, as to the object and continuance of the American war.

"3. That when this house by its vote against the farther prosecution of offensive war in America, had given up the point of contest, and adopted a conciliatory disposition, the pursuing those principles by an immediate and liberal negotiation upon the basis of independence, at the same time expressing a readiness to conclude a general peace with the allies of America upon honourable terms, would have been the most likely way to promote a mutual and beneficial intercourse between the two countries; to establish peace upon a firm foundation; and would have prevented the house of Bourbon from having a right to claim any farther obligations from America, as the assertors of their independence.

"4. That the minister who advised the late negotiations for peace, has neglected to make use of those advantages which the determination of the house put him in possession of: that, by his delay in authorizing persons properly to negotiate with the American commissioners, he has shown a reluctance to acting upon the liberal principles of granting independence to America, as the determination of Great Britain upon mature consideration of the question: and has by such methods given advantage to the enemies of this country to promote and confirm that commerce and connexion between the United States of America and themselves, which during the contest have been turned from their natural channel with this country, and which this peace so concluded has not yet contributed to restore."

M. Salva to Dr. Franklin.

"Algiers, April 1, 1783.

"Sir,—The imminent danger to which the vessels of your nation were exposed, which sailed in March last from Marseilles, and which owed their safety to the god of the seas alone, emboldens me to call your attention to this point.

"Some secret enemies (whom I know) having given information to this regency of their departure, nine armed ships immediately sailed to wait for them at cape Palos. It is to be presumed that the Americans had already passed the straits.

"Algiers has many ships, and the politics of certain European powers do not refrain them from paying tribute to enjoy peace; they make use of these human harpies as a terror to the belligerent nations, whose commerce they chain to the car of Algerine piracy. We saw an example of this when his imperial majesty to protect his flag made use of the firman of the Sublime Porte. It was attacked, and five prizes were brought into this port in 1781, four of which with ballast were restored in February 1782, at the claim of a Capapigi Bashaw of the porte, and of M. Fiinone, the imperial agent who was expelled, and whose correspondent I am, having been his secretary on this occasion, and having revealed to his highness prince Kaunitz Rietberg, minister at the court of Vienna, horrors and crimes which would have remained unpunished but for my pen.

"Humanity alone, sir, has engaged me to give you this advice. I request you will be pleased to keep it secret; your prudence will effect what may be necessary on this occasion.

"I have the honour to offer you every information respecting this port, and flatter myself that I shall succeed therein. I think to depart from this in May or June next for Marseilles, and to leave these barbarian pirates.

"SALVA."

"*The Grand Master of Malta.*

"Passy, April 6, 1783.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to address to your eminent highness the medal which I have lately had struck. It is an homage of gratitude, my lord, which is due to the interest you have taken in our cause, and we no less owe it to your virtues, and to your eminent highness's wise administration of government.

"Permit me, my lord, to demand your protection for such of our citizens as circumstances may lead to your ports. I hope that your eminent highness will be pleased to grant it to them, and kindly receive the assurances of the profound respect, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*M. Roseneroni.*

"Passy, April 13, 1783.

"Sir,—M. Waltersdorff has communicated to me a letter from your excellency, which affords me great pleasure, as it expresses in clear and strong terms the good disposition of your court (Denmark) to form connexions of friendship and commerce with the United States of America. I am confident that the same good disposition will be found in the congress; and having acquainted that respectable body with the purport of your letter, I expect a commission will soon be sent, appointing some person in Europe to enter into a treaty with his majesty the king of Denmark for the purposes desired.

"In the mean time, to prepare and forward the business as much as may be, I send, for your excellency's consideration, such a sketch as you mention, formed on the basis of our treaty with Holland, on which I shall be glad to receive your excellency's sentiments. And I hope that this transaction, when completed, may be the means of producing and securing a long and happy friendship between our two nations.

"To smooth the way for obtaining this desirable end, as well as to comply with my duty, it becomes necessary for me on this occasion to mention to your excellency the affair of our three prizes, which, having during the war entered Bergen as a neutral and friendly port, where they might repair the damages they had suffered, and procure provisions, were, by an order of your predecessor in the office you so honourably fill, violently seized and delivered to our enemies. I am inclined to think it was a party act, procured by the importunities and misrepresentations of the British minister, and that your government would not, on reflection, approve of it. But the injury was done, and I flatter myself your excellency will think with me, that it ought to be repaired. The means and manner I beg leave to recommend to your consideration, and am, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Robert R. Livingston.*

"Passy, April 15, 1783.

"Sir,—You complain sometimes of not hearing from us; it is now near three months since any of us have heard from America. I think our last letters came with general Rochambeau. There is now a project under consideration for establishing monthly packet boats between France and New York, which I hope will be carried into execution; our correspondence then may be more regular and frequent.

"I send herewith another copy of the treaty concluded with Sweden. I hope, however, that you will have received the former, and that the ratification is forwarded. The king, as the ambassador informs me, is now employed in examining the duties payable in his ports, with a view to lowering them in favour of America, and thereby encouraging and facilitating our mutual commerce.

"M. Waltersdorff, chamberlain of the king of Denmark, formerly chief justice of the Danish West India islands, was last year at Paris, where I had some acquaintance with him; he is now returned hither. The newspapers have mentioned him as intended to be sent minister from his court to congress, but he tells me no such appointment has been yet made. He assures me, however, that the king has a strong desire to have a treaty of friendship and commerce with the United States, and he has communicated to me a letter which he received from M. Rosencrone, the minister for foreign affairs, expressing that disposition. I enclose a copy of the letter, and if congress shall approve of entering into such a treaty with the king of Denmark, of which I told M. Waltersdorff I had no doubt, they will send to me, or whom else they shall think proper, the necessary instructions and full powers for that purpose. In the mean time, to keep the business in train, I have sent to that minister for his consideration a translation of the plan, *mutatis mutandis*, which I received from congress for a treaty with Sweden, accompanied by a letter, of which likewise I enclose a copy. I think it would be well to make it one of the instructions to whoever is commissioned for the treaty, that he previously procure satisfaction for the prizes mentioned in my letter.

"The definitive treaties have met with great delays, partly by the tardiness of the Dutch, but principally from the distractions of the court of England, where for six or seven weeks there was properly no ministry nor any business effected. They have at last settled a ministry, but of such a composition as does not promise to be lasting. The papers will inform you who they are. It is now said that Mr. Oswald, who signed the preliminaries, is not to return here, but that Mr. David Hartley comes in his stead to settle the definitive. A congress is also talked of, and that some use is to be made therein of the mediation formerly proposed of the Imperial courts. Mr. Hartley is an old friend of mine, and a strong lover of peace, so that I hope we shall not have much difficult discussion with him: but I could have been content to have finished with Mr. Oswald, whom we always found very reasonable.

"Mr. Laurens having left Bath, mended in his health, is daily expected at Paris, where Messrs. Jay and Adams still continue. Mr. Jefferson has not yet arrived, nor the Romulus, in which ship I am told he was to have taken his passage. I have been the more impatient of this delay from the expectation given me of full letters by him. It is extraordinary that we should be so long without any arrivals from America in any part of Europe. We have as yet heard nothing of the reception of the preliminary articles in America, though it is now nearly five months since they were signed. Barney did not indeed get away from hence before the middle of January, but copies went by other ships long before him; he waited some time for the money he carried, and afterwards was detained by violent contrary winds. He had a passport from England, and I hope arrived safe; though we have been in some pain for him on account of a storm soon after he sailed.

"The English merchants have shown great eagerness to resume their commerce with America, but apprehending that our laws prohibiting that commerce would not be repealeal till England had set the example by repealing theirs, a number of vessels they have loaded with goods have been detained in port while the parliament has been debating on the repealing bill, which has been altered two or three times, and is not agreed upon yet.—It was at first proposed to give us equal privileges in trade with their own subjects, repealing thereby, with respect to us, so much of their navigation act, as regards foreign nations. But the plan seems to be laid aside, and what will finally be done in the affair is uncertain. There is not a port in France and few in Europe, from which I have not received several applications of persons desiring to be appointed consuls for America. They generally offer to execute the office for the honour of it, without salary. I suppose the congress will wait to see what course commerce will take, and in what places it will fix itself, in order to find where consuls will be necessary, before any appointments are made, and perhaps it will then be thought best to send some of our own people. If they are not allowed to trade, and are Americans, the fortunes they make will mostly settle in our own country at last. The agreement I was to make here respecting consuls has not been concluded. The article of trading is important. I think it would be well to reconsider it.

"I have caused to be struck here the medal which I formerly mentioned to you, the design of which you seemed to approve. I enclose one of them in silver for the President of Congress, and one in copper for yourself: the impression on copper is thought to appear best, and you will soon receive a number for the members. I have presented one to the King and another to the Queen, both in gold, one in silver to each of the ministers, as a monumental acknowledgment, which may go down to future ages, of the obligations we are under to this nation. It is mighty well received, and gives general pleasure. If the congress approve of it, as I hope they will, I may add something on the die (for those to be struck hereafter) to show that it was done by their order, which I would not venture to do till I had authority for it.

"A multitude of people are continually applying to me personally, and by letters, for information respecting the means of transporting themselves, families, and fortunes to America. I give no encouragement to the king's subjects, as I think it would not be right in me to do it, without their sovereign's approbation; and indeed few offer from France but persons of irregular conduct and desperate circumstances, whom we had better be without; but I think there will be great emigrations from England, Ireland, and Germany. There is a great contest among the ports, which of them shall be of those to be declared *free* for the *American trade.* Many applications are made to me to interest myself in behalf of all of them, but having no instructions on that head, and thinking it a matter more properly belonging to the consul, I have done nothing in it.

"I have continued to send you the English papers. You will often see falsehoods in them respecting what I say and do, &c. You know those papers too well to make any contradiction of such stuff necessary for me.

"Mr. Barclay is often ill, and I am afraid the settlement of our accounts will be, in his hands, a long operation. I shall be impatient at being detained here on that score after the arrival of my successor. Would it not be well to join Mr. Ridley with Mr. Barclay for that service? He resides in Paris, and seems active in business. I know not indeed whether he would undertake it, but wish he may.

"The finances here are embarrassed, and a new loan is proposed by way of lottery, in which it is said by some calculators, the king will pay at the rate of seven per cent., and of his concern for our credit, in saving by that sum the honour of Mr. Morris's bills, while those drawn by his own officers abroad have their payments suspended for a year after they become due. You have been told that France might help us more liberally if she would.—This last transaction is a demonstration to the contrary.

"Please to show these last paragraphs to Mr. Morris, to whom I cannot now write, the notice of this ship being short; but it is less necessary, as Mr. Grand writes him fully.

"B. FRANKLIN.

"P. S. Mr. Laurens has just arrived."

Charles James Fox, Secretary of State, to B. Franklin.

"St. James's, April 19, 1783.

"Sir,—Although it is unnecessary for me to introduce to your acquaintance a gentleman so well known to you as Mr. Hartley, who will have the honour of delivering to you this letter, yet it may be proper for me to inform you, that he has the full and entire confidence of his majesty's ministers upon the subject of his mission.

"Permit me, sir, to take this opportunity of assuring you, how happy I should esteem myself, if it were to prove my lot to be the instrument of completing a real and substantial reconciliation between two countries, formed by nature to be in a state of friendship one with the other, and thereby to put the finishing hand to a building, in laying the first stone of which I may fairly boast that I had some share. C. J. FOX."

"*R. R. Livingston.*

"PASSY, April 27, 1783.

"SIR,—The count de Verome, an Italian nobleman of great distinction, does me the honour to be the bearer of this. I have not the satisfaction to be personally acquainted with this gentleman, but am much solicited by some of my particular friends, to whom his merits and character are known, to afford him this introduction to you. He is, I understand, a great traveller, and his view in going to America is merely to see the country and its great men. I pray you will show him every civility, and afford him that counsel which as a stranger he may stand in need of.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Three Articles proposed by the American Ministers, and delivered to David Hartley, Esq. the British Envoy.

"April 29, 1783.

"ART. 1. It is agreed that so soon as his Britannic Majesty shall have withdrawn all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the United States of America, and from every port, post, place, and harbour within the same, as stipulated by the 7th article of the provisional treaty of 30th of November, 1782, then and thenceforth, for and during the term of —— years, all rivers, harbours, lakes, ports, and places, belonging to the United States, or any of them, shall be open and free to the merchants and other subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and his trading vessels; who shall be received, treated, and protected, like the merchant and trading vessels of the state in which they may be, liable to no other charges or duties.

"And reciprocally all rivers, harbours, lakes, ports, and places, under the dominion of his Britannic Majesty, shall thenceforth be open and free to the merchants and trading vessels of the said United States, and of each and every of them who shall be received, treated, and protected like the merchants and trading vessels of Great Britain, and be liable to no other charges or duties: saving always to the chartered trading companies of Great Britain, such exclusive use and trade of their respective ports and establishments, as neither the other subjects of Great Britain, nor any of the most favoured nation, participate in.

"Art. 2. It is agreed that such persons as may be in confinement in the United States of America for or by reason of the part which they may have taken in the late war, shall be set at liberty immediately on the evacuation of the said states by the troops and fleets of his Britannic Majesty.

"And it is likewise agreed that all such persons who may be in confinement in any parts under the dominion of his Britannic Majesty, for or by reason of the part which they may have taken in the late war, shall at the same time be also immediately set at liberty.

"Art. 3. The prisoners made respectively by the arms of his Britannic Majesty, and those of the United States of America both by land and sea, shall be immediately set at liberty without any ransom, on paying the debts they may have contracted during their captivity: and each contracting party shall respectively reimburse the sums which shall have been advanced for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained according to the receipts and attested accounts, and other authentic titles which shall be produced on each side."

The Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"VERSAILLES, May 5, 1783.

"SIR,—I have received the two letters of yesterday and to-day, which you have done me the honour to write to me, and a copy of the three articles discussed between the commissioners of the United States and Mr. Hartley. You are aware that I shall want a sufficient time to examine them, before submitting to men the observations which may relate to our reciprocal interests. Receive in the mean time my sincere thanks for this communication.

"I hope to have the honour of seeing you to-morrow at Versailles. I trust you will be able to be present with the foreign ministers. It is observed that the commissioners of the United States rarely show themselves here, and inferences are drawn from it, which I am sure their constituents would disallow, if they had a knowledge of them.

"DE VERGENNES."

"*Count de Vergennes.*

"PASSY, May 5, 1783.

"SIR,—It was my intention to pay my devoirs at Versailles to-morrow. I thank your excellency nevertheless for your kind admonition. I omitted two of the last three days, from a mistaken apprehension, that being holidays there would be no court. Mr. Laurens and Mr. Jay are both invalids; and since my last severe fit of the gout, my legs have continued so weak, that I am hardly able to keep pace with the ministers who walk fast, especially in going up and down stairs.

"I beg you to be assured, that whatever deficiency there may be of strength there is none of respect. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To David Hartley.*

"PASSY, May 8, 1783.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I send you enclosed the copies you desired of the papers I read to you yesterday.* I should be happy if I could see, before I die, the proposed improvement of the law of nations established. The miseries of mankind would be diminished by it, and the happiness of millions secured and promoted. If the practice of *privateering* could be profitable to any civilized nation, it might be so to us Americans, since we are so situated on the globe, as that the rich commerce of Europe with the West Indies, consisting of manufactures, sugars, &c. is obliged to pass before our doors, which enables us to make short and cheap cruises, while our own commerce is in such bulky low-priced articles, as that ten of our ships taken by you are not equal in value to one of yours, and you must come far from home at a great expense to look for them. I hope, therefore, that this proposition, if made by us, will appear in its true light, as having humanity only for its motive. I do not wish to see a new Barbary rising in America, and our long extended coast occupied by piratical states. I fear lest our privateering success in the two last wars, should already have given our people too strong a relish for that most mischievous kind of gaming, mixed blood; and if a stop is not now put to the practice, mankind may hereafter be more plagued with American corsairs than they have been and are with the Turkish. Try, my friend, what you can do, in procuring for your nation the glory of being, though the greatest naval power, the first who voluntarily relinquished the advantage that power seems to give them, of plundering others, and thereby impeding the mutual communications among men of the gifts of God, and rendering miserable multitudes of merchants and their families, artizans, and cultivators of the earth, the most peaceable and innocent part of the human species.

"B. FRANKLIN."

[The following Papers were delivered to the American Commissioners by David Hartley, Esq. the 15th of May, 1783.]

Extract of a Letter from the Hon. C. J. Fox to David Hartley, Esq.

"MAY 9, 1783.

"I SEND you enclosed the copy of a memorial I have received from the merchants trading to South Carolina and Georgia, as also the duplicate of one presented by them to lord Shelburne in May 1782. I am to desire you will endeavour to obtain for them of the ministers plenipotentiary of the United States of America, such representations of their case, as it appears on the consideration of it justly to deserve, and I shall be much obliged to you, if you will inform me, as soon as you can, of the manner in which they receive these papers, and how far they think the persons interested may hope to obtain relief, that I may acquaint them therewith."

To the Right Hon. William, Earl of Shelburne, &c. one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

"THE Memorial of the subscribing merchants trading to South Carolina and Georgia in behalf of themselves and others.

"Most humbly showeth,—That in the year 1770, the Cherokee Indians, being considerably indebted to the traders, who supplied them with goods, and finding it impossible from the decreased number of deer to pay their debts as usual with skins, proposed to their said traders the cession of a very large body of land claimed by that nation as their property, and situated to the southward of the river Savannah, such cession to be taken by the traders as a full payment of all debts and claims whatever against the Cherokees.

"That the traders having agreed to the proposed cession, the Indians by some of their headmen, authorized for that purpose, formally executed the necessary deeds.

"That sir James Wright, governor of the province of Georgia, in which province the lands so ceded were situated, and the late John Stuart, Esq. the superintendent of Indian affairs for the south district of America, disapproved of the conduct of the said traders in accepting the said cession, as being contrary, not only to his Majesty's instructions, but to the several provincial laws which strictly prohibit private persons from making any purchase of lands from Indians.

"That in consequence of such disapprobation, the Indians persisting in thoir resolution of ceding the lands in question, and being thereby released from their debt, offered to make the cession to governor Wright for that purpose, and named a day for running lines; but he declining their offer, desired they would defer their intentions until his Majesty's pleasure should be known on them.

"That the ensuing year, sir James Wright being then in England, stated the several matters above mentioned in a memorial to the earl of Hillsborough, and proposed certain measures by which the cession of the said lands, if approved by his Majesty, might be the means not only of answering the proposed end of the Indians, and the traders, but of bringing in a number of valuable settlers to the great advantage of the province, and consequently of the mother country.

"That the said Memorial having been referred to the consideration of the lords of trade, they in a representation, dated Nov. 9, 1772, advised his Majesty to accept of the proposed cession for the intended purpose of paying the debts due to the traders from the

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* See the Proposition about Privateering, annexed to letter to R. Oswald, January 14, 1783.

Indians by the sale of the lands; ceded at the same time, proposing that the crown should not stand pledged either to the Indians or the traders for the payment of any part of the debts, that the debts should be fairly liquidated and confined to those contracted within certain periods, and that all monies arising from the sale of the lands so ceded should be placed in the hands of a receiver to be appointed by the governor, and after payment of the debts so to be liquidated, together with the expenses of survey and means of protection to the persons settling; the same be subject to such payments upon warrant of the governor for the service of the province as his Majesty should approve and direct.

"That in consequence of the above representation, his Majesty was graciously pleased to give conformable instructions to sir James Wright, who arrived in Georgia for the purpose of putting them in execution in March 1773.

"That it appearing the Creek Indians had a claim upon the lands proposed to be ceded by the Cherokees as aforesaid, alleging that their ancestors had heretofore conquered those lands from that nation, that the Cherokees had acknowledged that right of conquest by abandoning the possession to them, and which possession they had uniformly held, and it also appearing that the Creeks being also considerably indebted to their traders were inclined to join in the cession upon being freed from their debts, a congress was appointed to be held at Augusta with both nations in the month of May following, for finally adjusting the terms, and formally accepting the cession of the express purpose upon which it was to be made; namely, the discharge of the debts due from the Cherokees and Creeks to their respective traders.

"That a congress was accordingly held at Augusta in May 1773, by sir James Wright and the superintendent on the part of the crown, at which a very considerable number of the headmen of both nations attended, who, after having previously deliberated upon the matter between themselves, joined in a solemn and formal cession of the lands in question to his Majesty, *for the purpose of paying the debts due from their respective nations to their traders*, and the said traders appearing by themselves or their attornies did at the same time release and discharge their several debtors of both nations from all debts, claims and demands whatever.

"That it must be supposed such considerable debts being due from the Indians to their traders, the latter must have been proportionably indebted to the merchants who supplied them with goods; this in fact was the case, and the merchants were obliged to take assignments from the traders of their claims, and the debts to be liquidated in payment of their several demands, and to give them a full discharge of their respective debts.

"That after the lands had been ceded as aforesaid, steps were taken by sir James Wright for surveying the said lands, settling them in distinct allotments for protecting the purchases, settling the same, and particularly for adjusting the liquidating the debts claimed within certain fixed periods agreeable to his Majesty's instructions.

"That in consequence of these necessary measures, a progress was made in the liquidation of the debts, and certificates of the sums allowed were given to the claimants, when the disturbances in America, and particularly in Georgia, prevented any further proceedings being taken therein, and your memorialists are either on their own accounts or their correspondents interested in those claims either liquidated or to be liquidated to a very considerable amount, and without any dependence for reimbursement, but on the produce of the lands so ceded.

"Your memorialists further beg leave to represent to your lordship, that prior to the unhappy disputes in America, several allotments of the said ceded lands were sold, but as they were given to understand, the charge of surveying, the raising and maintaining a troop of rangers and other expenses, whether necessary or not your memorialists will not take upon themselves to determine; have amounted to more than the sums received, no part of the sums due to your memorialists or their correspondents upon such of their claims as have been settled, liquidated, and certified as aforesaid have been paid.

"Having thus fully stated to your lordship the circumstances that attended the cession of the lands in question, the actual ground upon which that cession was made, the motives and conditions upon which his Majesty was graciously pleased to accept the same, and upon which instructions were given to sir James Wright, it remains for your memorialists humbly to submit to your lordship's consideration:

"That although the cession of those lands was expressly made to the crown by the Cherokee and Creek nations, yet that it was for a particular and declared purpose, not only clearly acknowledged in the act of cession itself, but in his Majesty's instructions to his governor; and that the crown in this instance stands in fact in trust for the several creditors of those nations whose debts have been or may be fairly liquidated and certified by them or their assigns. The lands therefore so ceded in trust, cannot be deemed the property of the crown, unless it is at the same time acknowledged that they must stand charged with and liable to the several uncertified claims of your memorialists and their correspondents.

"That the present situation of affairs affords your memorialists reason to presume that some accommodation may soon take place with the revolted colonies; upon this supposition they have taken the liberty to trouble your lordship with this full state of their situation, and they beg leave to assure your lordship of their entire reliance upon your attention to it; and they are persuaded that in every event of negotiation which may happen, the circumstances attending the cession made by the Cherokee and Creek Indians to his Majesty at the Congress of Augusta in May 1773, of the lands to the southward of the river Savannah, for the sole purpose of paying the debts due from their respective nations to the British traders, will be duly attended to, and that those lands will be deemed as charged with and made liable to the payment of those debts, or that some other mode of payment will be adopted to the satisfaction of your memorialists and correspondents."

"London, May 3, 1782.

"*To the Right honourable Charles James Fox, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, &c. &c.*

"The Memorial of the subscribing merchants, trading to South Carolina and Georgia in behalf of themselves and others.

"That on the third day of May last your memorialists had the honour to present to the earl of Shelburne, then one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, a memorial, of which the annexed is a copy.

"That your memorialists having as they humbly apprehend clearly demonstrated therein, that certain lands on the western frontiers of the province of Georgia, were vested in the crown by cession from the Creek and Cherokee Indians in trust for the payment of their debts, which debts have been assigned to your memorialists and their correspondents, they had entertained the most sanguine hopes and expectations that those lands would have, by the preliminary articles lately concluded between the commissioners of his Majesty and those on the part of the United States of America, been deemed subject and bound to the payment of the several demands and claims of your memorialists, but to their great surprise they find no notice take therein of the conditions upon which those lands were vested in the crown.

"Your memorialists, as the crown at the time of the cession, did not stand pledged either to the Indians or their creditors for the payment of the debts, upon which condition the cession was made, could not expect or claim any right of receiving payment from the crown, while lands ceded to his Majesty for that purpose were liable to the said payment; they humbly presume to say, that the independency of the United States of America being now acknowledged, and the boundaries of those states ascertained, all lands heretofore vested in the crown within those boundaries, and which the different Indian nations do not claim as their property, must be deemed as vested in the respective states within whose limits they are situated: and as the Indians have formally ceded the lands in question to his Majesty, and thereby renounced all right thereto, and property therein, they are to all intents and purposes a part of the state of Georgia, without any condition or being bound to make good any payment, for the purpose of which alone they were ceded to and vested in his Majesty; and your memorialists are thereby effectually barred from any claim or expectation of being paid their several demands, to which payment those lands while vested in his Majesty were liable.

"Your memorialists humbly conceive that his Majesty having conceded to the state of Georgia the lands in question, without any stipulation in favour of your memorialists, that they are fully warranted in their humble expectations that some mode of payment will be adopted or other expedient proposed for their relief. And they therefore earnestly request, that taking the merit of their case into consideration, you will be pleased to lay this their humble representation before his Majesty for his gracious pleasure therein.

"GREENWOOD & HIGGINSON.
JOHN BULT.
GRAHAM SIMPSON.
CLARK & MILLIGAN.
JAMES JACKSON.

"*London, April* 11, 1783."

R. R. Livingston to Dr. Franklin.

"Philadelphia, May 9, 1783.

"Dear Sir,—We have yet had no information from you subsequent to the signature of the preliminary articles by France, Spain, and Great Britain; though we have seen a declaration for the cessation of hostilities signed by you, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Jay.

"We grow every day more anxious for the definitive treaty, since we have as yet discovered no inclination in the enemy to evacuate our ports; and in sending off the slaves, they have directly infringed the provisional treaty, though we on our part have paid the strictest regard to it. This will be more fully explained by the enclosed copy of a letter from general Washington, containing a relation of what passed between him and general Carleton at a late interview. Let me again entreat that no doubt may be left in the treaty relative to the time and manner of evacuating their ports here. Without more precision and accuracy in this than we find in the provisional articles we shall soon be involved in new disputes with Great Britain.

"Our finances are still greatly embarrassed. You may in part see our distress, and the means congress are using to relieve themselves, by the enclosed pamphlet, which I wish you and your colleagues to read but not to publish.

"The enclosed resolution imposes a new task upon you. I hope you will find no great difficulty in procuring the small augmentation to the loan which it requires. Be assured that it is extremely necessary to set us down in peace.

"None of the states, though frequently called upon, have sent me the estimates of their losses by the ravages of the British, except Connecticut and Rhode Island, and their accounts are extremely imperfect. Such as they are, I enclose them. For my own part I have no great expectation that any compensation for their losses will be procured; however, if possible, it should be attempted. Commissioners will be appointed to ascertain them here.

"Great part of the prisoners are on their way to New York, and the whole will be sent in a few days. They will amount to about six thousand men.

"Our ports begin to be crowded with vessels. There is reason to fear that a superabundance of foreign articles will, in the end, produce as much distress as the want of them has heretofore occasioned.

"R. R. LIVINGSTON."

"London, April 11, 1783.

"*Commission of D. Hartley, Esq. presented to the American Plenipotentiaries, May* 19, 1783.

"George R.

"George the third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, Arch-treasurer and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come greeting.

"Whereas for the perfecting and establishing the peace and friendship and good understanding so happily commenced by the provisional articles signed at Paris the thirtieth day of November last, by the commissioners of us and our good friends the United States of America, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia in North America, and for opening, promoting, and rendering perpetual the mutual intercourse of trade and commerce between our kingdoms and the dominions of the said United States, we have thought proper to invest some fit person with full powers on our part to meet and confer with the ministers of the said United States now residing at Paris, duly authorized for the accomplishing of such laudable and salutary purposes. Now know ye, that we reposing special trust and confidence in the wisdom, loyalty, diligence and circumspection of our trusty and well beloved David Hartley, Esq. on whom we have therefore conferred the rank of our minister plenipotentiary, have nominated, constituted and appointed, and by these presents do nominate, constitute and appoint him our true, certain and undoubted commissioner, procurator and plenipotentiary; giving and granting to him all and all manner of faculty, power and authority, together with general as well as special order (so as the general do not derogate from the special, nor on the contrary) for us and in our name, to meet, confer, treat and conclude with the minister or ministers furnished with sufficient powers on the part of our said good friends the United States of America, of and concerning all such matters and things as may be requisite and necessary for accomplishing and completing the several ends and purposes hereinbefore mentioned, and also for us and in our name to sign such treaty or treaties, convention or conventions, or other instruments whatsoever, as may be agreed upon in the premises, and mutually to deliver and receive the same in exchange, and to do and perform all such other acts, matters and things as may be any ways proper and conducive to the purposes above mentioned, in as full and ample form and manner and with the like validity and effect, as we ourself, if we were present, could do and perform the same: engaging and promising, on our royal word, that we will accept, ratify and confirm in the most effectual manner all such acts, matters and things, as shall be so transacted and concluded by our aforesaid commissioner, procurator and plenipotentiary, and that we will never suffer any person to violate the same, in the whole or in part, or to act contrary thereto. In testimony and confirmation of all which, we have caused our great seal of Great Britain to be affixed to these presents signed with our royal hand.

"Given at our palace at St. James's fourteenth day of May in year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, and in the twenty-third year of our reign.

"I David Hartley the minister above named certify the foregoing to be a true copy from my original commission, delivered to the American ministers, this 19th day of May, 1783.

(Signed) "D. HARTLEY."

Order in Council, *May* 14, 1783, *read to and left with the American Ministers this twenty-first day of May*, 1783, *by D. Hartley, Esq.*

"At the Court at St. James's, May 14, 1783.

"Present, the King's most excellent Majesty in Council.

"Whereas by an act of parliament passed this session, intituled, 'An Act for preventing certain instruments from being required from ships belonging to the United States of America, and to give to his Majesty, for a limited time, certain powers, for the better carrying on trade and commerce between the subjects of his Majesty's dominions and the inhabitants of the said United States,' it is among other things enacted that during the continuance of the said act, it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty in council, by order or orders to be issued and published from time to time, to give such directions, and to make such regulations with respect to duties, drawbacks or otherwise, for carrying on the trade and commerce between the people and territories belonging to the crown of Great Britain, and the people and territories of the said United States, as to his Majesty in council shall appear most expedient and salutary; any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding; his Majesty doth, therefore, by and with the advice of his privy council, hereby order and direct, that any oil or any unmanufactured goods or merchandises, being the growth or production of any of the territories of the said United States of America, may (until further order) be imported directly from thence into any of the ports of this kingdom, either in British or American ships, by British subjects, or by any of the people inhabiting in and belonging to the said United States, or any of them, and such goods or merchandise, shall and may be entered and landed in any port in this kingdom, upon payment of the same duties as the like sort of goods are or may be subject and liable to, if imported by British subjects in British ships from any British island or plantation in America, and no other, notwithstanding such goods or merchandises, or the ships in which the same may be brought, may not be accompanied with the certificates or other documents heretofore required by law; and it is further ordered and directed that there shall be the same drawbacks, exemptions, and bounties on merchandises, and goods exported from Great Britain into the territories of the said United States of America or any of them, as are allowed upon the exportation of the like goods or merchandise, to any of the islands, plantations or colonies belonging to the crown of Great Britain in America; and it is hereby farther ordered and directed, that all American ships and vessels which shall have voluntarily come into any port of Great Britain since 20th of January, 1783, shall be admitted to any entry made, shall be entitled, together with the goods and merchandises on board the same ships and vessels, to the full benefit of this order; and the right honourable the lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury and the lords commissioners of the admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

"WM. FAWKNER."

Mr. Hartley's Observations and Propositions, left with the American Ministers the 21st *May*, 1783.

"A proposition having been offered by the American ministers, for the consideration of his Britannic Majesty's ministers, and of the British nation for an entire and reciprocal freedom of intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and the American United States, in the following words, viz.

"That all rivers, harbours, lakes, ports and places belonging to the United States, or any of them, shall be open and free to the merchants and other subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and their trading vessels, who shall be received, treated and protected, like the merchants and trading vessels of the state in which they may be, and be liable to no other charges or duties.

"And reciprocally that all rivers, harbours, lakes, ports, and places under the dominion of his Britannic Majesty, shall be open and free to the merchant and trading vessels of the said United States, and of each and every of them, who shall be received, treated and protected, like the merchants and trading vessels of Great Britain, and be liable to no other charges and duties, saving always to the chartered companies of Great Britain. and such exclusive use and trade of their respective ports and establishments, as neither the other subjects of Great Britain, or any of the most favoured nation participate in.

"It is to be observed that this proposition implies a more ample participation of British commerce than the American States possessed even under their former connexion of dependence upon Great Britain, so as to amount to an entire abolition of the British Act of Navigation with respect to the thirteen United States of America; and although proceeding on their part from the most conciliatory and liberal principles of amity and reciprocity, nevertheless it comes from them as newly established states, and who, in consequence of their former condition of dependence, have never yet had any established system of national commercial laws, or of commercial connexions by treaties with other nations, free and unembarrassed of many weighty considerations, which require the most scrupulous attention and investigation on the part of Great Britain, whose ancient system of national and commercial policy is thus suddenly called upon to take a new principle for its foundation, and whose commercial engagements with other ancient states, may be most materially affected thereby. For the purpose, therefore, of giving sufficient time for the consideration and discussion of so important a proposition, respecting the present established system of the commercial policy and laws of Great Britain, and their subsisting commercial engagements with sovereign powers, it is proposed that a temporary intercourse of commerce shall be established between Great Britain and the American States, previously to the conclusion of any final and perpetual compact. In this intervening period, as the strict line and measure of reciprocity from various circumstances cannot be absolutely and completely adhered to, it may be agreed that the commerce between the two countries shall revive, as nearly as can be, upon the same footing and terms as formerly subsisted between them; provided always, that no concession on either side in the proposed temporary convention, shall be argued hereafter in support of any future demand or claim. In the mean time the proposition above stated may be transmitted to London, requesting (with his Majesty's consent) that it may be laid before parliament for their consideration.

"It is proposed, therefore, that the unmanufactured produce of the United States should be admitted into Great Britain without any other duties (those imposed during the war excepted) than those to which they were formerly liable. And it is expected in return, that the produce and manufactures of Great Britain should be admitted into the United States in like manner.

"If there should appear any want of reciprocity in this proposal, upon the grounds of asking admission for British manufactures into America, while no such indulgence is given to American manufactures in Great Britain; the answer is obvious, that the admission of British manufactures into America is an object of great importance, and equally productive of advantage to both countries; while on the other hand, the introduction of American manufactures into Great Britain, can be of no service to either, and may be productive of innumerable frauds, by enabling persons so disposed, to pass foreign European goods, either prohibited or liable to great duties by the British laws, for American manufactures.

"With regard to the West Indies, there is no objection to the most free intercourse between them and the United States. The only restriction proposed to be laid upon that intercourse, is prohibiting American ships carrying to those colonies any other merchandise than the produce of their own country. The same observation may be made upon this restriction as upon the former. It is not meant to affect the interest of the United States, but it is highly necessary, lest foreign ships should make use of the American flag to carry on a trade with the British West Indian islands.

"It is also proposed upon the same principle to restrain the ships that may trade to Great Britain from America, from bringing foreign merchandise into Great Britain; the necessity of this restriction is likewise evident, unless Great Britain meant to give up her whole navigation act. There is no necessity of any similar restrictions on the part of the American States, those states not having as yet any Acts of Navigation."

Proposed Agreement.

"Whereas it is highly necessary that an intercourse of trade and commerce should be opened between the people and territories belonging to the crown of Great Britain and the people and territories of the United States of America. And whereas it is highly expedient that the intercourse between Great Britain and the said United States should be established on the most enlarged principles of reciprocal benefit to both countries; but, from the distance between Great Britain and America, it must be a considerable time before any convention or treaty for establishing and regulating the trade and intercourse between Great Britain and the said United States of America, upon a permanent foundation, can be concluded. Now, for the purpose of making a temporary regulation of the commerce and intercourse between Great Britain and the said United States of America, it is agreed that all citizens of the United States of America shall be permitted to import into, and export from any part of his Britannic Majesty's dominions, in American ships, any goods, wares, and merchandise, which have been so imported or exported by the inhabitants of the British American colonies, before the commencement of the war, upon payment of the same duties and charges, as the like sort of goods or merchandise are now or may be subject and liable to, if imported by British subjects, in British ships, from any British island or plantation in America; and that all the subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall be permitted to import from any part of the territories of the thirteen United States of America, in British ships, any goods, wares, and merchandise which might have been so imported or exported by the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, before the commencement of the war, upon payment of the same duties and charges as the like sort of goods, wares, and merchandises are now, or may be subject and liable to, if imported in American ships by any of the citizens of the United States of America.

"This agreement to continue in force until ——— Provided always, that nothing contained in this agreement shall at any time hereafter be argued on either side in support of any future demand or claim."

W. Temple Franklin to David Hartley.

"Paris, May 21, 1783.

"Sir,—The American ministers direct me to present you their compliments, and to desire to be informed, whether the proposition you made them this evening is such as you can agree to and subscribe, without further instructions or information from your court?—I have the honour to be, &c.

"W. T. FRANKLIN."

R. R. Livingston to Dr. Franklin.

"Philadelphia, May 31, 1783.

"Sir,—I informed you some time since that I had written to the Court of Appeals on the subject of the Nossa Senhora de Soledado san Miguel e almas, and laid before them the papers you sent me. The cause has since been determined in such a way as will I hope be satisfactory to his Portuguese majesty. I enclose the copy of a letter from the first judge of the Court of Appeals on that subject.

"Nothing has yet been done as to the acceptance of your resignation, nor will, as I believe, any thing be done very hastily. Many think your task will not be very burdensome now, and that you may enjoy in peace the fruit of your past labours.

"As this will probably be the last letter which I shall have the pleasure of writing to you in my public character, I beg leave to remind you of the affairs of the Alliance and the Bonhomme Richard, which are still unsettled. I must also pray you not to lose sight of the vessels detained by his Danish majesty. This will be a favourable opportunity to press for their restitution. I do not see how they can decently refuse to pay for them. Great Britain is bound in honour to make them whole again.

"Preparations for the evacuation of New York still go on very slowly, while the distress of our finances has compelled us to grant furloughs to the greater part of the army. If it were possible to procure any addition to the last six millions, it would be extremely useful to us at present.

"An entire new arrangement with respect to our foreign department is under consideration, what its fate will be I know not.

"R. R. LIVINGSTON."

"*To the Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States, &c.*

"Dover, Tuesday morn. 4 o'clock, June 10, 1783.

"Gentlemen,—This moment landed,—as a boat is going over to Calais, the enclosed proclamation may possibly arrive new to you. To me it wears the aspect of one part of a commercial treaty. I shall not wonder should I see our friend D. Hartley in London this week. I purpose lodging there to-night. There and every where I shall be as I am, your faithful however feeble aid, and obedient servant, HENRY LAURENS."

"At the Court at St. James's, June 6, 1783.

"Present—the King's most excellent Majesty in Council.

"Whereas by an act of parliament passed this session, intituled, 'An Act for preventing certain instruments from being required from ships belonging to the United States of America, and to give to his Majesty, for a limited time, certain powers for the better carrying on trade and commerce between the subjects of his Majesty's dominions and the inhabitants of the said United States,' it is, among other things, enacted, that during the continuance of the said act, it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty in council, by order or orders to be issued and published from time to time, to give such directions and to make such regulations with respect to duties, drawbacks, or otherwise, for carrying on the trade and commerce between the people and territories belonging to the crown of Great Britain, and the people and territories of the said United States, as to his Majesty in council shall appear most expedient and salutary, any law, usage, or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding. His Majesty doth therefore, by and with the advice of his privy council, hereby order and direct, that pitch, tar, turpentine, indigo, masts, yards, and bowsprits, being the growth or production of any of the United States of America, may (until further order) be imported directly from thence into any ports of this kingdom, either in British or American ships, by British subjects, or by any of the people inhabiting in, and belonging to the said United States, or any of them; and that the articles above recited shall and may be entered and landed in any port of this kingdom upon payment of the same duties, as the same are or may be subject and liable to, if imported by British subjects in British ships from any British island or plantation, in America, and no other, notwithstanding such pitch, tar, turpentine, indigo, masts, yards, and bowsprits, or the ships in which the same may be brought, may not be accompanied with the certificates or other documents heretofore required by law; and his Majesty is hereby further pleased, by and with the advice aforesaid, to order and direct that any tobacco, being the growth or production of any of the territories of the said United States of America, may likewise (until further order) be imported directly from thence, in manner above-mentioned, and may be landed in this kingdom, and upon the importer paying down in ready money the duty commonly called the old subsidy, such tobacco may be warehoused under his Majesty's locks, upon the importer's own bond, for payment of all the farther duties due for such tobacco, within the time limited by law, according to the nett weight and quantity of such tobacco, at the time it shall be so landed, with the same allowances for the payment, or such farther duties, and under the like restrictions and regulations in all other respects, not altered by this order, as such tobacco is and may be warehoused by virtue of any act or acts of parliament in force. And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury, and the lords commissioners of the admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

"STEPH. COTTREL."

"*R. R. Livingston.*

"Passy, June 12, 1783.

"Sir,—I wrote to you fully by a vessel from Nantes, which I hope will reach you before this. If not, this may inform you that the ratification of the treaty with Sweden is come, and ready to be exchanged, when I shall receive that from congress; that the treaty with Denmark is going on, and will probably be ready before the commission for signing it arrives from congress. It is on the plan of that proposed by congress for Sweden.

"Portugal has likewise proposed to treat with us, and the ambassador has earnestly urged me to give him a plan for the consideration of his court; which I have accordingly done, and he has forwarded it. The congress will send commissions and instructions for concluding these treaties to whom they may think proper; it is only upon the old authority, given by a resolution to myself with Messrs. Deane and Lee, to treat with any European power, that I have ventured to begin these treaties in consequence of overtures from those crowns.

"The definitive treaty with England is not yet concluded, their ministry being unsettled in their minds as to the terms of the commercial part; nor is any other definitive treaty completed here; nor even the preliminaries signed of one between England and Holland. It is now five months since we have had a line from you, the last being dated the 13th January; of course we know nothing of the reception of the preliminary articles, or the opinion of congress respecting them. We hoped to receive before this time such instructions as might have been thought proper to be sent to us for rendering more perfect the definitive treaty. We know nothing of what has been approved or disapproved. We are totally in the dark, and therefore less pressing to conclude, being still (as we have long been) in daily expectation of hearing from you. By chance only we have learned that Barney is arrived, by whom went the despatches of the commissioners and a considerable sum of money. No acknowledgment of the receipt of that money is yet come to hand, either to me or Mr. Gerard. I make no doubt that both you and Mr. Morris have written, and I cannot imagine what has become of your letters.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. I beg leave to recommend to your civilities the bearer of this Dr. Bancroft, whom you will find to be a very intelligent, sensible man, well acquainted with the state of affairs here, and who has heretofore been employed in the service of congress. I have long known him, and esteem him highly."

Baron de Stael, Swedish Minister, to Dr. Franklin.

"Paris, June 13, 1783

"Sir,—I have just received his majesty's ratification of the treaty of commerce concluded with the U. States, which I will have the honour to send you as soon as it can be exchanged for the one from congress.

"Permit me, sir, on this occasion, to repeat the request which the ambassador has made you respecting Mr. Franklin, your grandson. He had the honour to tell you that it would afford the king a pleasure to have a person residing with him, in the capacity of minister from congress, who bears your name in conjunction with such estimable qualifications as young Mr. Franklin possesses. He charged me, before he departed, to repeat to you the same assurances, and you will allow me to add on my part, my best wishes for the success of this matter.

"LE BARON DE STAEL."

David Hartley to the American Ministers.

"Paris, June 14, 1783.

"Permit me to address the enclosed memorial to your excellencies, and to explain to you my reasons for so doing. It is because many consequences now at great distance, and unforeseen by us, may arise between our two countries, perhaps from very minute and incidental transactions which, in the beginning, may be imperceptible and unsuspected as to their future effects. Our respective territories are in vicinity, and therefore we must be inseparable. Great Britain, with the British power in America, is the only nation with whom by absolute necessity you must have the most intimate concerns, either of friendship or hostility. All other nations are 3000 miles distant from you. You may have political connexions with any of these distant nations, but with regard to Great Britain it must be so. Political intercourse and interests will obtrude themselves between our two countries, because they are the two great powers dividing the continent of North America. These matters are not to come into discussion between us now. They are of too much importance either to be involved or even glanced at, in any present transaction.

"Let every eventual principle be kept untouched, until the two nations shall have recovered from the animosities of the war. Let them have a pacific interval to consider deliberately of their mutual and combined interests, and of their engagements with other nations. Let us not at the outset of a temporary convention, adopt the severe principle of reducing every transaction between the two countries to the footing of exact reciprocity alone. Such a principle would cast a gloom upon conciliatory projects. America is not restrained from any conciliation with Great Britain, by any treaty with any other power. The principles of conciliation would be most desirable between Great Britain and America; and forbearance is the road to conciliation. There are all reasonable appearances of conciliatory dispositions on all sides, which may be perfected in time. Let us not, therefore, at such a moment as this, and without the most urgent necessity, establish a morose principle between us. If it were a decided point against amity and conciliation, it would be time enough to talk of partition and strict reciprocity. To presume in favour of conciliation, may help it forward; to presume against it, may destroy that conciliation which might otherwise have taken place.

"But in the present case there is more than reason to presume conciliation. I think myself happy that I have it in my power to assure you from authority, that it is the fundamental principle of the British councils to establish amity and confidence between Great Britain and the American States, as a succedaneum for the relation in which they formerly stood one to the other. The proof of this consists not in words but in substantial facts. His Britannic Majesty has been graciously pleased to send orders to his commanders in North America for the speedy and complete evacuation of all the territories of the United States. His majesty has given orders in council on the 14th of the last month, for the admission of American ships and cargoes into Great Britain; and on the 6th instant he has given further orders, permitting the importation from America, of several articles, which have been usually considered as manufactures. He has likewise provided for the convenience of American merchants, who may wish to land tobacco in Great Britain for re-exportation upon the same principle. Mr. Fox, the secretary of state corresponding with America, has moved for and received the leave of the house of commons, (*nem. con.*) to bring in a bill, that any American merchants importing rice into Great Britain, may, upon re-exportation, draw back the whole duty paid on its first importation. All these circumstances put together, undoubtedly form the most indisputable evidence of the disposition which prevails in the British councils to give every facility to the re-establishment of that intercourse which must be so beneficial to both nations.

"I am ordered to inform you, that his majesty entirely approves of the plan of making a temporary convention for the purpose of restoring immediate intercourse and commerce, and more particularly for the purpose of putting off for a time, the decision of that important question how far the British acts of navigation ought to be sacrificed to commercial considerations, drawn from the particular circumstances of the present crisis; a question which will require much deliberation and very much inquiry before it can be determined. I am sure, gentlemen, you will see and admit the reasonableness of our proceeding in such a case with deliberation and discretion, more especially when these acts of prudence do not proceed from any motives of coolness or reserve towards you. In the mean time the temporary convention may proceed, upon principles of real and accommodating reciprocity. For instance, we agree to put you upon a more favourable footing than any other nation. We do not ask a rigid reciprocity for this, because we know by your present subsisting treaties, it is not in your power to give it to us. We desire only to be put upon the footing of other nations with you, and yet we consent that you shall be upon a better footing with us than any other nation.

"Thus far we must be allowed to be giving something more than reciprocity, and this we do, as I said before, because we are unwilling to ask what you are unable to give. Surely it is not unreasonable, nor more than from principles of reciprocity we have a right to expect, that you should imitate our conduct in this particular, and that you should abstain from asking things under the title of exact and literal reciprocity, which, upon the consideration of our cause, you must know that we cannot give; virtual and substantial reciprocity, we are willing to give, literal reciprocity is impossible, as much from your engagements as from our system of navigation.

"If we can agree upon an article of intercourse and commerce, in the nature of a temporary convention, on the basis of the memorial which I had the honour of giving lately to you, bearing date 19th of May, 1783,* no time need be lost in finishing this business; but with this explanation, that although it is proposed that the commerce between the United States and the British West Indies should be free with regard to their respective productions, yet that we are not bound to admit the importation of West Indian commodities into Great Britain, in American vessels. Believe me, gentlemen, that this restriction does not proceed from any invidious disposition towards the American States. It is imposed by indispensable prudence and necessity upon the British ministers, who, in the present state of things, could not be justified to their own country to go hastily to a larger extent of concession. This point is not to be looked upon merely as commercial, but as affecting fundamentally the great political system of British navigation; and you are to consider that the principle upon which the whole of our proposed temporary convention is to stand, is, that the *commerce* between the two countries is to be revived, nearly upon the old footing; but that each nation is to keep in its own hands, the power of making such regulations respecting *navigation*, as shall seem fit. I assure you that this point has been discussed by the ministers of the British cabinet, with infinite candour, and with every possible disposition of amity and favour towards your country; but the more they have inquired upon this subject, the more they are overborne by conviction, that the prejudices upon this matter, (if that be the name these opinions deserve) are so strong, that such a measure as a relaxation of the Act of Navigation in this instance never can be taken, but upon such a full and solemn parliamentary inquiry as it is impossible to go into at this time of the year, and in this stage of the sessions. I cannot, therefore, gentlemen, help flattering myself, that you, who are so well acquainted with the difficulties which must embarrass an English administration, in a business of this sort, will rather endeavour to remove them, than to increase them; and I am sure that such a plan on your part would ultimately be most conducive to your own objects. When an amicable intercourse is once opened, and when conciliatory confidence comes to take place of those jealousies which have lately subsisted, you may easily conceive in how different a manner the whole of this matter will be considered. I am confident that this will be the case, but if it is not, the provisions being only temporary, it will be in the power of the United States to take up any hostile mode of proceeding, by restraints and prohibitions, &c. whenever they may think fit.

"I have made use above of the word *prejudices* in speaking of the principles of the British Act of Navigation. I hope you will accept that term from me, as proceeding so far in compliance towards the future consideration of the points now between us, as to keep the question open and free for discussion. If Great Britain should, in any case, throw down the barriers of her Act of Navigation towards America, she should be very secure against the possible case of future enmity or alliance against her. Such considerations as these lead to objects far beyond our present scope or powers. But I must still add one word more upon this article of *prejudices*. Such *prejudices* (if they are so) are not confined to Great Britain. By your commercial treaty with France, article 4th, you are only entitled to an European trade with that kingdom; and not even by that treaty, to any direct commerce between their West Indian islands and the ports of American States, much less to the immediate communication between the French islands and the dominions of the crown of France in Europe.

"Every public proceeding in England since the commencement of our present negotiation, for opening intercourse and commerce between our two countries will, I am sure, support me in saying, that we have very liberally taken the lead, that we have not waited for any assurance of reciprocity, but have given orders for almost an universal admission of American articles before we even know that any vessel of Great Britain will find admission into American ports. What do we ask in return? No more than this: that while we, gratuitously and without stipulation, give advantages and favours to the American States, which we deny to all other nations, they would so far justify our liberal way of proceeding, as to receive us in the same manner as other nations, which are foreign, and to permit us to carry to North America what it is evidently for their interest that we should carry thither.

"I need hardly add, that it is of infinite importance that some temporary convention should be finished without loss of time. I hope and trust we shall not find much more difficulty in this business. You must see the advantage of an immediate renewal of intercourse, and from the candour of your dispositions I am sure you must likewise be convinced, that to give us some facility in the outset, is the sure road to such an equitable arrangement for the future, as you must have at heart. The reasons which I have given in the memorial dated the first of June instant, appear to me to be cogent and convincing upon the natural alliance between our two countries, and when the intercourse has once begun, every thing will go in its natural road. It is therefore of infinite consequence to begin that intercourse. Great Britain, by all public proceedings of repeals, proclamations, &c. &c. has made the first advances with warmth and confidence, and therefore I conclude, with the fullest assurance, that you will meet those advances with cordial reciprocity.

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* Supposed to allude to his Observations and Propositions delivered to the American Commissioners, the 21st May, 1783.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen, with the greatest respect and consideration, your most obedient and humble servant,

"D. HARTLEY."

Memorial, June 1, 1783.

"The proposition which has been made for an universal and unlimited reciprocity of intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and the American United States, requires a very serious consideration on the part of Great Britain, for the reasons already stated in a memorial dated May 19, 1783, and for many other reasons which, in the future discussion of the proposition, will appear. To the American States likewise it is a matter of the deepest importance, not only as a proposition of commercial intercourse, which is the least part, but most principally as a political basis and guarantee for their newly established constitutions. The introduction of British interests into a communion of intercourse, will bring forward an universal guarantee on the part of Great Britain, in the future progress of political events, which may affect the United States of America in their national capacity. The proposition is fertile in future prospects to Great Britain, and America also may wisely see in it a solid foundation for herself.

"All circumstances are most fortunately disposed between Great Britain and the American States, to render them useful friends and allies to each other, with a higher degree of suitableness between themselves than any other nations can pretend to. France cannot interchange reciprocities, with the American States, by reason of numberless impediments in her system of government, in her monopolies, and in her system of commerce. France has the great disability of difference in language to contend with, and the institution of the present French manufactures has never at any time heretofore been trained or adapted to American commerce. The only particular and specific facility which France ever possessed for American intercourse has, for many years, been transferred into the British scale by the cession of Canada to Great Britain. The future commerce between France and America will chiefly be regulated by such conveniences as France can draw to herself from America, without much aptitude on the part of France to accommodate her manufactures and commerce to American demands. In short, an interchange of reciprocities between France and America would run against the stream on both sides. and all established habits, manners, language, together with principles of government and commerce, would militate against such a system.

"Conformably to this reasoning, it appears that France has not at any time entertained any systematical design of forming any union or consolidation of interests with America. She took up the American cause, as instrumental to her political views in Europe. America likewise accepted the alliance with France for her separate views, viz. for the establishment of her independence. The alliance, therefore, is completed and terminated, without leaving behind it any political principle of the future permanent connexion between them. Occasional circumstances produce a temporary alliance. Similar circumstances may on any future occasion produce a similar event of a temporary compact. Dissimilar circumstances, arising from any future political views of the court of France in Europe, may without any inconsistency of principle throw the power of that kingdom into a scale adverse to the future interests of the American States. In such case, therefore, where there cannot exist any permanent political connexion between France and America, and where the commercial attachments can be but feeble, it would be vain to expect in the French nation any such ally, as newly established states ought to look out for, to give maturity and firmness to their constitution.

"As to Spain, every argument which has been stated, respecting diversity of language, manners, government, monopolies, and system of commerce, from those which prevail in the United States of America, obtains in a superior degree. And much more to add besides; for Spain is not only incompetent to interchange reciprocities with the American States, but likewise her own situation in America will at all times render her extremely jealous of her neighbours. The only activity which Spain has exerted in the war, has been to procure a barrier against the American States, by annexing West Florida to her former acquisition of New Orleans; thereby embracing the mouth of the Mississippi, and by means of that river jointly with her landed possessions, establishing a strong and jealous boundary against any future progress of the American States in those parts. Spain therefore cannot be looked upon by the American States as a suitable object of their election to become a permament ally and friend to them. Portugal likewise labours under all the disabilities of language, manners, monopolies, government, and system of commerce.

Her national power and importance would be likewise insufficient to constitute a strong and permanent ally to the American States. All these nations will undoubtedly be found to have many commodious qualities for participation in commerce, but the pre-eminent faculties necessary to constitute a firm and permanent ally to the American States will be found deficient in them.

"As to the Italian States, or any other powers in the Mediterranean, they are certainly not adequate to any competition of political alliance with the rising States of America. They will also form very commodious links and connexions in the general circuit of commerce, but beyond these considerations they have no share in the present question. The several States of the Germanic body are in the same predicament.

"As to the Northern powers, viz. those in the Baltic, they are not favoured either by vicinity or climate, for a frequent or facile intercourse of commerce with America. And even respecting several material articles of commerce, jealousies and competitions might arise. As to political alliances, there are no such in prospect from them to the American States, even if there were any superfluity of force in any of them, beyond the necessities of their respective domestic situations. The extreme distance would be conclusive against any possible application of such power as a political alliance favourable to the establishment and confirmation of the American States.

"The only maritime state on the continent of Europe remaining to be discussed as a competent candidate for commerce or connexion with America, is the republic of the United Netherlands, commonly called Holland. In respect to American commerce, the Dutch have among themselves every facility combined, which the separate states of Europe possess distinctively in their own concerns, or nearly. Their industry, frugality, and habits of commerce may even carry them so far as to make them rivals to the Americans themselves, in the transportation of European merchandise to America. These faculties of commerce would have been of infinite importance to the American States, if the war had continued between Great Britain and them. But upon the event of peace, it becomes a matter of the most perfect indifference to America, whether each European state navigates its own commerce into the ports of America, which will be open to all, or whether the commercial faculties of Holland enable her to exceed in rivalship her European neighbours, and thereby to navigate European goods to America beyond the proportion of her national share. The faculties of a nation of carriers may be fortunate for the marine of that nation, but considered in themselves, and with respect to other nations, they are but secondaries in commerce. They give no ground of reciprocities, or participation. That one nation should say to another, You shall navigate all our rivers, harbours, lakes, ports, and places, if we may do the same in yours, is a proposition of reciprocity, but that Holland should say to America, We will bring European goods to you, or you may be your own carriers, is neither concession nor reciprocity. Holland is not a nation of rivers, harbours, lakes, ports, and places, for the distribution of goods and manufactures, for internal consumption, and therefore her reciprocities must be very scanty. Holland is the market place of Europe, and the Dutch seamen are the carriers appertaining to that market place. The admission of American ships to that market place, freely to import and to export, is undoubtedly an act of reciprocity on the part of Holland, as far as it goes, but in no degree adequate to the unlimited participation of American commerce, throughout all the rivers, harbours, lakes, ports, and places of that vast continent. The commercial reciprocities of Holland therefore being inferior on her part towards America, the next point of view, in which Holland is to be considered, as relevant to this question, is as a nation of power, capable of becoming an effectual and permanent ally and guarantee to the American States; for that is the great object, which America, as a wise nation, recently arisen into independence, ought to keep in view. Holland has certainly been a nation of great and celebrated naval force. She remains so still, but having for many years suspended her exertions of force, and having directed the faculties of her people into the commercial line, she seems not to have any superfluity of force beyond the necessity of providing for her own security, and certainly no such redundance of power as to extend to the protection of distant nations as allies, or guarantees. It appears therefore upon the whole of this argument, that Holland, although a commercial nation, cannot even interchange commercial reciprocities with America, upon an equal footing, and that her faculties of force are inadequate to those which America ought to expect in the permanent allies and guarantees of her country.

"The independence of the American States being established, their first consideration ought to be, to determine with what friendships and alliances they will enter into the new world of nations. They will look round them, and cast about for some natural permanent and powerful ally, with whom they may interchange all cementing reciprocities, both commercial and political. If such an ally be to be found any where for them, it is still in Great Britain; at least it is certain that, in looking round Europe, no other is to be found. There is no inherent impossibility to prevent such a connexion from taking place, it must depend upon the free will and common interest of the parties. There are all possible faculties on both sides to give and to receive all adequate and beneficial reciprocities, which are practicable, and more likely to be permanent between independent parties, than between two parties of which one is dependent on the other. Great Britain is undoubtedly the first of European nations in riches, credit, faculties, industry, commerce, manufactures, internal consumption and foreign export, together with civil liberty, which is the source of all, and naval power, which is the support of all. The dominions appertaining to the crown of Great Britain are large and fertile, its colonies still extensive and in close vicinity to the American States; Great Britain being an American as well as an European power, and all her empire connected by her naval force.

"The territories of the American States, from the Atlantic ocean to the Mississippi, contain an inexhaustible source of riches, industry, and future power. These will be the foundation of great events in the new page of life. Infinite good or infinite evil may arise according to the principles upon which the intercourse between Great Britain and America shall be arranged in its foundation. Great Britain and America must be still inseparable, either as friends or foes. This is an awful and important truth. These are considerations not to be thought of slightly, not to be prejudged in passion, nor the arrangements of them to be hastily foreclosed. Time given for consideration may have excellent effects on both sides. The pause of peace, with friendly intercourse, returning affection and dispassionate inquiry, can alone decide these important events, or do justice to the anxious expectations of Great Britain and America."

Henry Laurens to American Ministers.

"London, June 17, 1783.

"Gentlemen,—I had the honour of addressing you the 10th, immediately after my landing at Dover. As early as possible after my arrival here I obtained an interview with Mr. secretary Fox, who was pleased to read to me part of his latest despatches to Mr. Hartley, which he supposed would reach Paris on the 14th; 'tis probable therefore that before this time, as much of the contents as is proper for your knowledge has been communicated.

"'Reciprocity' since the 10th of April has undergone a certain degree of refinement; the definition of that term appears now to be possession of advantages on one side, and restrictions on the other. The Navigation Act is the vital of Great Britain 'too delicate to bear a touch.' The sudden and unexpected, perhaps illicit arrival of ships and cargoes from America, may have caused this change of tone. But you have heard in detail, and are more competent to judge.

"From a desire of forming an opinion, I asked Mr. Fox whether he thought I might venture for a few days to take the benefit of Bath, and yet be time enough at Paris for the intended commercial agreement? He replied, 'I rather think you may.' One need not be a conjurer to draw an inference: you will either have finished the business before I could travel to Paris, or without being missed there, I may go to Bath and repair my nerves.

"In this state of uncertainty, when 'tis easy to perceive affections are not as we could wish them, nor quite so warm as we had been taught to believe, it would not be wise to commit the United States, wherefore I shall rest the business till I hear from you, or until a more favourable prospect, flattering myself with hopes of your surmounting the late seeming difficulties; an inconvenience on your side is preferable to the hazard of a disgrace.—I am with great regard and respect, &c. H. LAURENS."

Henry Laurens, Esq. to the American Ministers.

"London, June 20, 1783.

"Gentlemen,—Permit me to refer to what I had the honour of writing to you the 17th. You will recollect my suggestions, as soon as we perceived the falling off from those warm assurances which had been pressed in March and April—they were not ill founded; I delayed a week in hopes of intelligence, and left you with reluctance; the temper of the times forbids even an essay. What a happy country is this, where every thing pertaining to the public, is rendered to them in public newspapers; see the enclosed, containing nearly as accurate an account of certain recent occurrences, as if it had been penned by one of the parties. It might indeed have been made a little stronger. Modest men are sometimes restrained from attempting a public good, from a dread of the effects of envy, of being held up in an invidious light. It would be cruel to disturb them. I have learned nothing from America, save what you may have read in the prints. To-morrow I shall proceed to Bath, and be waiting for intelligence as well from yourselves as from congress. Some consolation arises from reflecting, that while I am endeavouring to mend my health, you suffer no inconvenience from my absence. With sincere regard and respect, I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your obedient and most humble servant, HENRY LAURENS."

Mr. Hartley's Six Propositions.

"1. That lands belonging to persons of any description which have not actually been sold, shall be restored to the old possessors without price.

"2. That an equal and free participation of the different carrying places, and the navigation of all the lakes and rivers of that country, through which the water line of division passes between Canada and the United States shall be enjoyed fully and uninterruptedly by both parties.

"3. That in any such places within the boundaries assigned generally to the American States, as are adjoining to the water line of division, and which are not specifically under the dominion of any one state, all persons at present resident, or having possessions or occupations as merchants or otherwise, may remain in peaceable enjoyment of all civil rights and in pursuit of their respective occupations.

"4. That in all such places adjoining to the water line of division, as may be under the specific dominion of any particular state, all persons at present resident or having possessions or occupations as merchants or otherwise, may remain in the peaceable enjoyment of all civil rights and in pursuit of their occupations, until they shall receive notice of removal from the state to which any such place may appertain, and that upon any such notice of removal, a term of three years shall be allowed for selling or withdrawing their valuable effects, and for settling their affairs.

"5. That his Britannic Majesty's forces not exceeding —— in number may continue in the ports now occupied by them contiguous to the water line, for the term of three years, for the purpose of securing the lives, property and peace of any persons settled in that country, against the invasion of ravages of the neighbouring Indian nations who may be suspected of retaining resentments in consequence of the late war.

"6. That no tax or impost whatsoever shall be laid on any articles of commerce passing or repassing through the country, but that the trade may be left entirely open for the benefit of all parties interested therein."

Answers to Mr. Hartley's Six Propositions for the definitive Treaty.

"To the 1st. This matter has been already regulated in the 5th and 6th articles of the provisional treaty to the utmost extent of our powers: the rest must be left to the several states.

"2. All the lakes, rivers and waters divided by the boundary line or lines, between the United States and his Britannic Majesty's territories, shall be freely used and navigated by both parties during the whole extent of such division. Regulations concerning roads, carrying-places and any land communications between said waters, whether within the line of the United States or that of his Majesty, together with the navigation of all waters and rivers in America belonging to either party, may be made in a negotiation of a treaty of commerce.

"3. That in all places belonging to the United States in the country, adjoining to the water line of division, and which during the war were in his Majesty's possession, all persons at present resident, or having possessions or occupations, as merchants or otherwise, may remain in the peaceable enjoyment of all civil rights, and in pursuit of their occupations until they shall receive notice of removal from congress, or the state to which any such place may appertain, and that upon any such notice of removal, a term of two years shall be allowed for selling or withdrawing their effects and for settling their affairs.

"4. That his Britannic Majesty's forces not exceeding ——— in number, may continue in the posts now occupied by them, contiguous to the water line, until congress shall give notice to evacuate the said posts, and garrisons of their own shall arrive at said posts for the purpose of securing the lives, property and peace of any persons settled in that country, against the invasion or ravages of the neighbouring Indian nations, who may be suspected of retaining resentments in consequence of the late war.

"5. The consideration of this proposition may be left to the treaty of commerce.

The Grand-Master of Malta to Dr. Franklin.

"Malta, June 21, 1783.

"Sir,—I received, with the most lively sensibility, the medal which your excellency sent me, and the value I set upon this acquisition leaves my gratitude unbounded. This monument of American liberty has a distinguished place in my cabinet.

"Whenever chance or commerce shall lead any of your fellow-citizens or their vessels into the ports of my island, I shall receive them with the greatest welcome. They shall experience from me every assistance they may claim, and I shall observe with infinite pleasure any growing connexion between that interesting nation and my subjects, especially if it will tend to convince your excellency of the distinguished sentiments with which I am the grand-master. ROHAN."

"*Henry Laurens.*

"Passy, July 6, 1783.

"Dear Sir,—We have been honoured with several of your letters, and we have talked of writing to you, but it has been delayed. I will therefore write a few lines in my private capacity.

"Our negotiations go on slowly, every proposition being sent to England, and answers not returning very speedily.

"Captain Barney arrived here last Wednesday, and brought despatches for us as late as the first of June. The preliminary articles are ratified. But general Carleton, in violation of those articles, has sent away a great number of negroes, alleging, that freedom having been promised them by a proclamation, the honour of the nation was concerned, &c. Probably another reason may be, that if they had been restored to their masters, Britain could not have hoped any thing from such another proclamation hereafter.

"Mr. Hartley called yesterday to tell us, that he had received a letter from Mr. Fox, assuring him that our suspicions of affected delays or change of system on their side were groundless; and that they were sincerely desirous to finish as soon as possible. If this be so, and your health will permit the journey, I could wish your return as soon as possible. I want you here on many accounts, and should be glad of your assistance in considering and answering our public letters. There are matters in them of which I cannot conveniently give you an account at present.

"Nothing could be more seasonable than success in the project you proposed, but we have now very little expectation.

"Please to give my love to your valuable and amiable son and daughter, and believe me with sincere esteem, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

M. Roseneroni to Dr. Franklin.

"Copenhagen, July 8, 1783.

"Sir,—It was with the greatest alacrity that I laid before his majesty the letter you did me the honour to write to me, as also the project of a treaty of amity and commerce that accompanied it. The king observed, with the greatest satisfaction, the assurances contained in that letter, of the good disposition of congress to form connexions of amity and commerce with his kingdoms, such connexions being equally conformably to the interests of the two states, and to his majesty's sincere desire to cement, by every possible means, that harmony, union, and confidence, which he wishes to establish for ever between his crown and the United States.

"The enveloped *counter project* differs in nothing essential from the project sent by you, being drawn up entirely conformable to the same principles, which you will be certainly convinced of, sir, by the note explaining the reasons for adding some articles, and only giving a different turn to others, so that I flatter myself that I shall soon hear that you are perfectly satisfied with them, having observed the most perfect reciprocity carefully established throughout.

"As to the object mentioned in the letter with which you have honoured me, you already know, sir, his majesty's generous intentions towards the individuals in question, and his majesty is the more induced to avail himself of the first opportunity to manifest those intentions, as he thinks he may reasonably hope that congress also will consider them as a distinguished proof of his friendship and esteem for that respectable body.

"There remains nothing further for me to add, but that the king will adopt with pleasure the most proper means to accelerate the conclusion of the treaty which we have begun. For myself it will be the most agreeable part of my office, sir, to assist in perfecting such happy connexions with a minister of such universal reputation as yourself.

"ROSENERONI."

Giacomo F. Crocco to Dr. Franklin.

"Cadiz, July 15, 1783.

"Sir,—His imperial majesty the emperor of Morocco, did me the honour to appoint me to be the bearer of his answer to the United Provinces of North America, with which he is willing to sign a treaty of peace and commerce, and in consequence has already given orders to his captains of men of war not to molest on the open seas the American vessels, which agreeable news I have already given to Mr. Richard Harrison. According to my instructions, I am to accompany to the court of Morocco the ambassador that may be appointed to conclude the treaty of peace. I presume that your excellency is already acquainted, that the travelling expenses and other charges of ambassadors, or envoys sent to Europe by the emperor of Morocco, are to be paid by the court or republic that demands his friendship. In a few days I intend to set out for Madrid, where I will remain till I receive your excellency's answer to this letter, directed to William Carmichael, the United States charge de affaires, at the court of Spain, who I make no doubt will receive orders to supply me with the money I may want on the occasion.

"As soon as I arrive at Paris I shall have the satisfaction to entertain at large your excellency on the present negotiation, not doubting it will soon be concluded to the advantage of both courts.—Meanwhile, I am, &c.

"GIACOMO FRANCISCO CROCCO."

"P. S. I was obliged to call on a friend to write you this letter in English, otherwise I could only do it in the Italian language.

"G. F. C."

The American Ministers to D. Hartley.

"Passy, July 17, 1783.

"Sir,—We have the honour to inform you that we have just received from congress their ratification in due form, of the provisional articles of the 30th Nov. 1782, and we are ready to exchange ratifications with his Britannic Majesty's ministers as soon as may be.

"By the same articles it is stipulated, that his Britannic Majesty shall with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons and fleets from the United States, and from every post, place and harbour within the same. But by intelligence lately received from America, and by the enclosed copies of letters and conferences between general Washington and sir Guy Carleton, it appears that a considerable number of negroes belonging to the citizens of the United States, have been carried off from New York, contrary to the express stipulation contained in the said article. We have received from congress, their instructions to represent this matter to you, and to request that speedy and effectual measures be taken to render that justice to the parties interested, which the true intent and meaning of the article in question plainly dictates.

"We are also instructed to represent to you, that many of the British debtors in America have in the course of the war sustained such considerable and heavy losses by the operation of the British arms in that country, that a great number of them have been rendered incapable of immediately satisfying those debts. We refer it to the justice and equity of Great Britain, so far to amend the article on that subject, as that no execution shall be issued on a judgment to be obtained in any such case, but after the expiration of three years from the date of the definitive treaty of peace. Congress also think it reasonable that such part of the interest which may have accrued on such debts during the war shall not be payable, because all intercourse between the two countries, had during that period become impracticable as well as improper; it does not appear just that individuals in America should pay for delays in payment which were occasioned by the civil and military measures of Great Britain. In our opinion the interest of the creditors as well as the debtors, requires that some tenderness be shown to the latter, and that they should be allowed a little time to acquire the means of discharging debts, which in many instances exceed the whole amount of their property.

"As it is necessary to ascertain an epocha for the restitution and evacuations to be made, we propose that it be agreed, that his Britannic Majesty shall cause to be evacuated the posts of New York, Penobscot and their dependencies, with all other posts and places in possession of his Majesty's arms, within the United States, in the space of three months after the signature of the definitive treaty, or sooner if possible, excepting those posts contiguous to the water line mentioned in the 4th proposition, and those shall be evacuated, when congress shall give the notice therein mentioned.

"We do ourselves the honour of making these communications to you, sir, that you may transmit them and the papers accompanying them to your court, and inform us of their answer.

"We have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servants:

"JOHN ADAMS.
B. FRANKLIN.
JOHN JAY."

"*R. R. Livingston, Esq.*

"July, 1783.

"Sir,—We have had the honour of receiving by captain Barney your two letters of the 25th of March and 21st of April, with the papers referred to in them.

"We are happy to find that the provisional articles have been approved and ratified by congress, and we regret that the manner in which that business was conducted, does not coincide with your ideas of propriety. We are persuaded, however, that this is principally owing to your being necessarily unacquainted with a number of circumstances, known to us who were on the spot, and which will be particularly explained to you hereafter, and we trust to your satisfaction, and that of the congress.

"Your doubts respecting the separate article, we think are capable of being removed, but as a full statement of the reasons and circumstances which prompted that measure would be very prolix, we shall content ourselves with giving you the general outlines.

"Mr. Oswald was desirous to cover as much of the eastern shores of the Mississippi with British claims as possible, and for this purpose we were told a great deal about the ancient bounds of Canada and Louisiana, &c. &c. &c.; the British court who had probably not yet adopted the idea of relinquishing the Floridas, seemed desirous of annexing as much territory to them as possible, even up to the mouth of the Ohio. Mr. Oswald adhered strongly to that object, as well as to render the British countries there of sufficient extent to be (as he expressed it) worth keeping and protecting; as to afford a convenient retreat to the tories, for whom it would be difficult otherwise to provide. And among other arguments he finally urged his being willing to yield to our demands to the east, north, and west, as a further reason for our gratifying him on the point in question. He also produced the commission of governor Johnson, extending the bounds of his government of W. Florida up to the river Yassous, and contended for that extent as a matter of right upon various principles; which, however, we did not admit; the king not being authorized in our opinion to extend or contract the bounds of the colonies at pleasure.

"We were of opinion that the country in contest was of great value, both on account of its natural fertility and of its position; it being in our opinion the interest of America to extend as far down towards the mouth of the Mississippi as she possibly could. We also thought it advisable to impress Britain with a strong sense of the importance of the navigation of that river, to their future commerce on the interior waters from the mouth of the St. Laurence to that of the Mississippi; and thereby render that court averse to any stipulations with Spain to relinquish it. These two objects militated against each other; because to enhance the value of the navigation was also to enhance the value of the countries contiguous to it, and thereby disincline Britain to the dereliction of them. We thought, therefore, that the surest way to reconcile and obtain both objects would be by a composition beneficial to both parties. We therefore proposed that Britain should withdraw her pretensions to all the country above the Yassous; and that we would cede all below it to her, in case she should have the Floridas at the end of the war; and at all events that she should have a right to navigate the river throughout its whole extent. This proposition was accepted, and we agreed to insert the contingent part of it in a separate article, for the express purpose of keeping it secret for the present. That article ought not therefore to be considered as a mere matter of favour to Britain, but as the result of a bargain in which that article was a 'quid pro quo.'

"It was in our opinion both necessary and justifiable to keep this article secret. The negotiations between Spain, France, and Britain were then in full vigour, and embarrassed by a variety of clashing demands. The publication of this article would have irritated Spain, and retarded, if not have prevented, her coming to an agreement with Britain.

"Had we mentioned it to the French minister, he must have not only informed Spain of it, but also been obliged to act a part respecting it that would probably have been disagreeable to America; and he certainly has reason to rejoice that our silence saved him that delicate and disagreeable task.

"This was an article in which France had not the smallest interest, nor is there any thing in her treaty with us, that restrains us from making what bargain we pleased with Britain about those or any other lands, without rendering account of such transaction to her or any other power whatever. The same observation applies with still greater force to Spain, and neither justice nor honour forbid us to dispose as we pleased of our own lands, without her knowledge or consent. Spain at that very time extended her pretensions and claims of dominion not only over the tract in question, but over the vast region lying between the Floridas and Lake Superior; and this court was also at that very time soothing and nursing of those pretensions by a proposed conciliatory line for splitting the difference. Suppose therefore we had offered this tract to Spain in case she retained the Floridas, should we even have had thanks for it? or would it have abated the chagrin she experienced from being disappointed in her extravagant and improper designs on that whole country?—we think not.

"We perfectly concur with you in sentiment, sir, '*that honesty is the best policy*,' but until it be shown that we have trespassed on the rights of any man or body of men, you must excuse our thinking that this remark, as applied to our proceedings, was unnecessary.

"Should any explanations either with France or Spain become necessary on this subject; we hope and expect to meet with no embarrassments. We shall neither amuse them nor perplex ourselves with ostensible and flimsy excuses, but tell them plainly that as it was not our duty to give them the information; we considered ourselves at liberty to withhold it: and we shall remind the French minister that he has more reason to be pleased than displeased with our silence. Since we have assumed a place in the political system of the world, let us move like a primary and not like a secondary planet.

"We are persuaded, sir, that your remarks on these subjects resulted from real opinion, and were made with candour and sincerity. The best men will view objects of this kind in different lights even when standing on the same ground, and it is not to be wondered at that we who are on the spot, and have the whole transaction under our eyes, should see many parts of it in a stronger point of light, than persons at a distance, who can only view it through the dull medium of representation.

"It would give us great pain if any thing we have written or now write respecting this court, should be construed to impeach the friendship of the king and nation for us. We also believe that the minister is so far our friend, and is disposed so far to do us good offices, as may correspond with and be dictated by his system of policy for promoting the power, riches, and glory of France. God forbid that we should ever sacrifice our faith, our gratitude, or our honour to any considerations of convenience; and may he also forbid that we should ever be unmindful of the dignity and independent spirit which should always characterize a free and generous people.

"We shall immediately propose an article to be inserted in the definitive treaty for postponing the payment of British debts for the time mentioned by congress.

"There are no doubt certain ambiguities in our articles, but it is not to be wondered at, when it is considered how exceedingly averse Britain was to expressions which explicitly wounded the tories: and how disinclined we were to use any that should amount to absolute stipulations in their favour.

"The words for restoring the property of *real British subjects*, were well understood and explained between us not to mean or comprehend American refugees. Mr. Oswald and Mr. Fitzherbert know this to have been the case, and will readily confess and admit it. This mode of expression was preferred by them as a more delicate mode of excluding those refugees, and of making a proper distinction between them and the subjects of Britain, whose only *particular* interest in America consisted in holding lands or property there.

"The 6th article, viz. where it declares that no *future confiscations* shall be made, &c., ought to have fixed the time with greater accuracy. We think the most fair and true construction is, that it relates to the date of the cessation of hostilities: that is the time when peace in fact took place, in consequence of prior unformal though binding contracts to terminate the war. We consider the definitive treaties as only giving the dress of form to those contracts, and not as constituting the obligation of them. Had the cessation of hostilities been the effect of a truce, and consequently not more than a temporary suspension of war, another construction would have been the true one.

"We are officially assured by Mr. Hartley, that positive orders for the evacuation of New York have been despatched, and that no avoidable delay will retard that event. Had we proposed to fix a time for it, the British commissioner would have contended that it should be a time posterior to the date of the definitive treaty, and that would have been probably more disadvantageous to us than as that article now stands.

"We are surprised to hear that any doubts have arisen in America respecting the time when the cessation of hostilities took place there. It most certainly took place at the expiration of one month after the date of that declaration in all parts of the world, whether land or sea, that lay north of the latitude of the Canaries.

"The ships afterwards taken from us in the more northerly latitudes ought to be reclaimed and given up. We shall apply to Mr. Hartley on this subject, and also on that of the transportation of negroes from New York, contrary to the words and intention of the provisional articles. We have the honour to be,

"J. ADAMS.
B. FRANKLIN.
J. JAY.
H. LAURENS."

"*R. R. Livingston.*

"Passy, July 22, 1783.

"You have complained sometimes with reason of not hearing often from your foreign ministers; we have had cause to make the same complaints; six full months having intervened between the latest date of your preceding letters and the receipt of those per captain Barney. During all this time we were ignorant of the reception of the provisional treaty, and the sentiments of congress upon it, which, if we had received sooner, might have forwarded the proceedings on the definitive treaty, and perhaps brought it to a conclusion at a time more favourable than the present. But these occasional interruptions of correspondence are the inevitable consequences of a state of war, and of such remote situations.

"Barney had a short passage, and arrived some days before colonel Ogden, who also brought despatches from you; all of which are come safe to hand.

"We the commissioners have in our joint capacity written a letter to you, which you will receive with this. I shall now answer yours of March 26, May 9, and May 31.

"It gave me great pleasure to learn by the first, that the news of the peace diffused general satisfaction. I will not now take upon me to justify the apparent reserve respecting this court at the signature, which you disapprove. We have touched upon it in our general letter. I do not see, however, that they have much reason to complain of that transaction. Nothing was stipulated to their prejudice, and none of the stipulations were to have force but by a subsequent act of their own. I suppose, indeed, that they have not complained of it, or you would have sent me a copy of the complaint, that we might have answered it. I long since satisfied count de Vergennes about it here. We did what appeared to all of us best at the time, and if we have done wrong, the congress will do right, after hearing us, to censure us. Their nomination of five persons to the service, seems to mark that they had some dependence on our joint judgment, since one alone could have made a treaty by direction of the French ministry as well as twenty. I will only add, that with respect to myself, neither the letter from Mr. Marbois, handed to us through the British negotiators, (a suspicious channel) nor the conversations respecting the fishery, the boundaries, the royalists, &c. recommending moderation in our demands, are of weight sufficient in my mind, to fix an opinion that this court wished to restrain us in obtaining any degree of advantage we could prevail on our enemies to accord; since those discourses are fairly resolvable, by supposing a very natural apprehension, that we, relying too much on the ability of France to continue the war in our favour, and supply us constantly with money, might insist on more advantages than the English would be willing to grant, and thereby lose the opportunity of making peace, so necessary to all our friends.

"I ought not, however, to conceal from you, that one of my colleagues is of a very different opinion from me in these matters. He thinks the French minister one of the greatest enemies of our country; that he would have straitened our boundaries, to prevent the growth of our people; contracted our fishery, to obstruct the increase of our seamen; and retained the royalists among us, to keep us divided; that he privately opposes all our negotiations with foreign courts, and afforded us, during the war, the assistance we received, only to keep it alive, that we might be so much the more weakened by it; that to think of gratitude to France is the greatest of follies, and that to be influenced by it would ruin us. He makes no secret of his having these opinions, expresses them publicly, sometimes in presence of the English ministers, and speaks of hundreds of instances which he could produce of them. None, however, have yet appeared to me, unless the conversations and letter abovementioned are such.

"If I were not convinced of the real inability of this court to furnish the farther supplies asked, I should suspect these discourses of a person in his station might have influenced the refusal, but I think they have gone no farther than to confirm a suspicion, that we have a considerable party of anti-Gallicans in America, who are not tories, and consequently to produce some doubts of the continuance of our friendship. As such doubts may hereafter have a bad effect, I think we cannot take too much care to remove them; and it is therefore I write this, to put you on your guard, (believing it my duty, though I know that I hazard by it a mortal enmity,) and to caution you respecting the insinuations of this gentleman against this court, and the instances he supposes of their ill will to us, which I take to be imaginary, as I know his fancies to be, that count de Vergennes and myself are continually plotting against him, and employing the newswriters of Europe to depreciate his character, &c. But as Shakspeare says, 'trifles light as air,' &c. I am persuaded, however, that he means well for his country, is always an honest man, often a wise one, but sometimes, and in some things, absolutely out of his senses.

"When the commercial article mentioned in yours of the 26th was struck out of our proposed preliminaries, by the then British ministry, the reason given was, that sundry acts of parliament still in force were against it, and must be first repealed, which I believe was actually their intention; and sundry bills were accordingly brought in for that purpose. But new ministers with different principles succeeding, a commercial proclamation totally different from those bills has lately appeared. I send enclosed a copy of it. We shall try what can be done in the definitive treaty, towards setting aside that proclamation; but if it should be persisted in, it will then be a matter worthy the attentive discussion of congress, whether it will be most prudent to retort, with a similar regulation, in order to force its repeal, which may possibly tend to bring on another quarrel, or to let it pass without notice, and leave it to its own inconvenience or rather impracticability in the execution, and to the complaints of the West India planters, who must all pay much dearer for our produce under those restrictions. I am not enough master of the course of our commerce, to give an opinion on this particular question; and it does not behove me to do it; yet I have seen so much embarrassment, and so little advantage, in all the restraining and compulsive systems, that I feel myself strongly inclined to believe that a state, which leaves all her ports open to all the world upon equal terms, will by that means have foreign commodities cheaper, and sell its own productions dearer, and be on the whole most prosperous. I have heard some merchants say, that there is ten per cent. difference between *Will you buy!* and *Will you sell?* When foreigners bring us their goods, they want to part with them speedily, that they may purchase their cargoes and despatch their ships, which are at constant charges in our ports. We have then the advantage of their, *Will you buy?* and when they demand our produce, we have the advantage of their, *Will you sell?* and the concurring demands of a number also contribute to raise our prices. Thus both these questions are in our favour at home; against us abroad. The employing, however, of our own ships, and raising a breed of seamen among us, though it should not be a matter of so much private profit as some imagine, is nevertheless of political importance, and must have weight in considering this subject.

"The judgment you make of the conduct of France in the peace, and the greater glory acquired by her moderation than even by her arms, appears to me perfectly just. The character of this court and nation seems of late years to be considerably changed. The ideas of aggrandizement by conquest, are out of fashion; and those of commerce are more enlightened, and more generous than heretofore. We shall soon, I believe, feel something of this, in our being admitted to greater freedom of trade with their islands. The wise here think France great enough, and its ambition at present seems to be only that of justice and magnanimity towards other nations, fidelity and utility to its allies.

"I have received no answer yet from congress, to my request of being dismissed from this service. They should methinks reflect, that if they continue me here, the faults I may henceforth commit through the infirmities of age, will be rather theirs than mine.

"I am glad my Journal afforded you any pleasure. I will, as you desire, endeavour to continue it.

"I am sorry to find that you have thoughts of quitting the service. I do not think your place can be easily well supplied. You mention that an entire new arrangement with respect to foreign affairs is under consideration: I wish to know whether any notice is likely to be taken in it of my grandson. He has now gone through an apprenticeship of near seven years in the ministerial business, and is very capable of serving the States in that line, as possessing all the requisites of knowledge, zeal, activity, language, and address. He is liked here, and count de Vergennes has expressed to me in warm terms his very good opinion of him. The late Swedish ambassador, count de Creutz, who is gone home to be prime minister, desired I would endeavour to procure his being sent to Sweden with a public character, assuring me that he should be glad to receive him there as our minister, and that he knew it would be pleasing to the king. The present Swedish ambassador* has also proposed the same thing to me, as you will see by a letter of his which I enclose. One of the Danish ministers, M. Waltersdorff, (who will probably be sent in a public character to congress) has also expressed his wish that my grandson may be sent to Denmark. But it is not my custom to solicit employments for myself or any of my family, and I shall not do it in this case. I only hope that if he is not to be employed in your new arrangement, I may be informed of it as soon as possible, that while I have strength left for it, I may accompany him in a tour to Italy, returning through Germany, which I think he may make to more advantage with me than alone, and which I have long promised to afford him, as a reward for his faithful service, and his tender filial attachment to me.*

"Our people who were prisoners in England, are now all discharged. During the whole war, those who were in Forton prison, near Portsmouth, were much befriended by the constant charitable care of Mr. Wren, a Presbyterian minister there; who spared no pains to assist them in their sickness and distress, by procuring and distributing among them the contributions of good Christians, and prudently dispensing the allowance I made them, which gave him a deal of trouble; but he went through it cheerfully. I think some particular notice should be taken of this good man. I wish the congress would enable me to make him a present, and that some of our universities would confer upon him the degree of doctor.

"The duke of Manchester, who has always been our friend in the house of lords, is now here ambassador from England. I dine with him to-day (26th) and if anything of importance occurs, I will add it in a postscript.

"Be pleased to present my dutiful respects to the congress, assure them of my most faithful services, and believe me to be, with great and sincere esteem, sir, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To R. R. Livingston.*

"Passy, July 27, 1783.

"Sir,—The definitive treaties between the late belligerent powers are none of them yet completed. Ours has gone on slowly, owing partly to the necessity Mr. Hartley (successor of Mr. Oswald) thinks himself under of sending every proposition, either his own or ours, to his court for their approbation, and their delay in answering, through negligence perhaps, since they have heard our ports are open, or through indecision occasioned by ignorance of the subject, or through want of union among the ministers. We send you herewith copies of several papers that have passed between us. Mr. Hartley has for some time assured us that he is in hourly expectation of answers, but they do not arrive. The British proclamation respecting the commerce appears to vex him a good deal. We enclose a copy. And we are of opinion, that finally we shall find it best to drop all commercial articles in our definitive treaty; and leave every thing of that kind to a future special treaty to be made either in America or in Europe, as congress shall think fit to order. Perhaps it may be best to give powers for that purpose to the minister that probably will be sent to London. The opinion here is, that it will be becoming in us to take the first step towards the mutual exchange of ministers; and we have been assured by the English minister who treats with us here, that ours will be well received.

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* Baron de Stael.

* Repeated inquiries having been made relative to the result of this very natural and just request of Dr. Franklin; it is fit to remark, that no notice was ever taken of it by congress; nor of a former application to the same effect, backed by the strong and affecting recommendation of another of its most able and respectable ministers—John Jay, Esq. Neither were the long, faithful, arduous, and eminent services of Dr. Franklin ever publicly acknowledged, or adequately remunerated, by the *government* of the United States; except the testimony of its going into mourning on his decease. It has been the practice to cast the reproach of *ingratitude* on *republics*, whereby the authors of a public dishonour, spread the odium over so large a surface as to escape themselves. But the talents of Franklin had excited the jealousy of some of his colleagues, so as to repeatedly put in jeopardy the cause he had in charge. The hostility to Franklin did not cease at his death.

"The Dutch preliminaries are not yet agreed on, and it seems to be settled that we are to sign all together, in the presence of the ministers of the two imperial courts who are to be complimented with the opportunity of signing as mediators, though they have not yet, and perhaps will not be consulted in the negotiations. Mr. Adams is gone to Holland for three weeks, but will return sooner if wanted. The propositions you mention as made to us from that state, we suppose he has given you an account of. Nothing was or is likely to be done upon them here, and therefore it was less necessary to say any thing concerning them. A minister from that country has been gone some time to congress, and if he has those propositions in charge, they will best be considered there. With great esteem we have the honour to be, sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN,
J JAY,
H. LAURENS."

"*Sir Joseph Banks.*

"Passy, July 27, 1783.

"Dear Sir,—I received your very kind letter by Dr. Blagden, and esteem myself much honoured by your friendly remembrance. I have been too much and too closely engaged in public affairs since his being here, to enjoy all the benefit of his conversation you were so good as to intend me. I hope soon to have more leisure, and to spend a part of it in those studies that are much more agreeable to me than political operations.

"I join with you most cordially in rejoicing at the return of peace. I hope it will be lasting, and that mankind will at length, as they call themselves reasonable creatures, have reason and sense enough to settle their differences without cutting throats: for in my opinion *there never was a good war nor a bad peace.* What vast additions to the conveniences and comforts of living might mankind have acquired, if the money spent in wars had been employed in works of public utility. What an extension of agriculture even to the tops of our mountains; what rivers rendered navigable, or joined by canals; what bridges, aqueducts, new roads, and other public works, edifices and improvements, rendering England a complete paradise, might not have been obtained, by spending those millions in doing good which in the last war have been spent in doing mischief; in bringing misery into thousands of families, and destroying the lives of so many thousands of working people, who might have performed the useful labour!

"I am pleased with the late astronomical discoveries made by our society. Furnished as all Europe now is with academies of science, with nice instruments and the spirit of experiment, the progress of human knowledge will be rapid, and discoveries made of which we have at present no conception. I begin to be almost sorry I was born so soon, since I cannot have the happiness of knowing what will be known one hundred years hence.

"I wish continued success to the labours of the Royal Society, and that you may long adorn their chair; being with the highest esteem, dear sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

"Dr. Blagden will acquaint you with the experiment of a vast globe sent up into the air, much talked of here, and which, if prosecuted, may furnish means of new knowledge."

The Pope's Nuncio to Dr. Franklin.

"The apostolical nuncio has the honour to send Mr. Franklin the enclosed note, which he requests he will be pleased to forward to the congress of the United States of North America, and support it with his credit."

"July 28, 1783.

"*Note.*—Before the revolution which has just been completed in N. America, the catholics and missionaries of those provinces depended, as to their spiritual concerns, on the apostolical vicar resident in London. It is well known that this arrangement can no longer exist; but as it is essential that the catholic subjects of the United States should have ecclesiastics to govern them in their religious concerns, the *congregation de propagandâ fide* existing at Rome for the establishment and conservation of missions, has come to the determination of proposing to congress, to establish in some city of the U. States of N. America, one of their catholic subjects, with the powers of apostolical vicar, and in the character of bishop, or simply in quality of apostolical prefect.

"The establishment of an apostolical vicar bishop appears the most eligible, the more so as the catholic subjects of the United States would find themselves in a situation to receive confirmation and orders in their own country, without being obliged to go for that purpose to the country of a foreign power. And as it might sometimes happen, that amongst the subjects of the United States, there might be no person in a situation to be charged with the spiritual government, either as bishop or apostolical prefect, it would be necessary in such circumstances, that congress should consent to choose him from among the subjects of a foreign nation the most friendly with the United States."

David Hartley to American Ministers.

"Paris, August 12, 1783.

"Gentlemen,—I have the honour of transmitting to you a copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Fox, containing an account of the queen having been delivered of a princess, and that her majesty and the young princess are as well as can be expected.

"Since the reconciliation which has happily taken place between our two countries, I am happy in the opportunity of communicating to you such an occasion of our joint congratulations, as to the first token of that satisfaction which your country (and you, as the ministers of it in the present case) will receive from this, and from every event which may contribute to the happiness and honour of the king, the queen, and all the royal family of Great Britain. I am, gentlemen, with the greatest respect and consideration, your most obedient servant, D. HARTLEY."

" *To David Hartley, Esq.*

"Sir,—We have received the letter which you did us the honour to write on the 12th instant, and shall take the first opportunity of conveying to congress the agreeable information contained in it.

"The sentiments and sensations which the re-establishment of peace between our two countries, ought to diffuse through both, lead us to participate in the pleasure which the birth of a princess must naturally give to the royal family and people of Great Britain; and we sincerely congratulate their majesties on that addition to their domestic happiness. We have the honour to be, with great regard and esteem, sir, your most obedient and very humble servants,

J. ADAMS.
B. FRANKLIN.
J. JAY."

David Hartley to American Ministers.

"Paris, Aug 29, 1783.

"Gentlemen,—As the day is now fixed for the signatures of the definitive treaties between Great Britain, France, and Spain, I beg leave to inform your excellencies, that I am ready to sign the definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America, whenever it shall be convenient to you. I beg the favour therefore of you to fix the day. My instructions confine me to Paris as the place appointed to me for the exercise of my functions, and therefore whatever day you may fix upon for the signature, I shall hope to receive the honour of your company at the Hôtel d' York. I am, gentlemen, with the greatest respect and consideration, your most obedient servant, D. HARTLEY."

"P. S. The American ministers plenipotentiaries for making peace with Great Britain, present their compliments to Mr. Hartley. They regret that Mr. Hartley's instructions will not permit him to sign the definitive treaty of peace with America at the place appointed for the signature of the others. They will nevertheless have the honour of waiting upon Mr. Hartley at his lodgings at Paris, for the purpose of signing the treaty in question, on Wednesday morning at 8 o'clock.

" *Passy, Aug.* 30, 1783."

M. De Rayneval, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Dr. Franklin.

"Versailles, 29th Aug. 1783.

"I have informed the count of Vergennes, sir, of the difficulty which Mr. Hartley has made to signing at Versailles; and this minister has directed me to say, that nothing ought to prevent your signing at Paris, on Wednesday next, the day proposed for the signature of the other treaties: but I request you to fix the hour with Mr. Hartley at 9 o'clock in the morning, and to send here an express immediately after your signature is completed. M. de Vergennes is desirous of being informed of the completion of your labours at the same time with his own. You receive for Wednesday a note of invitation, as well as for your colleagues and Mr. Hartley; I presume that the latter will make no difficulty. DE RAYNEVAL."

" *The President of Congress.*

"Passy, Aug. 31, 1783.

"Sir,—After a continued course of treaty for nine months, the English ministry have at length come to a resolution to lay aside, for the present, all the new propositions that have been made and agreed to, their own as well as ours; and they offer to sign again as a definitive treaty, the articles of Nov. 30, 1782, the ratifications of which have been already exchanged. We have agreed to this, and on Wednesday next, the third of September, it will be signed with all the definitive treaties, establishing a general peace, which may God long continue. B. FRANKLIN."

The Definitive Treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America, signed at Paris, the third day of September, 1783.

"In the Name of the most Holy and undivided Trinity.

"It having pleased the Divine Providence to dispose the hearts of the serene and most potent Prince George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, Arch-Treasurer and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c. and of the United States of America, to forget all past misunderstandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correspondence and friendship which they mutually wish to restore, and to establish such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience, as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony; and having for this desirable end already laid the foundation of peace and reconciliation by provisional articles signed at Paris on the 30th of November, 1782, by the commissioners impowered on each part, which articles were agreed to be inserted in and to constitute the treaty of peace proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the said United States, but which treaty was not to be concluded until terms of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France, and his Britannic Majesty should be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly; and the treaty between Great Britain and France having since been concluded; his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the provisional articles above mentioned, according to the tenor thereof, have constituted and appointed, that is to say his Britannic Majesty on his part David Hartley, Esq., a member of the parliament of Great Britain: and the said United States on their part, John Adams, Esq. late a commissioner of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, late delegate in congress from the state of Massachusetts, and chief justice of said state, and minister plenipotentiary of the said United States, to their high mightinesses the States-General from the United Netherlands; Benjamin Franklin, Esq. late delegate in congress from the state of Pennsylvania, president of the convention of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America at the court of Versailles; John Jay, Esq. late president of congress, and chief justice of the state of New York, and minister plenipotentiary from the said United States at the court of Madrid, to be plenipotentiaries for the concluding and signing the present definitive treaty; who after having reciprocally communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon, and confirmed the following articles:

"N. B. The nine first articles were the same as the Preliminary Articles signed with Mr. Oswald, Nov. 30, 1782."

Article X.

"The solemn ratification of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the space of six months, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty. In witness whereof we the undersigned, their ministers plenipotentiary, have in their name and virtue of our full powers, signed, with our hands, the present definitive treaty, and caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

"Done at Paris this third day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

(Signed) "JOHN ADAMS. (L. S.)
B. FRANKLIN. (L. S.)
JOHN JAY. (L. S.)
DAVID HARTLEY." (L. S.)

At the end of this treaty were added Mr. Hartley's and the American ministers' commissions, and certified thus;

"We certify the foregoing copies of the respective full powers, to be authentic.

(Signed) "GEORGE HAMMOND,
"*Secretary to the British commission.*
"WM. TEMPLE FRANKLIN,
"*Secretary to the American commission.*"

David Hartley to American Ministers.

"PASSY, Sept 4. 1783.

"GENTLEMEN,—It is with the sincerest pleasure that I congratulate you on the happy event which took place yesterday, viz. the signature of the definitive treaty between our two countries. I consider it as the auspicious presage of returning confidence, and of the future intercourse of all good offices between us. I doubt not that our two countries will entertain the same sentiments, and that they will behold with satisfaction the period which terminates the memory of their late unhappy dissensions, and which leads to the renewal of all ancient ties of amity and peace. I can assure you that his Britannic Majesty, and his confidential servants, entertain the strongest desire of a cordial good understanding with the United States of America. And that nothing may be wanting on our parts to perfect the great work of pacification, I shall propose to you in a very short time, to renew the discussion of those points of amity and intercourse, which have been lately suspended to make way for the signature of the treaties between all the late belligerent powers, which took place yesterday. We have now the fairest prospects before us, and an unembarrassed field for the exercise of every beneficent disposition, and for the accomplishment of every object of reciprocal advantage between us. Let us then join our hearts and hands together in one common cause for the reunion of all our ancient affections and common interests. I am, gentlemen, with the greatest respect and consideration, your most obedient servant,

"D. HARTLEY."

"*To David Hartley.*

"Passy, Sept. 5, 1783.

"Sir,—We have received the letter which you did us the honour to write yesterday.

"Your friendly congratulations on the signature of the definitive treaty, meet with cordial returns on our part; and we sincerely rejoice with you in that event by which the Ruler of nations has been graciously pleased to give peace to our two countries.

"We are no less ready to join our endeavours than our wishes with yours, to concert such measures for regulating the future intercourse between Great Britain and the United States, as by being consistent with the honour and interest of both, may tend to increase and perpetuate mutual confidence and good will. We must nevertheless candidly inform you, that we consider our commission as terminated, and therefore without further authority from congress, will not be able to sign and conclude. All we can at present do is to confer with you, and recommend to congress such propositions as may appear to us to merit their assent. And we shall propose to them to send a commission to Europe without delay for these important purposes.

"The unrestrained course already given by the States to the British commerce with them, and the unconditional liberation of prisoners, at a time when more caution would not have been singular, are marks of liberality and confidence, which we flatter ourselves will be equalled by the magnanimity of his majesty and the people of Great Britain.

"We have communicated to congress the warm and repeated assurances with which you have officially honoured us on these subjects, and we are persuaded that the period of their being realized, will have an auspicious and conciliating influence on all the parties in the late unhappy dissensions.

"We have the honour to be, sir, with great respect and esteem, your most obedient and humble servants,

JOHN ADAMS.
B. FRANKLIN.
JOHN JAY."

To the same.

"Passy, Sept. 6, 1783.

"My dear Friend,—Enclosed is my letter to Mr. Fox. I beg you would assure him that my expressions of esteem for him are not mere professions. I really think him a great man; and I would not think so, if I did not believe he was at bottom, and would prove himself a *good* one. Guard him against mistaken notions of the American people. You have deceived yourselves too long with vain expectations of reaping advantage from our little discontents. We are more thoroughly an enlightened people, with respect to our political interests, than perhaps any other under the heaven. Every man among us reads, and is so easy in his circumstances as to have leisure for conversations of improvement, and for acquiring information. Our domestic misunderstandings, when we have them, are of small extent, though monstrously magnified by your microscopic newspapers. He who judges from them, that we are on the point of falling into anarchy, or returning to the obedience of Britain, is like one who being shown some spots in the sun, should fancy that the whole disk would soon be overspread with them, and that there would be an end of daylight. The great body of intelligence among our people, surrounds and overpowers our petty dissensions, as the sun's great mass of fire diminishes and destroys his spots. Do not, therefore, any longer delay the evacuation of New York, in the vain hope of a new revolution in your favour, if such a hope has indeed had any effect in occasioning that delay. It is now nine months since the evacuations were promised. You expect with reason that the people of New York should do your merchants justice in the payment of their old debts; consider the injustice you do them in keeping them so long out of their habitations, and out of their business, by which they might have been enabled to make payment.

"There is no truth more clear to me than this, that the great interest of our two countries is, a *thorough reconciliation.* Restraints on the freedom of commerce and intercourse between us, can afford no advantage equivalent to the mischief they will do by keeping up ill humour, and promoting a total alienation. Let you and I, my dear friend, do our best towards advancing and securing that reconciliation. We can do nothing that will in a dying hour afford us more solid satisfaction.

"I wish you a prosperous journey, and a happy sight of your friends. Present my best respects to your good brother and sister, and believe me ever, with sincere esteem, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN."

"*To David Hartley.*

"PASSY, Sept. 7, 1783.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—The enclosed letters to you and to Mr. Fox, were written before I saw you yesterday.

"On my return home last night I found despatches from congress, which may remove the difficulties we were entangled with. Mr. Adams will be here this morning, when you will hear from us. I am ever, yours sincerely, B. FRANKLIN."

ENCLOSED IN THE FOREGOING.)

"*To the Right Hon. C. J. Fox, Esq.*

"PASSY, Sept. 5, 1783.

"SIR,—I received in its time the letter you did me the honour of writing to me by Mr. Hartley; and I cannot let him depart without expressing my satisfaction in his conduct towards us, and applauding the prudence of that choice which sent us a man possessed of such a spirit of conciliation, and of all that frankness, sincerity, and candour, which naturally produce confidence, and thereby facilitate the most difficult negotiations. Our countries are now happily at peace, on which I congratulate you most cordially; and I beg you to be assured, that as long as I have any concern in public affairs, I shall readily and heartily concur with you, in promoting every measure that may tend to promote the common felicity.

"With great and sincere esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To David Hartley.*

"PASSY, Sept. 7, 1783.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—Enclosed I send you an extract of a letter to me from the president of congress, in which you will observe the moderate disposition of that body towards the loyalists, with the causes of aggravation in the people's resentments against them. I am always invariably, yours most sincerely,

"B. FRANKLIN."

(ENCLOSED IN THE FOREGOING.)

Extract of a Letter from E. Boudinot, Esq. President of Congress, to B. Franklin, dated June 18, 1783.

"You will receive herewith a number of our newspapers, in which are inserted many resolves, associations, &c. from all parts of the country, which I earnestly wish had not been made; but the truth is, that the cruelties, ravages, and barbarities of the refugees and loyalists, have left the people so sore that it is not yet time for them to exercise their good sense and cooler judgment; and this cannot take place while the citizens of New York are kept out of their city and despoiled daily of their property, by the sending off their negroes by hundreds in the face of the treaty. It has been exceedingly ill-judged in the British to retain New York so long, and to persist in sending away the negroes, as it has irritated the citizens of America to an alarming degree. I am, &c."

"*To David Hartley, Esq.*

"PASSY, Sept. 7, 1783.

"SIR,—We have the honour of transmitting herewith enclosed, a resolution of congress of the 1st of May last, which we have just received.

"You will perceive from it, that we may daily expect a commission in due form for the purposes mentioned in it, and we assure you of our readiness to enter upon the business whenever you way think proper.

"We have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem, sir, your most obedient and humble servants, J. ADAMS.
B. FRANKLIN.
J. JAY."

(ENCLOSED IN THE FOREGOING.)

By the U. States in Congress assembled.

"MAY 1, 1783.

"ON the report of a committee to whom was referred a letter of Feb. 5, from the Hon. John Adams;

"Ordered, That a commission be prepared to Messrs. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, authorizing them, or either of them in absence of the others, to enter into a treaty of commerce between the United States of America and Great Britain, subject to the revisal of the contracting parties, previous to its final conclusion: and in the mean time to enter into a commercial convention to continue in force one year.

"That the secretary for foreign affairs lay before congress without delay a plan of a treaty of commerce, and instructions relative to the same, to be transmitted to the said commissioners.

"CHARLES THOMPSON, *Sec'y.*"

"*Elias Boudinot, President of Congress.*

(EXTRACT.)

"PASSY, Sept. 10. 1783.

"ON the 3d instant, definitive treaties of peace were concluded between all the late belligerent powers except the Dutch, who the day before settled and signed preliminary articles of peace with Great Britain.

"We most sincerely and cordially congratulate congress and our country in general on this happy event, and we hope that the same kind Providence which has led us through a rigorous war to an honourable peace, will enable us to make a wise and moderate use of that inestimable blessing.

"The definitive treaty being in the terms of the provisional articles, and not comprehending any of the objects of our subsequent negotiations, it is proper that we give a summary account of them.

"When Mr. Hartley arrived here, he brought with him only a set of instructions signed by the king. We objected to proceeding with him until he should have a commission in form. This occasioned some delay. A proper commission was however transmitted to him; a copy of which was shortly after sent to Mr. Livingston.

"We having been instructed to obtain, if possible, an article for a direct trade to the West Indies, made to Mr. Hartley the proposition No. 1.

"He approved of it greatly and recommended it to his court, but they declined assenting to it.

"Mr. Hartley then made us the proposition No. 2., but on being asked whether he was authorized to sign it, in case we agreed to it, he answered us in the negative. We therefore thought it improper to proceed to the consideration of it, until after he should have obtained the consent of his court to it. We also desired to be informed whether his court would or would not comprehend Ireland in these stipulations with us.

"The British cabinet would not adopt Mr. Hartley's propositions, but their letters to him were calculated to inspire us with expectations, that as nothing but particular local circumstances, which would probably not be of long duration, restrained them from preferring the most liberal system of commerce with us, the ministry would take the earliest opportunity of gratifying their own wishes as well as ours on that subject.

"Mr. Hartley then made us the proposition No. 3.

"At this time we were informed that letters for us had arrived in France from Philadelphia. We expected to receive instructions in them, and told Mr. Hartley that this expectation induced us to postpone giving him an answer for a few days.

"The vessel by which we expected these letters, it seems, had not brought any for us. But at that time information arrived from America, that our ports were all opened to British vessels. Mr. Hartley thereupon did not think himself at liberty to proceed until after he should communicate that intelligence to his court, and receive their further instructions.

"Those further instructions never came, and thus our endeavours as to commercial regulations proved fruitless; we had many conferences and received long memorials from Mr. Hartley on the subject, but his zeal for systems friendly to us constantly exceeded his authority to concert and agree to them.

"During the long interval of his expecting instructions, for his expectations were permitted to exist almost to the last, we proceeded to make and receive propositions for perfecting the definitive treaty. Details of all the amendments, alterations, objections, exceptions, &c. which occurred in the course of these discussions would be voluminous. We finally agreed that he should send to his court the project or draft of a treaty. He did so, but after much time, and when pressed by France, who insisted that we should all conclude together, he was instructed to sign a definitive treaty in the terms of the provisional articles.

"Whether the British court meant to avoid a definitive treaty with us, through a vain hope, from the exaggerated accounts of divisions among our people, and want of authority in congress, that some revolution might soon happen in their favour, or whether their dilatory conduct was caused by the strife of the two opposite and nearly equal parties in the cabinet, is hard to decide.

"Your excellency will observe that the treaty was signed at *Paris*, and not at *Versailles*. Mr. Hartley's letter, and our answer, will explain this. His objections, and indeed our proceedings in general, were communicated to the French minister, who was content that we should acquiesce, but desired that we would appoint the signing early in the morning, and give him an account of it at Versailles by express; for that he would not proceed to sign on the part of France, till he was sure that our business was done.

"The day after the signature of the treaty, Mr. Hartley wrote us a congratulatory letter, to which we returned an answer.

"He is gone to England, and expects soon to return: which for our parts we think uncertain. We have taken care to speak to him in strong terms on the subject of the evacuation of New York, and the other important subjects proper to be mentioned to him. We think we may rely on his doing every thing in his power to influence his court to do what they ought to do, but it does not appear that they have as yet formed any solid system for their conduct relative to the United States. We cannot but think that the late and present aspect of affairs in America, has had and continues to have an unfavourable influence, not only in Britain, but throughout Europe.

"In whatever light the article respecting the tories may be viewed in America, it is considered in Europe as very humiliating to Britain, and therefore as being one which we ought in honour to perform and fulfil with the most scrupulous regard to good faith, and in a manner least offensive to the feeling of the king and court of Great Britain, who upon that point are extremely tender.

"The unseasonable and unnecessary resolves of various towns on this subject, the actual expulsion of tories from some places, and the avowed implacability of almost all who have published their sentiments about the matter, are circumstances which are construed not only to the prejudice of our national magnanimity and good faith, but also to the prejudice of our governments.

"Popular committees are considered here as with us, in the light of substitutes to constitutional government, and as being only necessary in the interval between the removal of the former, and the establishment of the present.

"The constitutions of the different states have been translated and published, and pains have been taken to lead Europe to believe that the American States not only made their own laws, but obeyed them. But the continuance of popular assemblies convened expressly to deliberate on matters proper only for the cognizance of the different legislatures and officers of government, and their proceeding not only to ordain, but to enforce their resolutions, has exceedingly lessened the dignity of the States in the eyes of these nations.

"To this we may also add the situation of the army, the reluctance of the people to pay taxes, and the circumstances under which congress removed from Philadelphia, have diminished the admiration in which the people of America were held among the nations of Europe, and somewhat abated their ardour for forming connexions with us, before our affairs acquire a greater degree of order and consistence.

"Permit us to observe, that in our opinion the recommendation of congress promised in the 5th article, should immediately be made in the terms of it and published, and that the States should be requested to take it into consideration as soon as the evacuation by the enemy shall be completed. It is also much to be wished that the legislatures may not involve all the tories in banishment and ruin, but that such discriminations may be made as to entitle their decisions to the approbation of disinterested men, and dispassionate posterity.

"On the 7th instant, we received your excellency's letter of the 16th of June last, covering a resolution of congress of the 1st May, directing a commission to us for making a treaty of commerce, &c. with Great Britain. This intelligence arrived very opportunely to prevent the anti-American party in England, from ascribing any delays on our part to motives of resentment to that country. Great Britain will send a minister to congress, as soon as congress shall send a minister to Britain, and we think much good might result from that measure.

"Much we think will depend on the success of our negotiations with England. If she could be prevailed upon to agree to a liberal system of commerce, France, and perhaps some other nations, will follow her example: but if she should prefer an exclusive monopolizing plan, it is probable that her neighbours will continue to adhere to their favourite restrictions.

"Were it certain that the United States could be brought to act as a nation, and would jointly and fairly conduct their commerce on principles of exact reciprocity with all nations, we think it probable that Britain would make extensive concessions. But on the contrary, while the prospect of disunion in our councils, or want of power and energy in our executive departments exist, they will not be apprehensive of retaliation, and consequently lose their principal motive to liberality. Unless with regard to all foreign nations and transactions, we uniformly act as an entire united nation, faithfully executing and obeying the constitutional acts of congress on those subjects, we shall soon find ourselves in a situation in which all Europe wishes to see us, viz. as unimportant consumers of her manufactures and productions, and as useful labourers to furnish her with raw materials.

"We beg leave to assure congress that we shall apply our best endeavours to execute this new commission to their satisfaction, and shall punctually obey such instructions as they may be pleased to give us relative to it. Unless congress should have nominated a secretary to the commission, we shall consider ourselves at liberty to appoint one, and as we are well satisfied with the conduct of Mr. Temple Franklin, the secretary to our late commission, we purpose to appoint him; leaving to congress to make such compensation for his services as they may judge proper.

"With great respect, we have the honour

to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient and humble servants,

JOHN ADAMS.
B. FRANKLIN.
JOHN JAY."

"*To John Jay.*

"PASSY, September 10, 1783.

"SIR,—I received a letter from a very respectable person in America, containing the following words, viz.—'It is confidently reported, propagated, and believed by some among us, that the court of France was at the bottom against our obtaining the fishery and territory in that great extent, in which both are secured to us by the treaty; that our minister at that court favoured, or did not oppose this design against us, and that it was entirely owing to the firmness, sagacity, and disinterestedness of Mr. Adams, with whom Mr. Jay united, that we have obtained these important advantages.'

"It is not my purpose to dispute any share of the honour of that treaty, which the friends of my colleagues may be disposed to give them, but having now spent fifty years of my life in public offices and trusts, and having still one ambition left, that of carrying the character of fidelity at least to the grave with me, I cannot allow that I was behind any of them in zeal and faithfulness. I therefore think, that I ought not to suffer an accusation, which falls little short of treason to my country, to pass without notice, when the means of effectual vindication are at hand. You, sir, were a witness of my conduct in that affair. To you and my other colleagues, I appeal, by sending to each a similar letter with this, and I have no doubt of your readiness to do a brother commissioner justice, by certificates that will entirely destroy the effect of that accusation. B. FRANKLIN."

John Jay to Dr. Franklin.

"PASSY, September 11, 1783.

'SIR,—I have been favoured with your letter of yesterday, and will answer it explicitly. I have no reason whatever to believe, that you were averse to our obtaining the full extent of boundary and fishery secured to us by the treaty. Your conduct respecting them, throughout the negotiation, indicated a strong, a steady attachment to both those objects, and in my opinion promoted the attainment of them.

"I remember that in a conversation which M. de Rayneval, the first secretary of count de Vergennes, had with you and me, in the summer of 1782, you contended for our full right to the fishery, and argued it on various principles.

"Your letters to me when in Spain, considered our territory as extending to the Mississippi, and expressed your opinion against ceding the navigation of that river, in very strong and pointed terms.

"In short, sir, I do not recollect the least difference in sentiment between us respecting the boundaries or fisheries. On the contrary, we were unanimous and united in adhering to and insisting on them. Nor do I perceive the least disposition in either of us to recede from our claims, or be satisfied with less than we obtained. JOHN JAY."

John Adams to Dr. Franklin.

"PARIS, September 13, 1783.

"SIR,—I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write me on the 10th of this month, in which you say you have received a letter from a very respectable person in America, containing the following words, viz. 'It is confidently reported, propagated, and believed by some among us, that the court of France was at the bottom against our obtaining the fishery and territory in that great extent, in which both are secured to us by the treaty; that our minister at that court favoured, or did not oppose this design against us, and that it was entirely owing to the firmness, sagacity, and disinterestedness of Mr. Adams, with whom Mr. Jay united, that we have obtained those important advantages.'

"It is unnecessary for me to say anything upon this subject, more than to quote the words which I wrote in the evening of the 30th November, 1782, and which have been received and read in congress, viz. 'As soon as I arrived in Paris, I waited on Mr. Jay, and learned from him the rise and progress of the negotiation. Nothing that has happened since the beginning of the controversy in 1761, has ever struck me more forcibly, or affected me more intimately, than that entire coincidence of principles and opinion between him and me. In about three days I went out to Passy, and spent the evening with Dr. Franklin, and entered largely into conversation with him upon the course and present state of our foreign affairs. I told him my opinion without reserve, of the policy of this court, and of the principles, wisdom and firmness which Mr. Jay had conducted the negotiation in his sickness and my absence, and that I was determined to support Mr. Jay to the utmost of my power in pursuit of the same system. The doctor heard me patiently, and said nothing.

"'The first conference we had afterwards with Mr. Oswald, in considering one point and another, Dr. Franklin turned to Mr. Jay and said, "I am of your opinion, and will go on with these gentlemen without consulting the court." He has accordingly met us in most of our conferences, and has gone on with us in entire harmony and unanimity throughout, and has been able and useful.

both by his sagacity and reputation, in the whole negotiation.' · JOHN ADAMS."

"*The President of Congress.*

"PASSY, Sept. 13, 1783.

"SIR,—I received a few days since, the private letter your excellency did me the honour of writing to me of the 13th of June. I regret with you the resignation of the late secretary. Your present cares are increased by it, and it will be difficult to find a successor of equal abilities.

"We found no difficulty in deciphering the resolution of congress. The commissioners have taken no notice of it in our public letter.

"I am happy to hear that both the device and workmanship of the medal are approved with you, as they have the good fortune to be by the best judges on this side of the water. It has been esteemed a well timed, as well as a well merited compliment here, and has its good effects. Since the two first which you mention as received, I have sent by different opportunities so many, as that every member of congress might have one. I hope they are come safe to hand by this time.

"I wrote a long letter to Mr. Livingston, by Mr. Barney, to which I beg leave to refer, enclosing a copy.

"We had, before signing the definitive treaty, received the ratification of the preliminary articles by his Britannic Majesty, exchanged with us by Mr. Hartley for that of congress. I send herewith a copy of the first and last clauses.

"In a former letter I mentioned the volunteer proceedings of a merchant at Alicant, towards obtaining a treaty between us and the emperor of Morocco. We have since received a letter from a person who says, as you will see by the enclosed, that he is sent by the emperor to be the bearer of his answer to the United States, and that he is arrived in Spain on his way to Paris. He has not yet appeared here, and we hardly know what answer to give him. I hope the sending a minister to that court, as recommended in my last, has been taken into consideration, or at least that some instructions respecting that nation have been sent to your minister in Spain, who is better situated for such a negotiation than we are.

"The minister from Denmark often speaks to me about the proposed treaty of which a copy was sent by Mr. Barney. No commission to sign it, nor any instruction from congress relating to it are yet arrived; and though pressed, I have not ventured to do anything further in the affair.

"I forward herewith a letter to congress from the city of Hamburg. I understand that a good disposition prevails towards us there, which may be well to encourage.

"No answer has been given me from the court of Portugal, respecting the plan of a treaty connected between its ambassador here and me. He has been unwell and much in the country, so that I have not seen him lately. I suspect that the false or exaggerated reports of the distracted situation of our government, industriously propagated throughout Europe by our enemies, have made an impression in that kingdom to our disadvantage, and inclined them to hesitate in forming a connexion with us. Questions asked me and observations made by several of the foreign ministers here, convince me that the idle stories of our disunion, contempt of authority, refusal to pay taxes, &c. have been too much credited, and been very injurious to our reputation.

"I sent before a copy of the letter I wrote to the Grand-Master of Malta, with a present of our medal. With this you will have a copy of his answer. I send also a copy of a note I received from the pope's nuncio. He is very civil on all occasions, and has mentioned the possibility of an advantageous trade which America might have with the eclesiastical state which he says has two good ports, Livitta Vechia and ——.

"This court continues favourable to us. Count de Vergennes was resolute in refusing to sign the definitive treaty with England before ours was signed. The English ministers were offended, but complied. I am convinced that court will never cease endeavouring to disunite us. We shall I hope be constantly on our guard against those machinations, for our safety consists in a steady adherence to our friends, and our reputation in a faithful regard to treaties, and in a grateful conduct towards our benefactors.

"I send herewith sundry memorials recommended to my care by the count de Vergennes, viz. one respecting a claim of Messrs. Fosters of Bordeaux, one of Mr. Pequet, and one of Mr. Bayard. The congress will take such notice of them as they shall think proper. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Lewis R. Morris, Secretary in Department of Foreign Affairs.*

"PASSY, Sept 14. 1783

"SIR,—I received by the Washington the bills and accounts mentioned in yours of the 5th of June, and shall soon send you an account of the disposition of the money.

"My account as stated by you appears to be correct. B. FRANKLIN."

"*David Hartley.*

"Bath, Sept 24, 1783.

"My dear Friend,—I am at present at Bath with my dearest sister, whom I have found as well as I could have expected, and I hope with reasonable prospect of recovery in time. I have seen my friends in the ministry, and hope things will go on well; with them I am sure all is right and firm. The chief part of the cabinet ministers are out of town, but there will be a full cabinet held in a few days, in which a specific proposition in the nature of a temporary convention will be given in instructions to me. I imagine, nearly upon the ground of my memorial of May 19, 1783, which I delivered to the American ministers; viz., 'American ships not to bring foreign manufactures into Great Britain, nor to trade directly between the British West Indies and Great Britain,' all the rest to be as before the war. I expect that something to this effect will be their determination, in the offer, and if it should be so, I shall hope not to meet with difficulty on your parts. I want to see some specific beginning. As to any farther proposition respecting the trade between Great Britain and the British West Indies, I doubt whether any such can be discussed before the meeting of parliament. I wish to look forward not only to the continuation of peace between our two countries, but to the improvement of reconciliation into alliance, and therefore I wish the two parties to be disposed to accommodate each other, without the strict account by weights and scales as between aliens and strangers, actuated towards each other by no other principle than cold and equalizing indifference. Friendly dispositions presumed have their fairest chance of being realized, but if we should set out presuming against them, the good which might have happened may be prevented. Pray remember me to your three colleagues, and to all friends. D. HARTLEY."

"P. S. I have put in a word for our quaker article, and I hope with some impression."

"*The President of Congress.*

"Passy, Sept. 27, 1783.

"Sir,—Mr. Thaxter, late secretary of Mr. Adams, who is charged with our despatches, that were intended to go by the French packet-boat, writes from L'Orient, that though he arrived there two days before the time appointed for her sailing, he missed reaching her by four hours; but another light vessel was fitting, and could sail the 21st inst., in which he hoped to arrive at New York nearly as soon as the packet. We shall send duplicates by the next from hence.

"In the mean time I enclose a printed copy of the definitive treaty, which I hear is ratified. Indeed we have the ratification of the preliminaries.

"Mr. Hartley when he left us expected to return in three weeks, in order to proceed with us in forming a treaty of commerce. The new commission that was intended for us is not yet come to hand.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Sir Edward Newenham, Ireland.*

"Passy, Oct. 2, 1783.

"Dear Sir,—I have just received your very kind letter of the 16th past. I rejoice sincerely to hear of your safe return to your own country, family, and friends, and of the success of your election.

"It is a pleasing reflection arising from the contemplation of our successful struggle, and the manly, spirited, and unanimous resolves at Dungannon; that liberty, which some years since appeared in danger of extinction, is now regaining the ground she had lost; that arbitrary governments are likely to become more mild, and reasonable, and to expire by degrees, giving place to more equitable forms; one of the effects this of the art of printing, which diffuses so general a light, augmenting with the growing day, and of so penetrating a nature, that all the window shutters, despotism and priestcraft, can oppose to keep it out, prove insufficient.

"In answer to your question respecting what may be necessary to fix a trade between Ireland and America, I may acquaint you between ourselves, that there is some truth in the report you may have heard, of our desiring to know of Mr. Hartley whether he was impowered or instructed to include Ireland in the treaty of commerce proposed to us, and of his sending for instructions on that head, which never arrived. That treaty is yet open, may possibly soon be resumed, and it seems proper that something should be contained in it to prevent the doubts and misunderstandings that may hereafter arise on the subject, and secure to Ireland the same advantages in trade that England may obtain. You can best judge whether some law or resolution of your parliament may not be of use towards gaining that point.

"My grandson joins me in wishes of every kind of felicity for you, lady Newenham, and all your amiable family. God bless you and give success to your constant endeavours for the welfare of your country.

"B. FRANKLIN."

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"Bath, October 4, 1783.

"My dear Friend,—I only write one line to you to let you know that I am not forgetful of you, or of our common concerns. I have not heard any thing from the ministry yet: I believe it is a kind of vacation with them before the meeting of parliament. I have told you of a proposition which I have had some thoughts to make as a kind of co-partnership in commerce. I send you a proposed temporary convention, which I have drawn up. You are to consider it only as one I recommend. The words underlined are grafted upon the proposition of my memorial, dated May 21, 1783. You will see the principle which I have in my thoughts to extend for the purpose of restoring our ancient co-partnership generally. I cannot tell you what event things may take, but my thoughts are always employed in endeavouring to arrange that system upon which the *china vase*, lately shattered, may be cemented together, upon principles of compact and connexion, instead of dependence. I have met with a sentiment in this country which gives some alarm, viz. lest the unity of government in America should be uncertain, and the States reject the authority of congress. Some passages in general Washington's letter have given weight to these doubts. I don't hear of any tendency to this opinion; *that the American States will break to pieces, and then we may still conquer them.* I believe all that folly is extinguished. But many serious and well disposed persons are alarmed lest *this should be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the union, and annihilating the cement of confederation* (vide Washington's letter,) and that Great Britain should thereby lose her best and wisest hope of being reconnected with the American States *unitedly*. I should for one, think it the greatest misfortune. Pray give me some opinion upon this. You see there is likewise another turn which may be given to this sentiment by intemperate and disappointed people, who may indulge a passionate revenge for their own disappointments, by endeavouring to excite general distrust, discord, and disunion. I wish to be prepared and guarded at all points. I beg my best compliments to your colleagues; be so good as to show this letter to them. I beg particularly my condolence (and I hope congratulation) to Mr. Adams; I hear that he has been very dangerously ill, but that he is again recovered. I hope the latter part is true, and that we shall all survive to set our hands to some future compacts of common interest, and common affection, between our two countries. Your ever affectionate,

"D. HARTLEY."

"*To Brand Hollis.*

"Passy, Oct. 5, 1783.

"Sir,—I received but lately (though sent in June) your most valuable present of the Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq., who was truly, as you describe him in your letter, a good 'citizen of the world and a faithful friend of America.' America too is extremely sensible of his benevolence and great beneficence towards her, and will ever revere his memory. These volumes are a proof of what I have sometimes had occasion to say, in encouraging people to undertake difficult public services, that it is prodigious the quantity of good that may be done by one man, *if he will make a business of it.* It is equally surprising to think of the very little that is done by the many; for such is the general frivolity of the employments and amusements of the rank we call *gentlemen*, that every century may have seen three successions of a set of a thousand each in every kingdom of Europe, (gentlemen too, of equal or superior fortune) no one of which set, in the course of their lives, have done the good effected by this man alone! Good, not only to his own nation, and to his cotemporaries, but to distant countries, and to late posterity: for such must be the effect of his multiplying and distributing copies of the works of our best English writers, on subjects the most important to the welfare of society.

"I knew him personally but little. I sometimes met with him at the Royal Society and the Society of Arts, but he appeared shy of my acquaintance, though he often sent me valuable presents, such as Hamilton's works, Sydney's works, &c. which are now among the most precious ornaments of my library. We might possibly, if we had been more intimate, have concerted some useful operations together; but he loved to do his good alone and secretly, and I find besides, in perusing these memoirs, that I was a doubtful character with him. I do not respect him less for his error; and I am obliged to the editors for the justice they have done me. They have made a little mistake in page 400, where a letter which appeared in a London paper, January 7th 1768, is said to have been written by Mr. Adams. It was written by me, and is reprinted in Mr. Vaughan's collection of my political pieces. This erratum is of no great importance, but may be corrected in a future edition.

"I see Mr. Hollis had a curious collection of medals. If he had been still living, I should certainly have sent him one of the medals that I have caused to be struck here. I think the countenance of my liberty would have pleased him. I suppose you possess the collection, and have the same taste. I beg you therefore to accept one of the medals as a mark of my respect, and believe me to be with sincere esteem, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*David Hartley.*

"Passy, Oct. 16, 1783.

"My dear Friend,—I have nothing material to write to you respecting public affairs, but I cannot let Mr. Adams, who will see you, go without a line to inquire after your welfare, to inform you of mine, and assure you of my constant respect and attachment.

"I think with you, that your quaker article is a good one, and that men will in time have sense enough to adopt it, but I fear that time is not yet come.

"What would you think of a proposition if I should make it, of a family compact between England, France, and America? America would be as happy as the Sabine girls, if she could be the means of uniting in perpetual peace her father and her husband. What repeated follies are those repeated wars! You do not want to conquer and govern one another. Why then should you be continually employed in injuring and destroying one another? How many excellent things might have been done to promote the internal welfare of each country; what bridges, roads, canals, and other useful public works and institutions, tending to the common felicity, might have been made and established, with the money and men foolishly spent during the last seven centuries by our mad wars in doing one another mischief? You are near neighbours, and each have very respectable qualities. Learn to be quiet and to respect each others rights. You are all Christians. One is the most Christian king, and the other defender of the faith. Manifest the propriety of these titles by your future conduct. By this, says Christ, shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another. Seek peace, and ensure it.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To the same.*

"Passy, Oct. 22, 1783.

"I received my dear friend's kind letter of the 4th instant from Bath, with your proposed temporary convention, which you desire me to show to my colleagues. They are both by this time in London, where you will undoubtedly see and converse with them on the subject. The apprehension you mention, that the cement of the confederation may be annihilated, &c. has not I think any foundation. There is sense enough in America to take care of their own china vase. I see much in your papers about our divisions and distractions, but I hear little of them from America; and I know that most of the letters said to come from there, with such accounts, are mere London fictions. I will consider attentively the proposition above mentioned against the return of my colleagues, when I hope our commission will be arrived.

"I rejoice to hear that your dear sister's recovery advances, and that your brother is well. Please to present my affectionate respects to them, and believe me ever yours, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

'*The President of Congress.*

"Passy, Nov. 1, 1783.

"Sir,—Enclosed is a copy of my last which went by the English packet. I heard after I wrote it, that the French packet putting back by contrary winds, Mr. Thaxter had an opportunity of getting on board her, and that she sailed the 26th of September.

"The mentioned new commission is not yet come to hand; Mr. Hartley is not returned, and I hear will stay for the meeting of parliament, which is to be the 11th instant, and he will not come hither till the recess for the Christmas holidays. Mr. Jay went to England about three weeks since, on some personal affairs; and Mr. Adams followed last week to see that country, and take some exercise during the vacancy of business. This court is now at Fontainbleau, but will return to Versailles in a few days. Its good disposition towards us continues. The late failure of payment in the Caisse d' Escompte, an institution similar to the Bank of England, occasioned partly by its having gone too far in assisting the government with money, and the inability of the government to support their credit, though extremely desirous of doing it, is a fresh proof that our not obtaining a further loan was not occasioned by want of good will to assist us, as some have unjustly supposed, but by a real want of the means. Money is at present unaccountably scarce here; what is arrived and expected in Spain since the peace, it is thought will set things right. The government has proposed a second lottery for this year, by which they borrow twenty-four millions, and it is filled readily. This helps, and the Caisse d' Escompte goes on again with its operations, but it is said the interest paid by the lottery plan is nearly seven per cent.

"I have received the duplicates of your excellency's letter, of the 15th July, to the commissioners, which is very satisfactory, though it came to hand but lately. The first, sent via N. York, has not yet appeared. I have sent copies of it to the Hague and Madrid. The substance is published in several papers.

"I have acquainted the minister of Sweden that I have received the ratification of the treaty, and he has written to me that he shall be in town in a few days, when he will make the exchange. The conclusion of the Danish treaty waits only for the commission and instructions from congress. The ambassador of

Portugal informed me lately, that his court had our proposed plan under consideration, and that we should soon hear from them. I sent it to congress by Barney, and hear the ship is arrived. A commission and instructions will be wanting for that also, should the congress be disposed to conclude a treaty with that nation.

"I see by the public prints that congress have ratified the contract I made with the minister here, respecting the loans and aids we had received, but the ratification itself, though directed to be sent me, has never come to hand, and I am often asked for it. I beg it may be forwarded by the first opportunity.

"There has lately been with me Mons. Pierre du Calvet, a merchant of Montreal, who when our army was in Canada, furnished our generals and officers with many things they wanted, taking their receipts and promissory notes for payment; and when the English repossessed the country, he was imprisoned and his estate seized on account of the services he had rendered us. He has shown me the originals of his papers, which I think are genuine. He produced also a a quantity of congress paper, which he says he received in payment for some of the supplies, and which appeared to me of our first emissions, and yet all fresh and clean as having passed through no other hands. When he was discharged from prison he could not obtain permission to go into the United States, to claim the debt, but was allowed to go to England; and from thence he came hither to solicit payment from me. Having no authority to meddle with such debts, and the sum being considerable, I refused, and advised him to take passage for America and make his application to congress. He said he was grown old, much broken and weakened by three years' imprisonment, and that the voyage from Canada to London had like to have been too much for him, he being sick all the way; so that he could not think of another, though distressed for want of his money. He appears an honest man, and his case a hard one. I have therefore undertaken to forward his papers, and I beg leave to recommend them to the speedy consideration of congress, to whom I request you would be pleased to present my respects, &c.

"BENJAMIN FRANKLIN."

Giacomo F. Crocco to Dr. Franklin.

"CADIZ, Nov. 25, 1783.

"SIR,—On the 15th July last, I had the honour to acquaint your excellency of my arrival in Europe, and that I was appointed by his majesty the emperor of Morocco, bearer of the answer to the congress, sovereign of the thirteen United States of North America, and that according to my instructions, I was to meet at Paris the ambassador that would be appointed by the congress, to sign at the court of Morocco the treaty of peace and commerce, agreeably to the proposals made to his imperial majesty, by Robert Montgomery, in his letter dated at Alicant, the 4th January, 1783. Since I have been at the court of Madrid, where I had some commissions from the emperor, and to see the execution of them, I came to this place, from whence I intended to embark in three or four months for Barbary, unless in the mean-time I should receive an answer from your excellency, with orders that Mr. Richard Harrison should give me for my travelling charges fifteen hundred hard dollars, although the courts of Europe are accustomed to allow the ministers of my master, at the rate of ten pounds sterling per day, while they are in Europe, to defray their expenses, besides presents for their good offices in those important affairs.

"His imperial majesty was graciously pleased, at my solicitation, to agree at the request of congress, to grant them a treaty of peace, (which other powers in Europe would not obtain but after many years) and my return, without the full execution of his commands, I apprehend may for ever indispose him against the United Provinces.

"GIACOMO F. CROCCO."

"*William Carmichael.*

"PASSY, December 15, 1783.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I am much concerned to find by your letter to my grandson, that you are hurt by my long silence, and that you ascribe it to a supposed diminution of my friendship. Believe me that is by no means the case, but I am too much harassed by a variety of correspondence, together with gout and gravel, which induce me to postpone doing what I often fully intend to do, and particularly writing, where the urgent necessity of business does not seem to require its being done immediately; my sitting too much at the desk, having already almost killed me; besides, since Mr. Jay's residence here, I imagined he might keep you fully informed of what was material for you to know, and I beg you to be assured of my constant and sincere esteem and affection.

"I do not know whether you have been informed, that a Mr. Montgomery, who lives at Alicant, took upon himself (for I think he had no authority) to make overtures last winter in behalf of our States towards a treaty with the emperor of Morocco. In consequence of his proceedings, I received a letter in August from a person who acquainted me, that he was arrived in Spain by the emperor's order, and was to come to Paris, there to receive and conduct to Morocco the minister of congress appointed to make that treaty, intimating at the same time an expectation of money to defray his expenses. I communicated the letter to Mr. Jay. The conduct of Mr. Montgomery appeared to us very extraordinary and irregular, and the idea of a messenger from Morocco coming to Paris to meet and conduct a minister of congress, appearing absurd and extravagant, as well as the demand of money by a person unknown, I made no answer to the letter, and I know not whether Mr. Jay made any to Montgomery, who wrote about the same time. But I have lately received another letter from the same person, a copy of which I enclose, together with my answer open for your perusal, and it is submitted to your discretion, whether to transmit it or not. The Mr. *Crocco* who writes to me, having been as he says at Madrid, you may possibly know more of him than I can, and judge whether he is really a person in credit with the emperor, and sent as he pretends to be, or not rather an *escroc*, as the French call cheats and impostors.

" I would not be wanting in any thing proper for me to do towards keeping that prince in good humour with us, till the pleasure of congress is known, and would therefore answer Mr. Crocco if he be in his employ; but am loth to commit myself in correspondence with a *fripon.* It will be strange if, being at Madrid, he did not address himself to you. B. FRANKLIN."

" *Giacomo Francisco Crocco.*

" Passy, December 15, 1783.

" Sir,—I have just received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me the 25th past. I did indeed receive your former letter of July, but being totally a stranger to the mentioned proceedings of Mr. Montgomery, and having no orders from the congress on the subject, I knew not how to give you any satisfactory answer, till I should receive further information; and I communicated your letter to Mr. Jay, minister of the U. States for Spain, in whose district Mr. Montgomery is, and who is more at hand than I am for commencing that negotiation.

" Mr. Jay, who is at present in England, has possibly written to you, though his letter may have miscarried, to acquaint you that Mr. Montgomery had probably no authority from congress to take the step he has done, and that it was not likely that they, desiring to make a treaty with the emperor, would think of putting his majesty to the trouble of sending a person to Paris to receive and conduct their minister, since they have ships, and could easily land him at Cadiz, or present him at one of the emperor's ports. We have, however, written to congress, acquainting them with what we have been informed, of the good and favourable disposition of his imperial majesty, to enter into a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States, and we have no doubt that, as soon as their affairs are a little settled, which by so severe a war carried on in the bowels of their country, by one of the most powerful nations of Europe, have necessarily been much deranged, they will readily manifest equally good dispositions, and take all the proper steps to cultivate and secure the friendship of a monarch whose character I know they have long esteemed and respected. B. FRANKLIN."

" *The President of Congress.*

" Passy, December 25, 1783.

" Sir,—Not having heard of the appointment of a new secretary for foreign affairs, I take the liberty of addressing this despatch directly to your excellency. I received from captain Barney a letter from the late president, directed to the commissioners, dated November 1, with a set of instructions dated the 29th of October, a resolution of the same date respecting Hamburg, and another of the 1st of November, relating to captain Paul Jones, all which will be duly regarded.

" Capt. Jones, in passing through England, communicated those papers to Mr. Adams, then at London. Mr. Adams, disappointed in not finding among them the commission we had been made to expect, impowering us to make a treaty of commerce with England, wrote to me that he imagined it might be contained in a packet that was directed to me, and requested to be immediately informed, adding, that in case no such commission was come, he should depart directly for Holland; so I suppose he is now there. Mr. Laurens is gone to England with an intention of embarking soon for America. Mr. Jay is at Bath, but expected here daily. The English ministers, the duke of Manchester and Mr. Hartley, are both at present in parliament. As soon as either of them returns, we shall endeavour to obtain an additional article to the treaty, explaining that mentioned in the instructions.

" The affairs of Ireland are still unsettled. The parliament and volunteers are at variance; the latter are uneasy, that in the late negotiations for a treaty of commerce between England and America, the British ministers had mentioned nothing of Ireland, and they seem to desire a separate treaty of commerce between America and that kingdom.

" It was certainly disagreeable to the English ministers, that all their treaties of peace were carried on under the eye of the French court. This began to appear towards the conclusion, when Mr. Hartley refused going to Versailles, to sign there, with the other powers, our definitive treaty, and insisted on its being done at Paris, which we in good humour complied with, but at an earlier hour, that we might have time to acquaint count de Vergennes before he was to sign with the duke of Manchester.

"The Dutch definitive treaty was not then ready, and the British court now insists on finishing it at London or the Hague. If, therefore, the commission to us, which has been so long delayed, is still intended, perhaps it will be well to instruct us to treat either here or at London, as we may find most convenient.

"The treaty may be conducted even there, in concert and in the confidence of communication with the ministers of our friends, whose advice may be of use to us.

"With respect to the British court, we should, I think, be constantly on our guard, and impress strongly upon our minds, that though it has made peace with us, it is not in truth reconciled either to us, or its loss of us, but still flatters itself with hopes, that some change in the affairs of Europe, or some disunion among ourselves, may afford them an opportunity of recovering their dominion, punishing those who have most offended, and securing our future dependence. It is easy to see by the general turn of the ministerial papers (light things indeed as straws and feathers, but like them show which way the wind blows) and by the malignant improvement their ministers make, in all the foreign courts, of every little accident or dissension among us, the riot of a few soldiers at Philadelphia, the resolves of some town meetings, the reluctance to pay taxes, &c., all which are exaggerated, to represent our governments as so many anarchies, of which the people themselves are weary, and the congress as having lost its influence, being no longer respected. I say it is easy to see from this conduct, that they bear us no good will, and that they wish the reality of what they are pleased to imagine. They have too, a numerous royal progeny to provide for, some of whom are educated in the military line. In these circumstances, we cannot be too careful to preserve the friendships we have acquired abroad, and the union we have established at home, to secure our credit by a punctual discharge of our obligations of every kind, and our reputation by the wisdom of our councils; since we know not how soon we may have fresh occasion for friends, for credit, and for reputation.

"The extravagant misrepresentations of our political state in foreign countries, made it appear necessary to give them better information, which I thought could not be more effectually and authentically done, than by publishing a translation into French, now the most general language in Europe, of the book of constitutions, which had been printed by order of congress. This I accordingly got well done, and presented two copies handsomely bound to every foreign minister here, the one for himself, the other more elegant for his sovereign. It has been well taken, and has afforded matter of surprise to many, who had conceived mean ideas of the state of civilization in America, and could not have expected so much political knowledge and sagacity had existed in our wilderness. And from all parts I have the satisfaction to hear, that our constitutions in general are much admired. I am persuaded that this step will not only tend to promote the emigration to our country of substantial people from all parts of Europe, by the numerous copies I shall disperse, but will facilitate our future treaties with foreign courts, who could not before know what kind of government and people they had to treat with. As in doing this I have endeavoured to further the apparent views of congress in their first publication, I hope it may be approved and the expense allowed. I send herewith one of the copies.

"Our treaties with Denmark and Portugal remain unfinished, for want of instructions respecting them from congress, and a commission impowering some minister or ministers to conclude them. The emperor of Morocco we understand has expressed a disposition to make a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States. A Mr. Montgomery, who is a merchant settled at Alicant, has been it seems rather forward in proposing a negotiation, without authority for so doing, and has embarrassed us a little, as may be seen by some letters enclosed. Perhaps it would be well for the congress to send a message to that prince, expressing their respect and regard for him, till such time as they may judge it convenient to appoint an ambassador in form, furnished with proper presents to make a treaty with him. The other Barbary states too, seem to require consideration, if we propose to carry on any trade in the Mediterranean; but whether the security of that trade is of sufficient importance to be worth purchasing, at the rate of the tributes usually exacted by those piratical states, is a matter of doubt on which I cannot at present form a judgment.

"I shall immediately proceed, in pursuance of the first instruction, to take the proper steps for acquainting his imperial majesty of Germany with the dispositions of congress, having some reason to believe the overture will be acceptable. His minister here is of late extremely civil to me, and we are on very good terms. I have likewise an intimate friend at that court.

" With respect to other powers, it seems best not to make advances at present, but to meet and encourage them when made, which I shall not fail to do, as I have already done those of Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal. Possibly Hamburg, to whom I have forwarded the letter of congress, may send a minister to America, if they wish for a treaty to conclude it there. They have no minister here.

" I have lately received a memorial from the minister of Denmark, respecting a ship of that nation, the Providentia, taken by one of our privateers and carried into Boston. I enclose a copy of it, and request to be furnished with directions and informations for the answer. It may be well to send me a copy of the proceedings in the courts. From a perusal of the papers communicated with it, I am satisfied that the cargo was clearly British property.

" We have hitherto entered into no engagements respecting the armed neutrality, and, in obedience to the fifth instruction, we shall take care to avoid them hereafter. The treaty between this court and the U. States, for regulating the powers, privileges, &c. of consuls, is at length completed, and is transcribing in order to be signed. I hope to transmit a copy by the next packet. I have received the congress ratification of the two money treaties, which will be soon exchanged, when I shall send copies of them with that of Sweden.

" I have given, and shall continue to give, captain Paul Jones all the assistance in my power towards recovering the prize money; and I hope it may be accomplished.

" When Mr. Jay returns, I shall desire him to make the inquiry directed in the fourth instruction, respecting the expedition under that commodore, and report thereon to congress. In the mean time I can answer respecting one of the questions, that the king paid the whole expense, and no part of it has ever been placed to the account of congress. There exists indeed a demand of one Puchelberg, a person in the employ of Mr. Schweighauser, of about thirty thousand livres, for provisions and other things furnished to captain Landais, after he took the Alliance out of the hands of captain Jones; but as the ship was at that time under the king's supply, who having borrowed her for the expedition when fitted for sea, and just ready to sail with Mr. Adams, had ordered her to be delivered in the same condition, free of all charges accrued, or accruing, by her being in Holland and L'Orient, and as Mr. Puchelberg had not only no orders from me to furnish captain Landais, but acted contrary to my orders given to Mr. Schweighauser, and contrary to the orders of Mr. Schweighauser himself, I refused to pay this account, which besides appeared extravagant, and it has never yet been paid.

" I shall do my best in executing the third instruction, respecting our claim upon Denmark. I have written to London to obtain, if possible, an account of the sums insured upon the ships delivered up, as such an account may be some guide in the valuation of the prizes.

" A captain Williams, formerly in the British service, and employed upon the lakes, has given me a paper containing information of the state of the back country. As those informations may possibly be of some use, I send herewith the paper. Mr. Carmichael has sent me the accounts of the money transactions at Madrid. As soon as Mr. Jay returns they will be examined.

" B. FRANKLIN."

" *Robert Morris.*

" Passy, Dec. 25, 1783.

" The remissness of our people in paying taxes, is highly blameable, the unwillingness to pay them is still more so. I see in some resolutions of town meetings, a remonstrance against giving congress a power to take, as they call it, *the people's money* out of their pockets, though only to pay the interest and principal debts duly contracted. They seem to mistake the point. Money justly due from the people, is their creditor's money, and no longer the money of the people, who if they withhold it, should be compelled to pay by some law. All property indeed, except the savage's temporary cabin, his bow, his matchuat, and other little acquisitions absolutely necessary for his subsistence, seems to me to be the creature of public convention. Hence the public has the right of regulating descents, and all other conveyances of property, and even of limiting the quantity and the uses of it. All the property that is necessary to a man for the conversation of the individual and the propogation of the species, is his natural right, which none can justly deprive him of; but all property superfluous to such purposes, is the property of the public, who by their laws have created it, and who may therefore by other laws dispose of it whenever the welfare of the public shall desire such disposition. He that does not like civil society on these terms, let him retire and live among savages. He can have no right to the benefits of society who will not pay his club towards the support of it.

The marquis de la Fayette, who loves to be employed in our affairs, and is often very useful, has lately had several conversations with the ministers and persons concerned in forming new regulations, respecting the commerce between our two countries, which are not yet concluded. I thought it therefore well to communicate to him a copy of your letter which contains so many sensible and just observations on that subject. He will make a proper use of them, and perhaps they may have more weight, as appearing to come from a Frenchman, than they would have if it were known that they were the observations of an American. I perfectly agree with you in all the sentiments you have expressed on this occasion.

"I am sorry for the public's sake, that you are about to quit your office, but on personal considerations, I shall congratulate you. For I cannot conceive of a more happy man, than he who having been long loaded with public cares, finds himself relieved from them, and enjoying private repose in the bosom of his friends and family. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To John Jay.*

"Passy, January 6, 1784.

"Dear Sir,—I received your kind letter of the 26th past, and immediately sent that enclosed to Mrs. Jay, whom I saw a few days since with the children, all perfectly well. It is a happy thing, that the little ones are so finely past the small pox, and I congratulate you upon it most cordially.

"It is true, as you have heard, that I have the stone, but not that I have had thoughts of being cut for it. It is as yet very tolerable. It gives me no pain, but when in a carriage on the pavement, or when I make some sudden quick movement. If I can prevent its growing larger, which I hope to do by abstemious living and gentle exercise, I can go on pretty comfortably with it to the end of my journey, which can now be at no great distance. I am cheerful, enjoy the company of my friends, sleep well, have sufficient appetite, and my stomach performs well its functions. The latter is very material to the preservation of health. I therefore take no drugs, lest I should disorder it. You may judge that my disease is not very grievous, since I am more afraid of the medicines than of the malady.

"It gives me pleasure to learn from you that my friends still retain their regard for me. I long to see them again, but I doubt I shall hardly accomplish it. If our commission for the treaty of commerce were arrived, and we were at liberty to treat in England, I might then come over to you, supposing the English ministry disposed to enter into such a treaty.

"I have as you observe some enemies in England, but they are my enemies as an *American*; I have also two or three in America, who are my enemies as a *minister*; but I thank God, there are not in the whole world any who are my enemies as a *man*; for by his grace, through a long life I have been enabled so to conduct myself, that there does not exist a human being who can justly say, Ben Franklin has wronged me. This, my friend, is in old age a comfortable reflection. You too have, or may have, your enemies: but let not that render you unhappy. If you make a right use of them, they will do you more good than harm. They point out to us our faults; they put us upon our guard, and help us to live more correctly.

"My grandsons are sensible of the honour of your remembrance, and join their respectful compliments and best wishes, with those of, dear sir, your affectionate humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To David Hartley.*

"Passy, Jan. 7, 1784.

"My dear Friend,—I have this moment received your favour of the 25th past, acquainting me with the change in administration. I am not sure that in reforming the constitution, which is sometimes talked of, it would not be better to make your great officers of state hereditary than to suffer the inconvenience of such frequent and total changes. Much faction and cabal would be prevented by having an hereditary first lord of the treasury, an hereditary lord chancellor, privy seal, president of council, secretary of state, first lord of the admiralty, &c. &c. It will not be said that the duties of these offices being important, we cannot trust to nature for the chance of requisite talents, since we have an hereditary set of judges in the last resort, the house of peers; an hereditary king: and in a certain German university, an hereditary professor of mathematics.

"We have not yet heard of the arrival of our express in America, who carried the definitive treaty. He sailed the 26th of September. As soon as the ratification arrives, I shall immediately send you word of it.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Mrs. Bache.*

"Passy, January 26, 1784.

"My dear Child,—Your care in sending me the newspapers is very agreeable to me. I received by captain Barney, those relating to the *Cincinnati*. My opinion of the institution cannot be of much importance: I only wonder, that when the united wisdom of our nation had, in the articles of confederation, manifested their dislike of establishing ranks of nobility, by authority either of the congress or of any particular state, a number of private persons should think proper to distinguish themselves and their posterity, from their fellow-citizens, and for an order of *hereditary knights*, in direct opposition to the solemnly declared sense of their country. I imagine it must be likewise contrary to the good sense of most of those drawn into it, by the persuasion of its projectors, who have been too much struck with the ribands and crosses they have seen hanging to the button holes of foreign officers. And I suppose those who disapprove of it, have not hitherto given it much opposition, from a principle somewhat like that of your good mother, relating to punctilious persons, who are always exacting little observances of respect, that "*if people can be pleased with small matters, it is a pity but they should have them.*" In this view, perhaps, I should not myself, if my advice had been asked, have objected to their wearing their riband and badge themselves according to their fancy, though I certainly should to the entailing it as an honour on their posterity. For, honour worthily obtained, (as that for example of our officers) is in its nature a *personal* thing, and incommunicable to any but those who had some share in obtaining it. Thus among the Chinese, the most ancient, and from long experience the wisest of nations, honour does not *descend*, but *ascends*. If a man from his learning, his wisdom, or his valour, is promoted by the emperor to the rank of mandarin, his parents are immediately entitled to all the same ceremonies of respect from the people, that are established as due to the mandarin himself: on the supposition that it must have been *owing to the education, instruction, and good example afforded him by his parents*, that he was rendered capable of serving the public. This *ascending* honour is therefore useful to the state, as it encourages parents to give their children a good and virtuous education. But the *descending honour*, to a posterity who could have no share in obtaining it, is not only groundless and absurd, but often hurtful to that posterity, since it is apt to make them proud, disdaining to be employed in useful arts, and thence falling into poverty, and all the meannesses, servility, and wretchedness attending it; which is the present case with much of what is called the *noblesse* in Europe. Or if to keep up the dignity of the family, estates are entailed entire on the eldest male heir, another pest to industry and improvement of the country is introduced, which will be followed by all the odious mixture of pride, and beggary, and idleness that have half depopulated and decultivated Spain, occasioning continual extinction of families by the discouragements of marriage, and neglect in the improvement of estates. I wish therefore that the Cincinnati, if they must go on with their project, would direct the badges of their order to be worn by their fathers and mothers, instead of handing them down to their children. It would be a good precedent, and might have good effects. It would also be a kind of obedience to the fifth commandment, in which God enjoins us to *honour our father and mother*, but has no where directed us to honour our *children*. And certainly no mode of honouring those immediate authors of our being can be more effectual than that of doing praiseworthy actions, which reflect honour on those who gave us our education; or more becoming than that of manifesting, by some public expression or token, that it is to their instruction and example we ascribe the merit of those actions.

"But the absurdity of *descending honours* is not a mere matter of philosophical opinion, it is capable of mathematical demonstration. A man's son, for instance, is but half of his family, the other half belonging to the family of his wife. His son too, marrying into another family, his share in the grandson is but a fourth: in the great grandson by the same process is but an eighth. In the next generation a sixteenth; the next a thirty-second; the next a sixty-fourth; the next an hundred and twenty eighth; the next a two hundred and fifty-sixth; and the next a five hundred and twelfth: thus in nine generations, which will not require more than three hundred years, (no very great antiquity for a family) our present chevalier of the order of Cincinnatus's share in the then existing knight, will be but a 512th part; which, allowing the present certain fidelity of American wives to be insured down through all those nine generations, is so small a consideration, that methinks no reasonable man would hazard for the sake of it, the disagreeable consequences of the jealousy, envy, and ill-will of his countrymen.

"Let us go back with our calculation from this young noble, the 512th part of the present knight, through his nine generations, till we return to the year of the institution. He must have had a father and mother, they are two; each of them had a father and mother, they are four. Those of the next preceding generation will be eight, the next sixteen, the next thirty-two, the next sixty-four, the next one hundred and twenty-eight, the next two hundred and fifty-six, and the ninth in this retrocession five hundred and twelve, who must be now existing, and all contribute their proportion of this future *Chevalier de Cincinnatus*. These, with the rest, make together as follows:—

2
4
8
16
32
64
128
256
512

Total - 1022

One thousand and twenty-two men and women, contributors to the formation of one knight. And if we are to have a thousand of these future knights, there must be now and hereafter existing one million and twenty-two thousand fathers and mothers, who are to contribute to their production; unless a part of the number are employed in making more knights than one. Let us strike off then the 22,000, on the supposition of this double employ, and then consider whether after a reasonable estimation of the number of rogues, and fools, and scoundrels, and prostitutes, that are mixed with, and help to make up necessarily their million of predecessors, posterity will have much reason to boast of the noble blood of the then existing set of chevaliers of Cincinnatus. The future genealogists too, of these chevaliers, in proving the lineal descent of their honour through so many generations, (even supposing honour capable in its nature of descending,) will only prove the small share of this honour which can be justly claimed by any one of them, since the above simple process in arithmetic makes it quite plain and clear, that in proportion as the antiquity of the family shall augment, the right to the honour of the ancestor will diminish; and a few generations more would reduce it to something so small as to be very near an absolute nullity. I hope, therefore, that the order will drop this part of their project, and content themselves as the knights of the garter, bath, thistle, St. Louis, and other orders of Europe do, with a life enjoyment of their little badge and riband, and let the distinction die with those who have merited it. This I imagine will give no offence. For my own part, I shall think it a convenience when I go into company where there may be faces unknown to me, if I discover by this badge, the persons who merit some particular expression of my respect; and it will save modest virtue the trouble of calling for our regard, by awkward round-about intimations of having been heretofore employed as officers in the continental service.

"The gentleman who made the voyage to France, to provide the ribands and medals, has executed his commission. To me they seem tolerably done; but all such things are criticised. Some find fault with the Latin, as wanting classical elegance and correctness; and since our nine universities were not able to furnish better Latin, it was a pity, they say, that the mottos had not been in English. Others object to the title, as not properly assumable by any but general Washington, and a few others who served without pay. Others object to the bald eagle, as looking too much like a *dindon* or turkey. For my own part, I wish the bald eagle had not been chosen as the representative of our country; he is a bird of bad moral character: he does not get his living honestly: you may have seen him perched on some dead tree, where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the labour of the fishing hawk; and when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish, and is bearing it to his nest for the support of his mate and young ones, the bald eagle pursues him, and takes it from him. With all this injustice he is never in good case, but like those among men who live by sharping and robbing, he is generally poor, and often very lousy. Besides, he is a rank coward: the little *king bird*, not bigger than a sparrow, attacks him boldly, and drives him out of the district. He is therefore by no means a proper emblem for the brave and honest Cincinnati of America, who have driven all the *king birds* from our country; though exactly fit for that order of knights which the French call *Chevaliers d' Industrie*. I am on this account, not displeased that the figure is not known as a bald eagle, but looks more like a turkey. For in truth, the turkey is in comparison a much more respectable bird, and withal a true original native of America. Eagles have been found in all countries, but the turkey was peculiar to ours; the first of the species seen in Europe, being brought to France by the Jesuits from Canada, and served up at the wedding table of Charles IX. He is besides, (though a little vain and silly 'tis true, but not the worse emblem for that) a bird of courage, and would not hesitate to attack a grenadier of the British guards, who should presume to invade his farm yard with a red coat on.

"I shall not enter into the criticisms made upon their Latin. The gallant officers of America may not have the merit of being great scholars, but they undoubtedly merit much as brave soldiers from their country, which should therefore not leave them merely to *fame* for their *virtutis premium*, which is one of their Latin mottos. Their *esto perpetua*, another, is an excellent wish, if they meant it for their country; bad, if intended for their order. The states should not only restore to them the *omnia* of their first motto,* which many of them have left and lost, but pay them justly, and reward them generously. They should not be suffered to remain with all their new created chivalry *entirely* in the situation of the gentleman in the story which their *omnia reliquit* reminds me of. You know every thing makes me recollect some story. He had built a very fine house, and thereby much impaired his fortune. He had a pride, however, in showing it to his acquaintance. One of them, after viewing it all, remarked a motto over the door ŌIA VANITAS. What, says he, is the meaning of this O̅I̅A̅; 'tis a word I don't understand. I will tell you, said the gentleman: I had a mind to have the motto cut on a piece of smooth marble, but there was not room for it between the ornaments, to be put in characters large enough to be read. I therefore made use of a contraction anciently very common in Latin manuscripts, whereby the *m's* and *n's* in words are omitted, and the omission noted by a little dash above, which you may see there, so that the word is *omnia*, OMNIA VANITAS. O, said his friend, I now comprehend the meaning of your motto, it relates to your edifice; and signifies, that if you have abridged your *omnia*, you have nevertheless left your VANITAS legible at full length.—I am, as ever, your affectionate father, B. FRANKLIN."

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* Omnia reliquit servare rempublicam.

"*To Henry Laurens.*

"PASSY, Feb. 12, 1784.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your favour of the 3d instant by your son, with the newspapers, for which I thank you. The disorders of that government whose constitution has been so much praised, are come to a height that threatens some violent convulsion, if not a dissolution; and its physicians do not even seem to guess at the cause of the disease, and therefore prescribe insufficient remedies, such as *place bills, more equal representation, more frequent elections*, &c. In my humble opinion, the malady consists in the *enormous salaries, emoluments, and patronage* of great offices. *Ambition and avarice* are separately strong passions: when they are united in pursuit of the same object, they are too strong to be governed by common prudence, or influenced by public spirit and love of country; they drive men irresistibly into factions, cabals, dissensions, and violent divisions, always mischievous to public councils, destructive to the peace of society, and sometimes fatal to its existence. As long as the immense profits of these offices subsist, members of the shortest and most equally chosen parliaments will have them in view, and contend for them, and their contentions will have all the same ruinous consequences. To me then there seems to be but one effectual remedy, and that not likely to be adopted by so corrupt a nation; which is, to abolish these profits, and make every place of *honour* a place of *burden*. By that means the effect of one of the passions abovementioned would be taken away, and something would be added to counteract the other. Thus the number of competitors for great offices would be diminished, and the efforts of those who still would obtain them moderated.

"Thank God we have now less connexion with the affairs of these people, and are more at liberty to take care of our own, which I hope we shall manage better.

"We have a terrible winter here, such another in this country is not remembered by any man living. The snow has been thick upon the ground ever since Christmas; and the frost constant.

"My grandson joins in best compliments to yourself and Miss Laurens. With sincere esteem and affection I have the honour to be,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*W. Strahan, M. P., king's printer, London.*

"PASSY, Feb. 16, 1784.

"DEAR SIR,—I received and read with pleasure your kind letter of the first instant, as it informed me of the welfare of you and yours. I am glad the accounts you have from your kinswomen at Philadelphia are agreeable, and I shall be happy if any recommendations from me can be serviceable to Dr. Ross, or any others, friends of yours, going to America.

"Your arguments persuading me to come once more to England, are very powerful. To be sure I long to see again my friends there, whom I love abundantly: but there are difficulties and objections of several kinds, which at present I don't see how to get over.

"I lament with you the political disorders England at present labours under. Your papers are full of strange accounts of anarchy and confusion in America, of which we know nothing, while your own affairs are really in a situation deplorable. In my humble opinion, the root of the evil lies not so much in too long, or too unequally chosen parliaments, as in the enormous salaries, emoluments, and patronage of your great officers; and that you will never be at rest till they are all abolished, and every place of *honour* made at the same time, instead of a place of profit, a place of expense and burden. Ambition and avarice are each of them strong passions, and when they are united in the same persons, and have the same objects in view for their gratification, they are too strong for public spirit and love of country, and are apt to produce the most violent factions and contentions. They should therefore be separated, and made to act one against the other. Those places to speak in our old style (brother type) may be good for the CHAPEL, but they are bad for the master, as they create constant quarrels that hinder the business. For example, here are two months that your government has been employed in *getting its form to press*; which is not yet fit to *work on*, every page of it being *squabbled*, and the whole ready to fall into *pye*. The founts too must be very scanty, or strangely *out of sorts*, since your *compositors* cannot find either *upper* or *lower-case letters* sufficient to set the word ADMINISTRATION, but are forced to be continually *turning for them.* However, to return to common (though perhaps too saucy) language, don't despair; you have still one resource left, and that not a bad one, since it may reunite the empire. We have some remains of affection for you, and shall always be ready to receive and take care of you in case of distress. So if you have not sense and virtue enough to govern yourselves, e'en dissolve your present old crazy constitution, and send members to congress.

"You will say my *advice* smells of *Madeira.* You are right. This foolish letter is mere chit-chat *between ourselves* over the *second bottle.* If, therefore, you show it to any body (except our indulgent friends, Dagge and lady Strahan) I will positively *solless* you. B. FRANKLIN."

" *To B. Vaughan.*

" PASSY, March 1, 1784.

" DEAR SIR,—You mention that I may now see verified all you said about binding down England to so hard a peace. I suppose you do not mean by the American treaty; for we were exceeding favourable in not insisting on the reparations so justly due, for the wanton burnings of our fine towns, and devastations of our plantations, in a war now universally allowed to have been originally unjust. I may add, that you will also see verified all I said about the article respecting the royalists; that it will occasion more mischief than it was intended to remedy, and that it would have been better to have omitted all mention of them. England might have rewarded them according to their merits, at no very great expense. After the harms they had done to us, it was imprudent to insist on our doing them good.

" I am sorry for the overturn you mention of those beneficial systems of commerce that would have been exemplary to mankind.—The making England entirely a free port would have been the wisest step ever taken for its advantage.

" I wish much to see what you say a respectable friend of mine has undertaken to write respecting the peace. It is a pity it has been delayed. If it had appeared earlier, it might have prevented much mischief, by securing our friends in their situations; for we know not who will succeed them, nor what credit they will hold.

" By my doubts of the propriety of my going soon to London, I meant no reflection on my friends or yours. If I had any call there besides the pleasure of seeing those I love, I should have no doubts. If I live to arrive there, I shall certainly embrace your kind invitation, and take up my abode with you. Make my compliments and respects acceptable to Mrs. Vaughan.

" I know not what foundation there can be for saying that I abuse England as much as before the peace. I am not apt, I think, to be abusive: of the two, I had rather be abused.

" Enclosed are the letters you desire. I wish to hear from you more frequently, and to have through you, such new pamphlets as you may think worth my reading.

" B. FRANKLIN."

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

" LONDON, March 2, 1784.

" MY DEAR FRIEND,—Will you be so good as to transmit the enclosed to Mr. Jay? I am sorry that we are going to lose him from this side of the Atlantic. If your American ratification should arrive speedily, I might hope to have the pleasure of seeing him again before his departure. As soon as I hear from you of the arrival of the ratification, I will immediately apply for the despatch of the British ratification. I wish very much to have the pleasure of conversing with you again. In hopes that that time may come soon, I have nothing further to say at present. Believe me always to be, what you have always known me to have been, a friend of general philanthropy, and particularly your ever most affectionate

" DAVID HARTLEY."

" *To Charles Thompson.*

" PASSY, March 9, 1784.

" SIR,—I received a few days since a letter from Annapolis, dated June the 5th, in your hand-writing, but not signed, acquainting the commissioners with the causes of delay in sending the ratification of the definitive treaty. The term was expired before that letter came to hand, but I hope no difficulty will arise from a failure in a point not essential, and which was occasioned by accidents. I have just received from Mr. Hartley a letter on the subject, of which I enclose a copy.

" We have had a terrible winter too here, such as the oldest men do not remember, and indeed it has been very severe all over Europe.

" I have exchanged ratifications with the ambassador of Sweden, and enclose a copy of that I received from him.

" Mr. Jay is lately returned from England. Mr. Laurens is still there, but proposes departing for America next month, as does also Mr. Jay with his family. Mr. Adams is in Holland, where he has been detained by business and bad weather. These absences have occasioned some delays in our business, but not of much importance.

"The war long expected between the Turks and Russians is prevented by a treaty, and it is thought an accommodation will likewise take place between them and the emperor. Everything here continues friendly and favourable to the United States. I am pestered continually with numbers of letters from people in different parts of Europe, who would go and settle in America, but who manifest very extravagant expectations, such as I can by no means encourage, and who appear likewise to be very improper persons. To save myself trouble, I have just printed some copies of the enclosed little piece, which I propose hereafter to send in answer to such letters. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Henry Laurens.*

"Passy, March 12, 1784.

"Dear Sir,—I write this in great pain from the gout in both feet; but my young friend your son having informed me that he sets out for London to-morrow, I could not slip the opportunity, as perhaps it is the only safe one that may occur before your departure for America. I wish mine was as near. I think I have reason to complain that I am so long without an answer from congress to my request of recall. I wish rather to die in my own country than here; and though the upper part of the building appears yet tolerably firm, yet being undermined by the stone and gout united, its fall cannot be far distant. You are so good as to offer me your friendly services. You cannot do me one more acceptable at present, than that of forwarding my dismission. In all other respects as well as that, I shall ever look on your friendship as an honour to me; being with sincere and great esteem, dear sir, &c. &c.

"P. S. March 13, 1784. Having had a tolerable night, I find myself something better this morning. In reading over my letter, I perceive an omission of my thanks for your kind assurances of never forsaking my defence, should there be need. I apprehend that the violent antipathy of a certain person to me, may have produced some calumnies, which what you have seen and heard here may enable you to refute. You will thereby exceedingly oblige one, who has lived beyond all other ambition than that of dying with the fair character he has long endeavoured to deserve. As to my infallibility, which you do not undertake to maintain, I am too modest myself to claim it, that is *in general;* though when we come *to particulars*, I, like other people, give it up with difficulty. Steele says, that the difference between the church of Rome, and the church of England on that point, is only this; that the one pretends to be *infallible*, and the other to be *never in the wrong*. In this latter sense, we are most of us church of England men, though few of us confess it and express it so naturally and frankly as a certain lady here, who said,—I don't know how it happens, but I meet with nobody, except myself, that is *always* in the right. *Il n'y a que moi qui a toujours raison.*

"My grandson joins me in affectionate respects to you and the young lady, with best wishes for your health and prosperity.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To John Walter, London.*

"Passy, April 17, 1784.

"Sir,—I have received a book, for which, I understand I am obliged to you, the Introduction to Logography. I have read it with attention, and as far as I understand it, am much pleased with it. I do not perfectly comprehend the arrangement of his cases; but the reduction of the number of pieces by the roots of words, and their different terminations, is extremely ingenious; and I like much the idea of cementing the letters, instead of casting words or syllables, which I formerly attempted, and succeeded in having invented a mould, and method by which I could, in a few minutes, form a matrice and adjust it, of any word in any fount at pleasure, and proceed to cast from it. I send enclosed a specimen of some of my terminations, and would willingly instruct Mr. Johnson in the method if he desired it, but he has a better. He mentions some improvements that have been proposed, but takes no notice of one published here at Paris, in 1776; so I suppose he has neither seen nor heard of it. It is in a 4to pamphlet, intitled, *Nouveau Systême Typographique, ou moyen de diminuer, de moitié, dans toutes les imprimeries de l'Europe, le travail et les frais de composition, de correction, de distribution, découvert en 1774, par Madame de* * * * *. Frustra fit per plura quod potest fieri per pauciora. *A Paris de l'imprimerie royale*, MDCCLXXVI. It is dedicated to the king, who was at the expense of the experiments. Two commissaries were named to examine and render an account of them; they were M. Desmarets, of the Academy of Sciences, and M. Barbou, an eminent printer. Their report concludes thus; "Nous nous contenterons de dire ici que M. de St. Paul a rempli les engagemens qu'il avoit contractés avec le Gouvernement; que ses experiences projetées ont été conduites avec beaucoup de méthode et d'intelligence de sa part; et que par des calculs longs et pénibles, qui sont le fruit d'un grand nombre de combinaisons raisonnées, il en a deduit plusieurs résultats qui meritent d'être proposés aux artistes, et qui nous paroissent propres à éclairer la pratique de l'imprimerie actuelle, et à en abréger certainement les procédées. Son projet ne peut que gagner aux contradictions qu'il essuiera sans doute, de la part des gens de l'art. A Paris, le 8 Janvier, 1776." The pamphlet consists of sixty-six pages, containing a number of tables of words and parts of words, explanations of those tables, calculations, answers to objections, &c. I will endeavour to get one to send you if you desire it: mine is bound up with others in a volume. It was after seeing this piece that I cast the syllables I send you a sample of. I have not heard that any of the printers here make at present the least use of the invention of Madame de * * * *. You will observe, that it pretended only to lessen the work by one half; Mr. Johnson's method lessens it three fourths. I should be glad to know with what the letters are cemented. I think cementing better that casting them together, because if one letter happens to be battered, it may be taken away and another cemented in its place. I received no letter with the pamphlet.*—I am, sir, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

" *To Benjamin Webb.*

" Passy, April 22, 1784.

" Dear Sir,—I received yours of the 15th instant, and the memorial it enclosed. The account they give of your situation grieves me. I send you herewith a bill for ten Louis d'ors. I do not pretend to *give* such a sum; I only *lend* it to you. When you shall return to your country with a good character, you cannot fail of getting into some business that will in time enable you to pay all your debts: in that case, when you meet with another honest man in similar distress, you must pay me by lending this sum to him; enjoining him to discharge the debt by a like operation when he shall be able, and shall meet with such another opportunity. I hope it may thus go through many hands before it meets with a knave that will stop its progress. This is a trick of mine for doing a deal of good with a little money. I am not rich enough to afford *much* in good works, and so am obliged to be cunning and make the most of a *little.* With best wishes for the success of your memorial, and your future prosperity, I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant, B. FRANKLIN"

" *The President of Congress.*

" Passy, May 12, 1784.

" Sir,—In my last I acquainted your excellency that Mr. Hartley was soon expected here to exchange ratifications of the definitive treaty. He is now arrived, and proposes to make the exchange this afternoon. I shall be enabled to send a copy. Enclosed is the new British proclamation, respecting our trade with their colonies. It is said to be a temporary provision, till parliament can assemble and make some proper regulating law, or till a commercial treaty shall be framed and agreed to. Mr. Hartley expects instructions for planning with us such a treaty. The ministry are supposed to have been too busy with the new elections, when he left London, to think of those matters.

" This court has not completed its intended new system for the trade of their colonies, so that I cannot give a certain account of the advantages that will in fine be allowed us. At present it is said we are to have two free ports, Tobago and the Mole, and that we may carry lumber and all sorts of provisions to the rest, except flour, which is reserved in favour of Bordeaux, and that we shall be permitted to export coffee, rum, molasses, and some sugar for our own consumption.

" We have had under consideration a commercial treaty proposed to us by the king of Prussia, and have sent it back with our remarks to Mr. Adams, who will I suppose transmit it immediately to congress. Those planned with Denmark and Portugal wait its determination. B. FRANKLIN."

" May 13. I now enclose a copy of the ratification of the definitive treaty, on the part of his Britannic majesty."

" *To Dr. Mather, Boston.*

" Passy, May 12, 1784.

" Rev. Sir,—I received your kind letter with your excellent advice to the people of the United States, which I read with great pleasure, and hope it will be duly regarded. Such writings, though they may be lightly passed over by many readers, yet if they make a deep impression on one active mind in a hundred, the effects may be considerable. Permit me to mention one little instance, which though it relates to myself, will not be quite uninteresting to you. When I was a boy I met with a book entitled *Essays to do Good*, which I think was written by your father. It had been so little regarded by a former possessor, that several leaves of it were torn out: but the remainder gave me such a turn of thinking, as to have an influence on my conduct through life; for I have always set a greater value on the character of a *doer of good*, than on any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book. You mention your being in your 78th year: I am in my 79th; we are grown old together. It is now more than sixty years since I left Boston, but I remember well both your father and grandfather, having heard them both in the pulpit, and seen them in their houses. The last time I saw your father was in the beginning of 1724, when I visited him after my first trip to Pennsylvania. He received me in his library, and on my taking leave showed me a shorter way out of the house through a narrow passage, which was crossed by a beam over head. We were still talking as I withdrew, he accompanying me behind, and I turning partly towards him, when he said hastily, *stoop, stoop!* I did not understand him till I felt my head hit against the beam. He was a man that never missed any occasion of giving instruction, and upon this he said to me, *you are young, and have the world before you;* STOOP *as you go through it, and you will miss many hard thumps.* This advice, thus beat into my head, has frequently been of use to me; and I often think of it, when I see pride mortified, and misfortunes brought upon people, by their carrying their heads too high.

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* The *logographic* method of printing was tested by a most diligent and laborious series of experiments, by John Walter, who knew nothing of the art himself Several works were printed, as was the newspaper called the *Times* originally, by that method. But it really failed; some little time was saved in the *compositor's* part, but it was lost in *distribution*. The casting was also triple the cost of single types; even for the logography, single letters were first cast with one half the shank of the letter shaped, in carpenters' language, like a *tenon;* these were composed into words or parts of words, and put into a common matrix, so that the part resembling the *mortice* should be cast round them; when they were dressed like common types. It was an art travelling backward. The expense was enormous, and it failed. It was exactly the same method as that pursued in France.—D.

"I long much to see again my native place, and to lay my bones there. I left it in 1723; I visited it in 1733, 1743, 1753, and 1763. In 1773, I was in England; in 1775, I had a sight of it, but could not enter, it being in possession of the enemy. I did hope to have been there in 1783, but could not obtain my dismission from this employment here; and now I fear I shall never have that happiness. My best wishes, however, attend my dear country. *Esto perpetua.* It is now blest with an excellent constitution; may it last for ever!

"This powerful monarchy continues its friendship for the United States. It is a friendship of the utmost importance to our security, and should be carefully cultivated. Britain has not yet well digested the loss of its dominion over us, and has still at times some flattering hopes of recovering it. Accidents may increase those hopes, and encourage dangerous attempts. A breach between us and France, would infallibly bring the English again upon our backs; and yet we have some wild heads among our countrymen, who are endeavouring to weaken that connexion! Let us preserve our reputation by performing our engagements; our credit by fulfilling our contracts; and friends by gratitude and kindness; for we know not how soon we may again have occasion for all of them. With great and sincere esteem, I have the honour to be, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress.*

"PASSY, May 13, 1784.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Yesterday evening Mr. Hartley met with Mr. Jay and myself, when the ratifications of the definitive treaty were exchanged. I send a copy of the English ratification to the president. Thus the great and hazardous enterprise we have been engaged in is, God be praised, happily completed; an event I hardly expected I should live to see. A few years of peace, well improved, will restore and increase our strength: but our future safety will depend on our union and our virtue. Britain will be long watching for advantages, to recover what she has lost. If we do not convince the world, that we are a nation to be depended on for fidelity in treaties; if we appear negligent in paying our debts, and ungrateful to those who have served and befriended us; our reputation, and all the strength it is capable of procuring, will be lost, and fresh attacks upon us will be encouraged and promoted, by better prospects of success. Let us, therefore, beware of being lulled into a dangerous security; and of being both enervated and impoverished by luxury; of being weakened by internal contentions and divisions; of being shamefully extravagant in contracting private debts, while we are backward in discharging honourably those of the public; of neglect in military exercises and discipline, and in providing stores of arms and munition of war, to be ready on occasion: for all these are circumstances that give confidence to enemies, and diffidence to friends; and the expenses required to prevent a war, are much lighter than those that will, if not prevented, be absolutely necessary to maintain it.

I am long kept in suspense without being able to learn the purpose of congress respecting my request of recall, and that of some employment for my secretary, Wm. Temple Franklin. If I am kept here another winter, and as much weakened by it as by the last, I may as well remove to spend the remainder of my days here; for I shall hardly be able to bear the fatigues of the voyage in returning. During my long absence from America, my friends are continually diminishing by death, and my inducements to return, lessened in proportion. But I can make no preparations either for going conveniently, or staying comfortably here, nor take any steps towards making some other provision for my grandson, till I know what I am to expect.

Be so good, my dear friend, to send me a little private information.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Lord Carmarthen to David Hartley.

"St. James's, May 28, 1784.

"Sir,—I received this morning by Lauzun, your despatch No. 5, and the private letter of the 24th instant, together with the ratification of the treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America; and I own it was with the greatest surprise that I perceived so essential a want of form as appears in the very first paragraph of that instrument, wherein the United States are mentioned before his Majesty, contrary to the established custom observed in every treaty in which a crowned head and a republic are contracting parties.

"The conclusion, likewise, appears extremely deficient, as it is neither signed by the president nor is it dated, and consequently is wanting in some of the most essential points of form necessary towards authenticating the validity of the instrument.

"I should think the American ministers could make no objection to correcting these defects in the ratification, which might very easily be done, either by signing a declaration in the name of congress for preventing the particular mode of expression, so far as relates to precedency, in the first paragraph, being considered as a precedent, to be adopted on any future occasion, or else by having a new copy made out in America, in which these mistakes should be corrected, and which might be done without any prejudice arising to either of the parties from the delay. I am, with great truth and regard, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"CARMARTHEN.

"P. S. I send you enclosed a copy of the ratification—part of the treaty, which it is also to be observed were previously described as 'definitive *articles.*'"

David Hartley to Dr. Franklin.

"Paris, June 1, 1784.

"Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that I have transmitted to London the ratification on the part of congress of the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States of America, and I am ordered to represent to you, that a want of form appears in the first paragraph of that instrument wherein the United States are mentioned before his Majesty, contrary to the established custom in every treaty in which a crowned head and a republic are parties. It is likewise to be observed, that the term '*definitive articles*,' is used instead of *definitive treaty;* and the conclusion appears likewise deficient, as it is neither signed by the president, nor is it dated, and consequently is wanting in some of the most essential points of form necessary towards authenticating the validity of the instrument.

"I am ordered to propose to you, sir, that these defects in the ratification should be corrected, which might very easily be done, either by signing a declaration in the name of congress, for preventing the particular mode of expression, so far as relates to precedency in the first paragraph being considered as a precedent to be adopted on any future occasion; or else by having a new copy made out in America, in which these mistakes should be corrected, and which might be done without any prejudice arising to either of the parties from the delay. I am, sir, with great respect and consideration, your most obedient humble servant,

"D. HARTLEY."

"*To David Hartley.*

"Passy, June 2, 1784

"Sir,—I have considered the observations you did me the honour of communicating to me concerning certain inaccuracies of expression, and supposed defects of formality in the instrument of ratification; some of which are said to be of such a nature as to affect 'the validity of the instrument.' The first is, 'that the United States are named before his Majesty, contrary to the established custom observed in every treaty in which a crowned head and a republic are the contracting parties.' With respect to this it seems to me that we should distinguish between the act in which both join, to wit, the *treaty*, and that which is the act of each separately, the *ratification.* It is necessary that all the modes of expression in the joint act, should be agreed to by both parties; though on their separate acts, each party is master of, and alone accountable for, its own mode. If the ministers of the United States had insisted, or even proposed, naming in the treaty the States before the king, it might have been deemed injurious to his dignity, as requiring him to acknowledge by that joint act their superiority. But this was not the case; on inspecting the treaty, it will be found that his Majesty is always regularly named before the United States. How it happened that the same order was not observed in the ratification, I am not informed. Our secretaries are new in this kind of business, which methinks should be favourably considered if they chance to make mistakes. They may have been led by some precedent; or being republicans, and of course preferring that kind of government as in their opinions more excellent than monarchy, they may naturally have thought it right, when the two kinds were to be named in their own instrument, to give their own kind the precedence; an effect of that sort of complaisance which almost every nation seems to have for itself, and of which the English too afford an instance, when in the title of the king they always name Great Britain before France. The congress, however, adopted the form presented to them, and it is thus become an act of theirs; but the king having no part in it, if it is improper, it reflects only upon those who committed the impropriety, and can no way affect his majesty. Whatever may have occasioned this transposition, I am confident no disrespect to the king was intended in it by the congress. They as little thought of affronting his majesty, by naming the States before him, as your ministers did of affronting the Supreme Being, when in the corresponding first paragraph of their ratification, they named the king before the Deity. There cannot be a clearer proof of this than what is to be found in the ratification itself. In the treaty, the king, as I said before, is always first named. Thus the established custom in treaties between 'crowned heads and republics' contended for on your part was strictly observed; and the ratification following the treaty contains these words: 'Now know ye, that we the United States in congress assembled, having seen and considered the definitive articles, *have approved, ratified, and confirmed*, and by these presents do *approve, ratify, and confirm* the said articles, AND EVERY PART AND CLAUSE THEREOF, &c.' Thus all those articles, parts, and clauses, wherein the King is named before the United States, are *approved, ratified, and confirmed;* and this solemnly under the signature of the president of congress, with the public seal affixed by their order, and countersigned by their secretary. No declaration on the subject, more determinate or more authentic, can possibly be made or given, which when considered, may probably induce his majesty's minister to wave the proposition of our signing a similar declaration, or of sending back the ratification to be corrected in this point, neither appearing to be really necessary. I will, however, if still desired, transmit to congress the observation and the difficulty occasioned by it, and request their orders upon it. I can have no doubt of their willingness to give every reasonable satisfaction.

"If the words *definitive treaty* had been used, instead of *definitive articles*, it might have been more correct, though the difference seems not great, nor of much importance, as in the treaty itself it is called the present *definitive treaty*.

"The other objections are, 'That the conclusion likewise appears deficient, as it is neither signed by the president, nor is it dated, and consequently is wanting in some of the most essential points of form necessary towards authenticating the validity of the instrument.' It is true that the signature of the president is not placed at the end of the piece. Among the infinite number of treaties and ratifications that have been made in different ages and countries, there are found a great variety in the forms, and in the manner of placing the seals and signatures, all however equally authentic and binding.—Which of the precedents we have followed, I know not; but I think our ratifications have generally been sealed in the margin near the beginning, and the president's name subscribed by him, as it ought to be, near the seal. This is then our usage. And it has never hitherto been objected to by any of the powers with whom we have treated, not even by yourselves in our ratification of the preliminary articles exchanged in 1783. And I observe that your own method is not always uniform, for in your last ratification the king signs only at the end, in the first at both the end and the beginning. If we had, like older nations, a great seal, the impression of which, from its bulk and weight, could only be appended, the signature might properly be placed above it at the end of the instrument. Probably the want of an able artist prevented our having hitherto such a seal. In the mean time, as all the parts of the instrument are connected by a riband whose ends are secured under the impression, the signature and seal, wherever placed, relate to, and authenticate the whole. This is expressly declared by the congress in the concluding sentence, viz. *In testimony whereof*, 'we have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed. Witness, his excellency Thomas Mifflin, Esq. president, this fourteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.' It is thus that the duplicate before me is *dated*, in these words at length, and I apprehend the original exchanged must be the same, so that the essential article of a date was not wanting, as supposed, but has been overlooked by the person who made the objection.

"The ratification was passed in congress unanimously, and the treaty will, I firmly believe, be punctually and faithfully executed on their part; we confide that the same will be done on yours. Let us endeavour on all sides to establish the '*firm and perpetual peace*' we have promised to each other, and not suffer even the prospect of it to be clouded by too critical an attention to small forms and immaterial circumstances. With great esteem and respect, I have the honour to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

" *The President of Congress.*

" Passy, June 16, 1784.

" Sir,—My letter by Mr. Jay, acquainted your excellency that the ratifications of the definitive treaty were exchanged. A copy of the British part was also sent by him.

" Mr. Hartley remained here expecting instructions to treat with us on the subject of commerce. The bustle attending a new election and meeting of parliament, he imagined, might occasion the long delay of these instructions: he now thinks that the affair of the American trade being under the consideration of parliament, it is probable no treaty will be proposed till the result is known. Mr. Jay, who sailed for America the first instant from Dover, and who saw there several of our friends from London before his departure, and Mr. Laurens, who left London on the 6th, to go in the Falmouth packet, will be able to give you more perfect informations than I can, of what may be expected of the determination of the British government respecting our intercourse with their islands; and therefore I omit my conjectures, only mentioning, that from various circumstances there seems to be some lurking remains of ill-humour there, and of resentment against us, which only wants a favourable opportunity to manifest itself.

" This makes it the more necessary for us to be on our guard, and prepared for events, that a change in the affairs of Europe may produce; its tranquillity depending, perhaps, on the life of one man, and it being impossible to foresee in what situation a new arrangement of its various interests may place us. Ours will be respected in proportion to the apparent solidity of our government, the support of our credit, the maintenance of good understanding with our friends, and our readiness for defence. All which I persuade myself will be taken care of.

" Enclosed I send a copy of a letter from Mr. Hartley to me, respecting some supposed defects in the ratification, together with my answer, which has been transmitted to London. The objections appeared to me trivial and absurd, but I thought it prudent to treat them with as much decency as I could, lest the ill temper should be augmented, which might be particularly inconvenient, while the commerce was under consideration. There has not yet been time for Mr. Hartley to hear whether my answer has been satisfactory, or whether the ministers will still insist on my sending for an amended copy from America, as they proposed.

" I do not perceive the least diminution in the good disposition of this court towards us, and I hope care will be taken to preserve it.

" The marquis de la Fayette, who will have the honour of delivering this to you, has, ever since his arrival in Europe, been very industrious in his endeavours to serve us, and promote our interests, and has been of great use on several occasions. I should wish that congress might think fit to express in some proper manner their sense of his merit.

" My malady prevents my going to Versailles, as I cannot bear a carriage upon pavement, but my grandson goes regularly on court days to supply my place, and is well received there. The last letters I have had the honour to receive from you are of the 14th of January. B. FRANKLIN."

" *Dr. Percival.*

" Passy, July 17, 1784.

" Dear Sir,—I received yesterday by Mr. White, your kind letter of May 11th, with the most agreeable present of your new book. I read it all before I slept, which is a proof of the good effects your happy manner has of drawing your reader on, by mixing little anecdotes and historical facts with your instructions. Be pleased to accept my grateful acknowledgments for the pleasure it has afforded me.

" It is astonishing that the murderous practice of duelling, which you so justly condemn, should continue so long in vogue. Formerly, when duels were used to determine lawsuits, from an opinion that Providence would in every instance favour truth and right with victory, they were excusable. At present, they decide nothing. A man says something, which another tells him is a lie. They fight; but whichever is killed, the point in dispute remains unsettled. To this purpose they have a pleasant little story here. A gentleman in a coffee-house desired another to sit farther from him. Why so! Because, sir, you stink. That is an affront, and you must fight me. I will fight you if you insist upon it; but I do not see how that will mend the matter. For if you kill me, I shall stink too; and if I kill you, you will stink, if possible, worse than you do at present. How can such miserable sinners as we are entertain so much pride, as to conceit that every offence against our imagined honour merits *death?* These petty princes in their own opinion would call that sovereign a tyrant, who should put one of them to death for a little uncivil language, though pointed at his sacred person: yet every one of them makes himself judge in his own cause, condemns the offender without a jury, and undertakes himself to be the executioner.

" With sincere and great esteem, I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

" P. S. Our friend, Mr. Vaughan, may perhaps communicate to you some conjectures of mine relating to the cold of last winter, which I sent him in return for the observations on cold of professor Wilson. If he should, and you think them worthy so much notice, you may show them to your Philosophical Society,[*] to which I wish all imaginable success. Their rules appear to me excellent."

"*Messrs. Weems and Gant.*

"Passy, July 18, 1784.

"Gentlemen,—On receipt of your letter, acquainting me that the archbishop of Canterbury[†] would not permit you to be ordained, unless you took the oath of allegiance; I applied to a clergyman of my acquaintance, for information on the subject of your obtaining ordination here. His opinion was, that it could not be done; and that if it were done, you would be required to vow obedience to the archbishop of Paris. I next inquired of the pope's nuncio, whether you might not be ordained by their bishop in America, powers being sent him for that purpose, if he has them not already. The answer was, the thing is impossible, unless the gentlemen become catholics.

"This is an affair of which I know very little, and therefore I may ask questions and propose means that are improper or impracticable. But what is the necessity of your being connected with the church of England? Would it not be as well if you were of the church of Ireland? The religion is the same, though there is a different set of bishops and archbishops. Perhaps if you were to apply to the bishop of Derry, (lord Bristol) who is a man of liberal sentiments, he might give you orders as of that church. If both Britain and Ireland refuse you; and I am not sure that the bishops of Denmark or Sweden would ordain you, unless you became Lutherans: what is to be done? Next to becoming Presbyterians, the Episcopalian clergy of America, in my humble opinion, cannot do better than to follow the example of the first clergy of Scotland, soon after the conversion of that country to Christianity; who, when their king had built the cathedral of St. Andrews, and requested the king of Northumberland to lend his bishops to ordain one for them, that their clergy might not, as heretofore, be obliged to go to Northumberland for orders, and their request was refused; they assembled in the cathedral, and the mitre, crozier, and robes of a bishop being laid upon the altar, they, after earnest prayers for direction in their choice, elected one of their own number; when the king said to him, *Arise, go to the altar, and receive your office at the hand of God.* His brethren led him to the altar, robed him, put the crozier in his hand, and the mitre on his head, and he became the first bishop of Scotland.

"If the British islands were sunk in the sea (and the surface of this globe has suffered greater changes) you would probably take some such method as this: and if they persist in denying you ordination, it is the same thing. An hundred years hence, when the people are more enlightened, it will be wondered at, that men in America, qualified by their learning and piety to pray for and instruct their neighbours, should not be permitted to do it till they had made a voyage of 6000 miles out and home, to ask leave of a cross old gentleman at Canterbury: who seems, by your account, to have as little regard for the souls of the people of Maryland, as king William's attorney-general, Seymour, had for those of Virginia. The reverend commissary Blair, who projected the college of that province, and was in England to solicit benefactions and a charter, relates, that the queen, in the king's absence, having ordered Seymour to draw up the charter which was to be given, with 2000*l.* in money, he opposed the grant; saying that the nation was engaged in an expensive war, that the money was wanted for better purposes, and he did not see the least occasion for a college in Virginia. Blair represented to him, that its intention was to educate and qualify young men to be ministers of the gospel, much wanted there; and begged Mr. attorney would consider that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved as well as the people of England: *Souls* (said he) *damn your souls. Make tobacco!*—I have the honour to be, gentlemen, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To B. Vaughan.*

"Passy, July 26, 1784.

"Dear Friend,—I have received several letters from you lately, dated June 16, June 30, and July 13. I thank you for the information respecting the proceedings of your W. India merchants, or rather planters. The restraints, whatever they may be, upon our commerce with your islands, will prejudice their inhabitants, I apprehend, more than us. It is wonderful how preposterously the affairs of this world are managed. Naturally one would imagine that the interests of a few particulars, should give way to general interest. But particulars manage their affairs with so much more application, industry, and address than the public do theirs, that general interest most commonly gives way to particular. We assemble parliaments and councils to have the benefit of their collected wisdom, but we necessarily have at the same time the inconvenience of their collected passions, prejudices, and private interests. By the help of these, artful men overpower the wisdom, and dupe its possessors; and if we may judge by the acts, decrees, and edicts all the world over for regulating commerce, an assembly of wise men is the greatest fool upon earth.

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[*] The Philosophical Society of Manchester, of which Dr. Percival was one of the principal founders and ornaments.

[†] Then Dr. Moore.

"I have received Cook's Voyages, which you put Mr. Oswald in the way of sending to me. By some mistake the first volume was omitted, and instead of it a duplicate sent of the third. If there is a good print of Cook, I should be glad to have it, being personally acquainted with him. I thank you for the pamphlets by Mr. Estlin. Every thing you send me gives me pleasure; to receive your account would give me more than all.

"I am told that the little pamphlet of *advice to such as would remove to America*, is reprinted in London with my name to it, which I would rather had been omitted; but wish to see a copy when you have an opportunity of sending it.

"Mr. Hartley has long continued here in expectation of instructions for making a treaty of commerce, but they do not come, and I begin to suspect none are intended; though perhaps the delay is only occasioned by the over-great burden of business at present on the shoulders of your ministers. We do not press the matter, but are content to wait till they can see their interest respecting America more clearly, being certain that we can shift as well as you without a treaty.

"The conjectures I sent you concerning the cold of last winter still appear to me probable: the moderate season in Russia and Canada do not weaken them. I think our frost here began about the 24th of December, in America the 12th of January. I thank you for recommending to me Mr. Arbuthnot; I have had pleasure in his conversation. I wish much to see the new pieces you had in hand. I congratulate you on the return of your wedding-day, and wish for your sake and Mrs. Vaughan's, that you may see a great many of them, all as happy as the first.

"I like the young stranger very much: he seems sensible, ingenious, and modest, has a good deal of instruction, and makes judicious remarks. He will probably distinguish himself advantageously.

"I have not yet heard from Mr. Nairne.

"Dr. Price's pamphlet of advice to America, is a good one, and will do good. You ask 'what remedy I have for the growing luxury of my country, which gives so much *offence* to all *English travellers* without exception.' I answer, that I think it exaggerated, and that travellers are not good judges, whether our luxury is growing or diminishing. Our people are hospitable, and have indeed too much pride in displaying upon their tables before strangers the plenty and variety that our country affords. They have the vanity too of sometimes borrowing one another's plate to entertain more splendidly. Strangers being invited from house to house, meeting every day with a feast, imagine what they see is the ordinary way of living of all the families where they dine; when perhaps each family lives a week after upon the remains of the dinner given. It is, I own, a folly in our people to give *such offence to English travellers.* The first part of the proverb is thereby verified, that *fools make feasts.* I wish in this case the other were as true, *and wise men eat them.* These travellers might, one would think, find some fault they could more decently reproach us with, than that of our excessive civility to them as strangers.

"I have not indeed yet thought of a remedy for luxury; I am not sure that in a great state it is capable of a remedy: nor that the evil is in itself always so great as it is represented. Suppose we include in the definition of luxury all unnecessary expense, and then let us consider whether laws to prevent such expense are possible to be executed in a great country; and whether, if they could be executed, our people generally would be happier, or even richer. Is not the hope of one day being able to purchase and enjoy luxuries a great spur to labour and industry? May not luxury therefore produce more than it consumes, if without such a spur people would be, as they are naturally enough inclined to be, lazy and indolent? To this purpose I remember a circumstance. The skipper of a shallop, employed between Cape May and Philadelphia, had done us some small service, for which he refused pay. My wife understanding that he had a daughter, sent her as a present a new fashioned cap. Three years after, the skipper being at my house, with an old farmer of Cape May, his passenger, he mentioned the cap, and how much his daughter had been pleased with it; but, said he, it proved a dear cap to our congregation. How so? When my daughter appeared in it at meeting, it was so much admired, that all the girls resolved to get such caps from Philadelphia; and my wife and I computed that the whole could not cost less than a hundred pounds. True, said the farmer, but you do not tell all the story; I think the cap was nevertheless an advantage to us; for it was the first thing that set our girls upon knitting worsted mittens for sale at Philadelphia, that they might have wherewithal to buy caps and ribands there; and you know that *that* industry has continued, and is likely to continue and increase to a much greater value, and answer better purposes. Upon the whole, I was more reconciled to this little piece of luxury, since not only the girls were made happier by having fine caps, but the Philadelphians, by the supply of warm mittens.

"In our commercial towns upon the seacoast, fortunes will occasionally be made. Some of those who grow rich will be prudent, live within bounds, and preserve what they have gained for their posterity. Others, fond of showing their wealth, will be extravagant and ruin themselves. Laws cannot prevent this, and perhaps it is not always an evil to the public. A shilling spent idly by a fool, may be picked up by a wiser person, who knows better what to do with it: it is therefore not lost. A vain, silly fellow builds a fine house, furnishes it richly, lives in it expensively, and in a few years ruins himself; but the masons, carpenters, smiths, and other honest tradesmen, have been by his employ assisted in maintaining and raising their families; the farmer has been paid for his labour and encouraged, and the estate is now in better hands. In some cases indeed, certain modes of luxury may be a public evil, in the same manner as it is a private one. If there be a nation, for instance, that exports its beef and linen to pay for its importations of claret and porter, while a great part of its people live upon potatoes, and wear no shirts, wherein does it differ from the sot who lets his family starve, and sells his clothes to buy drink? Our American commerce is, I confess, a little in this way. We sell our victuals to your islands for rum and sugar; the substantial necessaries of life for superfluities. But we have plenty and live well nevertheless; though by being soberer we might be richer. By the by, here is just issued an *arrêt* of council, taking off all the duties upon the exportation of brandies, which, it is said, will render them cheaper in America than your rum; in which case there is no doubt but they will be preferred, and we shall be better able to bear your restrictions on our commerce. There are views here, by augmenting their settlements, of being able to supply the growing people of America with the sugar that may be wanted there. On the whole, I believe England will get as little by the commercial war she has begun with us, as she did by the military. But to return to luxury.

"The vast quantity of forest lands we have yet to clear and put in order for cultivation, will for a long time keep the body of our nation laborious and frugal. Forming an opinion of our people and their manners, by what is seen among the inhabitants of the seaports, is judging from an improper sample. The people of the trading towns may be rich and luxurious, while the country possesses all the virtues that tend to private happiness and public prosperity. Those towns are not much regarded by the country; they are hardly considered as an essential part of the States. And the experience of the last war has shown, that their being in possession of the enemy did not necessarily draw on the subjection of the country, which bravely continued to maintain its freedom and independence notwithstanding.

"It has been computed by some political arithmetician, that if every man and woman would work four hours each day in something useful, that labour would produce sufficient to procure all the necessaries and comforts of life; want and misery would be banished out of the world, and the rest of the twenty-four hours might be leisure and pleasure.

"What then occasions so much want and misery? It is the employment of men and women in works that produce neither the necessaries nor conveniences of life; who, with those who do nothing, consume the necessaries raised by the laborious. To explain this,

"The first elements of wealth are obtained by labour from the earth and waters. I have land, and raise corn; with this I feed a family that does nothing, my corn will be consumed, and at the end of the year I shall be no richer than I was at the beginning. But if, while I feed them, I employ them, some in spinning, others in hewing timber and sawing boards, others in making bricks, &c. for building, the value of my corn will be arrested, and remain with me, and at the end of the year we may all be better clothed and better lodged. And if instead of employing a man I feed, in making bricks, I employ him in fiddling for me, the corn he eats is gone, and no part of his manufacture remains to augment the wealth and the conveniences of the family; I shall therefore be the poorer for this fiddling man, unless the rest of my family work more or eat less to make up the deficiency he occasions.

"Look round the world and see the millions employed in doing nothing, or in something that amounts to nothing, when the necessaries and conveniences of life are in question. What is the bulk of commerce, for which we fight and destroy each other, but the toil of millions for superfluities, to the great hazard and loss of many lives by the constant dangers of the sea? How much labour spent in building and fitting great ships to go to China and Arabia for tea and for coffee; to the West Indies for sugar, to America for tobacco! These things cannot be called the necessaries of life, for our ancestors lived very comfortably without them.

"A question may be asked, could all these people now employed in raising, making or carrying superfluities, be subsisted by raising necessaries? I think they might. The world is large, and a great part of it still uncultivated. Many hundred millions of acres in Asia, Africa, and America, are still forest, and a great deal even in Europe. On 100 acres of this forest, a man might become a substantial farmer, and 100,000 men employed in clearing each his 100 acres, (instead of being as they are, French hair-dressers) would hardly brighten a spot big enough to be visible from the moon, (unless with Herschell's telescope,) so vast are the regions still in the world unimproved.

'Tis however some comfort to reflect, that upon the whole, the quantity of industry and prudence among mankind, exceeds the quantity of idleness and folly. Hence the increase of good buildings, farms cultivated, and populous cities filled with wealth all over Europe, which a few ages since were only to be found on the coasts of the Mediterranean. And this, notwithstanding the mad wars continually raging, by which are often destroyed in one year the works of many years' peace. So that we may hope the luxury of a few merchants on the sea-coast will not be the ruin of America.

" One reflection more and I will end this long rambling letter. Almost all the parts of our bodies require some expense. The feet demand shoes, the legs stockings; the rest of the body clothing, and the belly a good deal of victuals. *Our* eyes, though exceedingly useful, ask when reasonable only the cheap assistance of *spectacles*, which could not much impair our finances. But THE EYES OF OTHER PEOPLE are the eyes that ruin us. If all but myself were blind, I should want neither fine clothes, fine houses, nor fine furniture.

" B. FRANKLIN.

" P. S. This will be delivered to you by my grandson. I am persuaded you will afford him your civilities and counsels.. Please to accept a little present of books, I send by him, curious for the beauty of the impression."

" *Count de Mercy Argenteau.*

" PASSY, July 30, 1784.

" SIR,—I have the honour to communicate to your excellency an extract from the instructions of congress to their late commissioners for treating of peace, expressing their desire to cultivate the friendship of his imperial majesty, and to enter into a treaty of commerce for the mutual advantage of his subjects and the citizens of the United States, which I request you will be pleased to lay before his majesty. The appointing and instructing commissioners for treaties of commerce with the powers of Europe generally, has, by various circumstances, been long delayed, but is now done; and I have just received advice, that Mr. Jefferson, late governor of Virginia, commissioned with Mr. Adams, our minister in Holland, and myself, for that service, is on his way hither, and may be expected by the end of August, when we shall be ready to enter into a treaty with his imperial majesty for the above purpose, if it should be his pleasure. B. FRANKLIN."

Count de Mercy Argenteau to Dr. Franklin.

" PARIS, July 30, 1784.

" SIR,—I have received the letter you did me the honour to write to me this morning, and I shall lose no time to transmit the contents to my court.

" The sentiments of the emperor towards the United States of America make me foresee the satisfaction which his majesty will have to enter into reciprocal, suitable, and advantageous connexions with them. I have not the least doubt that measures will be instantly taken on this subject to concert, sir, with you, and with the appointed ministers plenipotentiary, and as soon as the answer from my court shall come, I shall instantly communicate to you.

" DE MARCY ARGENTEAU."

" *Dr. Price.*

" PASSY, August 16, 1784.

" DEAR FRIEND,—I some time since answered your kind letter of July 12, returning the proof of Mr. Turgot's letter, with the permission of his friends to print it. I hope it came safe to hand.

" I had before received yours of April, which gave me great pleasure, as it acquainted me with your welfare, and that of Dr. Priestley.

" The commencement here of the art of flying, will, as you observe, be a new epoch. The construction and manner of filling the balloons improve daily. Some of the artists have lately gone to England. It will be well for your philosophers to obtain from them what they know, or you will be behind hand; which in mechanic operations is unusual for Englishmen.

" I hope the disagreements in our Royal Society are composed: quarrels often disgrace both sides; and disputes even on small matters often produce quarrels, for want of knowing how to differ decently: an art which 'tis said scarce any body possesses but yourself and Dr. Priestley.

" I had indeed thoughts of visiting England once more, and of enjoying the great pleasure of seeing again my friends there; but my malady, otherwise tolerable, is I find irritated by the motion in a carriage, and I fear the consequence of such a journey; yet I am not quite resolved against it. I often think of the agreeable evenings I used to pass with that excellent collection of good men, the club at the London, and wish to be again among them. Perhaps I may pop in some

Thursday evening when they least expect me. You may well believe it very pleasing to me to have Dr. Priestley associated with me among the foreign members of the Academy of Sciences. I had mentioned him upon every vacancy that has happened since my residence here, and the place has never been bestowed more worthily.

"When you wrote the letter I am now answering, your nation was involved in the confusion of your new election. When I think of your present crazy constitution and its diseases, I imagine the enormous emoluments of place to be among the greatest, and while they exist I doubt whether ever the reform of your representation will cure the evils constantly arising from your perpetual factions. As it seems to be a settled point at present, that the minister must govern the parliament, who are to do every thing he would have done; and he is to bribe them to do this, and the people are to furnish the money to pay these bribes. The parliament appears to me a very expensive machine for government, and I apprehend the people will find out in time that they may as well be governed, and that it will be much cheaper to be governed by the minister alone; no parliament being preferable to the present.

"Your newspapers are full of fictitious accounts of distractions in America. We know nothing of them. Mr. Jefferson, just arrived here, after a journey through all the states from Virginia to Boston, assures me that all is quiet, a general tranquillity reigns, and the people well satisfied with their present forms of government, a few insignificant persons only excepted. These accounts are I suppose intended as consolatory, and to discourage emigrations. I think with you, that our revolution is an important event for the advantage of mankind in general. It is to be hoped that the lights we enjoy, which the ancient governments in their first establishment could not have, may preserve us from their errors. In this the advice of wise friends may do much good, and I am sure that which you have been so kind as to offer us will be of great service.

"Mr. Jay is gone to America; but Mr. Adams is just arrived here, and I shall acquaint him with your remembrance of him.

"Many thanks for your kind wishes respecting my health and happiness, which I return fourfold, being ever with the sincerest esteem, my dear friend, your most affectionate

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Lord Howe.*

"Passy, August 18, 1784.

"My Lord,—I received lately the very valuable voyage of the late captain Cook, kindly sent to me by your lordship, in consideration of my good will in issuing orders towards the protection of that illustrious discoverer from any interruption in his return home by American cruisers. The reward vastly exceeds the small merit of the action, which was no more than a duty to mankind. I am very sensible of his majesty's goodness in permitting this favour to me, and I desire that my thankful acknowledgments may be accepted. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To William Strahan, M. P.*

"Passy, August 19, 1784

"Dear Friend,—I received your kind letter of April 17. You will have the goodness to place my delay in answering, to the account of indisposition and business, and excuse it. I have now that letter before me; and my grandson, whom you may formerly remember a little scholar at Mr. Elphinston's, purposing to set out in a day or two on a visit to his father in London, I sit down to scribble a little to you, first recommending him as a worthy young man to your civilities and counsels.

"You press me much to come to England. I am not without strong inducements to do so; the fund of knowledge you promise to communicate to me is in addition to them, no small one. At present it is impracticable. But when my grandson returns, come with him. We will talk the matter over, and perhaps you may take me back with you. I have a bed at your service, and will try to make your residence, while you can stay with us, as agreeable to you, if possible, as I am sure it will be to me.

"You do not 'approve the annihilation of profitable places; for you do not see why a statesman who does his business well, should not be paid for his labour as well as any other workman.' Agreed. But why more than any other workman? The less the salary the greater the honour. In so great a nation there are many rich enough to afford giving their time to the public; and there are, I make no doubt, many wise and able men who would take as much pleasure in governing for nothing, as they do in playing of chess for nothing. It would be one of the noblest amusements. That this opinion is not chimerical, the country I now live in affords a proof; its whole civil and criminal law administration being done for nothing, or in some sense for less than nothing, since the members of its judiciary parliaments buy their places, and do not make more than three per cent. for their money, by their fees and emoluments, while the legal interest is five; so that in fact they give two per cent. to be allowed to govern, and all their time and trouble into the bargain. Thus *profit*, one motive for desiring place, being abolished, there remains only *ambition;* and that being in some degree balanced by *loss*, you may easily conceive that there will not be very violent factions and contentions for such places; nor much of the mischief to the country that attends your factions, which have often occasioned wars, and overloaded you with debts impayable.

"I allow you all the force of your joke upon the vagrancy of our congress. They have a right to sit *where* they please, of which perhaps they have made too much use by shifting too often.—But they have two other rights; those of sitting *when* they please, and as *long* as they please, in which methinks they have the advantage of your parliament; for they cannot be dissolved by the breath of a minister, or sent packing as you were the other day, when it was your earnest desire to have remained longer together.

"You 'fairly acknowledge that the late war terminated quite contrary to your expectation." Your expectation was ill-founded; for you would not believe your old friend, who told you repeatedly that by those measures, England would lose her colonies, as Epictetus warned in vain his master, that he would break his leg. You believed rather the tales you heard of our poltroonery and impotence of body and mind. Do you not remember the story you told me of the Scotch serjeant who met with a party of forty American soldiers, and though alone disarmed them all, and brought them in prisoners? a story almost as improbable as that of an Irishman, who pretended to have alone taken and brought in five of the enemy by *surrounding* them. And yet, my friend, sensible and judicious as you are, but partaking of the general infatuation, you seemed to believe it. The word *general* puts me in mind of a general, your general Clarke, who had the folly to say in my hearing, at sir John Pringle's, that with a thousand British grenadiers, he would undertake to go from one end of America to the other, and geld all the males, partly by force and partly by a little coaxing. It is plain he took us for a species of animals very little superior to brutes. The parliament too believed the stories of another foolish general, I forgot his name, that the Yankees never *felt bold.* Yankey was understood to be a sort of Yahoo, and the parliament did not think the petitions of such creatures were fit to be received and read in so wise an assembly. What was the consequence of this monstrous pride and insolence? You first sent small armies to subdue us, believing them more than sufficient, but soon found yourselves obliged to send greater; these, whenever they ventured to penetrate our country beyond the protection of their ships, were either repulsed and obliged to scamper out, or were surrounded, beaten, and take prisoners. An American planter who had never seen Europe, was chosen by us to command our troops, and continued during the whole war. This man sent home to you, one after another, five of your best generals baffled, their heads bare of laurels, disgraced even in the opinion of their employers. Your contempt of our understandings, in comparison with your own, appeared to be much better founded than that of our courage, if we may judge by this circumstance, that in whatever court of Europe a Yankey negociator appeared, the wish British minister was routed, put in a passion, picked a quarrel with your friends, and was sent home with a flea in his ear. But after all, my dear friend, do not imagine that I am vain enough to ascribe our success to any superiority in any of those points. I am too well acquainted with all the springs and levers of our machine, not to see, that our human means were unequal to our undertaking, and that if it had not been for the justice of our cause, and the consequent interposition of Providence, in which we had faith, we must have been ruined. If I had ever before been an Atheist, I should now have been convinced of the being and government of a Deity! It is he that abases the proud and favours the humble. May we never forget his goodness to us, and may our future conduct manifest our gratitude.

"But let us leave these serious reflections, and converse with our usual pleasantry. I remember your observing once to me, as we sat together in the house of commons, that no two journeymen printers within your knowledge, had met with such success in the world as ourselves. You were then at the head of your profession, and soon afterwards became a member of parliament. I was an agent for a few provinces and now act for them all. But we have risen by different modes. I, as a republican printer, always liked a form well *plained down;* being averse to those *overbearing* letters that hold their heads so *high* as to hinder their neighbours from appearing. You as a monarchist chose to work upon *crown* paper, and found it profitable; while I worked upon *pro patria* (often indeed called *fools-cap*) with no less advantage. Both our *heaps hold out* very well, and we seem likely to make a pretty good *day's work* of it. With regard to public affairs, (to continue in the same style) it seems to me that your *compositors* in your *chapel* do not *cast off their copy well*, nor perfectly understand *imposing:* their *forms* too are continually pestered by the *outs* and *doubles* that are not easy to be *corrected.* And I think they were wrong in laying aside some *faces*, and particularly certain *head-pieces*, that would have been both useful and ornamental. But, courage! The business may still flourish with good management;

and the master become as rich as any of the company.

"By the way, the rapid growth and extension of the English language in America, must become greatly advantageous to the booksellers, and holders of copy-rights in England. A vast audience is assembling there for English authors, ancient, present, and future, our people doubling every twenty years; and this will demand large and of course profitable impressions of your most valuable books. I would therefore, if I possessed such rights, entail them, if such a thing be practicable, upon my posterity, for their worth will be continually augmenting. This may look a little like advice, and yet I have drank no *Madeira* these six months. The subject however leads me to another thought, which is, that you do wrong to discourage the emigration of Englishmen to America. In my piece on population, I have proved I think, that emigration does not diminish but multiplies a nation. You will not have the fewer at home for those that go abroad; and as every man who comes among us and takes up a piece of land, becomes a citizen, and by our constitution has a voice in elections, and a share in the government of the country, why should you be against acquiring by this fair means a repossession of it, and leave it to be taken by foreigners of all nations and languages, who by their numbers may drown and stifle the English, which otherwise would probably become in the course of two centuries the most extensive language in the world, the Spanish only excepted! It is a fact, that the Irish emigrants and their children are now in possession of the government of Pennsylvania, by their majority in the assembly, as well as of a great part of the territory; and I remember well the first ship that brought any of them over.—I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*George Wheatley.*

"Passy, near Paris, Aug. 21, 1784.

"My dear old Friend,—I received your kind letter of May 3—83. I am ashamed it has been so long unanswered. The indolence of old age, frequent indisposition, and too much business, are my only excuses. I had great pleasure in reading it, as it informed me of your welfare.

"Your excellent little work, *The Principles of Trade*, is too little known. I wish you would send me a copy of it by the return of my grandson and secretary, whom I beg leave to recommend to your civilities. I would get it translated and printed here. And if your bookseller has any quantity of them left, I should be glad he would send them to America. The ideas of our people there, though rather better than those that prevail in Europe, are not so good as they should be; and that piece might be of service among them.

"Since and soon after the date of your letter, we lost unaccountably as well as unfortunately that worthy valuable young man you mention, your namesake, Madison. He was infinitely regretted by all that knew him.

"I am sorry your favourite charity* does not go on as you could wish it. It is shrunk indeed by your admitting only 60 children in a year. What you have told your brethren respecting America is true. If you find it difficult to dispose of your children in England, it looks as if you had too many people. And yet you are afraid of emigration. A subscription is lately set on foot here to encourage and assist mothers in nursing their infants themselves at home; the practice of sending them to the *Enfants trouvés* having risen here to a monstrous excess, as by the annual bill it appears they amount to near one third of the children born in Paris! The subscription is likely to succeed, and may do a great deal of good, though it cannot answer all the purposes of a foundling hospital.

"Your eyes must continue very good, since you can write so small a hand without spectacles. I cannot distinguish a letter even of large print; but I am happy in the invention of double spectacles,† which serving for distant objects as well as near ones, make my eyes as useful to me as ever they were. If all the other defects and infirmities were as easily and cheaply remedied, it would be worth while for friends to live a good deal longer, but I look upon death to be as necessary to our constitution as sleep. We shall rise refreshed in the morning.—Adieu, and believe me ever, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To* * * *.

"Passy, August 21, 1784.

"Dear Sir,—Understanding that my letter intended for you, by general Melvill, was lost at the hotel D'Espagne, I take this opportunity by my grandson, to give you the purport of it, as well as I can recollect. I thanked you for the pleasure you had procured me of the general's conversation, whom I found a judicious, sensible, and amiable man. I was glad to hear that you possessed a comfortable retirement, and more so, that you had thoughts of removing to Philadelphia, for that it would make me very happy to have you there. Your *companions* would be very acceptable to the library, but I hoped you would long live to enjoy their company yourself. I agreed with you in sentiments concerning the Old

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* The Foundling Hospital.

† See letter to George Wheatley, dated Passy, May 23, 1785.

Testament, and thought the clause in our constitutions, which required the members of assembly to declare their belief *the whole of it was given by divine inspiration*, had better been omitted. That I had oppposed the clause; but being overpowered by numbers, and fearing more might in future times be grafted on it, I prevailed to have the additional clause, 'that *no further or more extended profession of faith should ever be exacted.*' I observed to you too, that the evil of it was the less, as *no inhabitant* nor any officer of government, except the members of assembly, was obliged to make that declaration. So much for that letter: to which I may now add, that there are several things in the Old Testament, impossible to be given by *divine* inspiration; such as the approbation ascribed to the angel of the Lord, of that abominably wicked and detestable action of Jael, the wife of Heber, the Kenite. If the rest of the book were like that, I should rather suppose it given by inspiration from another quarter, and renounce the whole.

"By the way, how goes on the Unitarian church in Essex street! and the honest minister of it,* is he comfortably supported? your old colleague Mr. Radcliffe,† is he living? and what became of Mr. Denham?

"My grandson, who will have the honour of delivering this to you, may bring me a line from you; and I hope will bring me an account of your continuing well and happy.

"I jog on still, with as much health, and as few of the infirmities of old age as I have any reason to expect. But notwithstanding the decay of my constitution, my regard for my old friends remains firm and entire. You will always have a good share of it, for I am ever with great and sincere esteem, dear sir, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"Versailles, August 27, 1784.

"Sir,—You have communicated to me an extract from the instructions which congress addressed to you on the 11th May last, which imports that the United States will in no case treat any other nation with respect to commerce more advantageously than the French. This disposition is much the wisest, as it will prevent those misunderstandings which might arise from the equivocal terms in which the second article of the treaty of amity and commerce, signed February 6, 1778, is conceived. But that the resolution of congress on this subject may be clearly stated, it would be best, sir, that you furnish me with it in the form of a declaration, or at least in an official note, signed by yourself. I have no doubt that you will adopt one of these two forms.

"DE VERGENNES."

"Count de Vergennes.

"Passy, September 3, 1784.

"Sir,—I have the honour to transmit to your excellency, by order of congress, a resolution of theirs, dated the 11th of May last, which is in the following words, viz.

> 'Resolved, That Dr. Franklin be instructed to express to the court of France, the constant desire of congress to meet their wishes; that these States are about to form a general system of commerce, by treaties with other nations; that at this time they cannot foresee what claim might be given to those nations by the explanatory propositions of count de Vergennes on the second and third articles of our treaty of amity and commerce with his most christian majesty, but that he may be assured it will be our constant care to place no people on more advantageous ground than the subjects of his majesty.'

"B. FRANKLIN."

"B. Vaughan.

"Passy, Sept. 7, 1784.

"My dear Friend,—This will be delivered to you by count Mirabeau; son of the marquis of that name, author of *L'Ami des Hommes.* This gentleman is esteemed here, and I recommend him to your civilities and councils, particularly with respect to the printing of a piece he has written on the subject of *hereditary nobility*, on occasion of the order of Cincinnati, lately attempted to be established in America, which cannot be printed here. I find that some of the best judges think it extremely well written, with great clearness, force, and elegance. If you can recommend him to an honest, reasonable bookseller, that will undertake it, you will do him service, and perhaps some to mankind, who are too much bigoted in many countries to that kind of imposition.—I had formerly almost resolved to trouble you with no more letters of recommendation: but I think you will find this gentleman to possess talents, that may render his acquaintance agreeable.

"With sincere esteem, I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Dr. Franklin to an engraver in Paris.

"Passy, Sept. 7, 1784.

"En relisant, monsieur, le prospectus de votre éstampe, je vois que vous m'attribuez toujours en entier le mérite d'avoir affranchi l'Amerique. J'ay cependant eu l'honneur de vous dire, dans notre premiere conversation, que je ne pouvois y consentir sans me rendre coupable d'injustice envers tant d'hommes sages et courageux qui n'ont pas craint de hazarder leur fortune et leur vie pour le succés de cette entreprise; je vous proposai donc, et je persiste dans la même pensée, de substituer à mon nom dans l'implication de l'estampe, ces mots: '*le congrès représenté par un senateur habillé à la romaine, &c.!*'

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* Theophilus Lindsey, M. A.

† A dissenting minister at Wapping, who afterwards turned to the profession of the law. He published one or two sermons.

"Je ne puis not plus, monsieur, en accepter la dédicace: je ne veux point que la France, et mon pays me croyent assez presompteux pour convenir que je merite des louanges aussi excessives; et vous concevex qu'il me siéroit mal d'appuyer de ma recommendation le debit d'un ouvrage qui les contiendroit. D'aprés ces considérations je vous prie de vouloir bien changer votre éxplication dans un nouveau prospectus, et de dedier votre estampe au congrès. J'ai l'honneur d' être, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"VERSAILLES, September 9, 1784.

"SIR,—I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write me the 3d inst. You there declare in the name of congress, that the United States will be careful not to treat any other nation, in matters of commerce, more advantageously than the French nation. This declaration, founded on the treaty of the 6th February 1778, has been very agreeable to the king; and you, sir, can assure the congress that the United States shall constantly experience a perfect reciprocity in France. DE VERGENNES."

Count de Mercy Argenteau to Dr. Franklin.

"PARIS, September, 28, 1784.

"SIR,—With respect to the proposition of the United States of America that I forwarded to my court, and concerning arrangements of commerce, to be adopted by the respective dominions, I have received the order, sir, which I have the honour to communicate to you, that his majesty the emperor has agreed to the said proposition, and that he has directed the governor-general of the Low Countries to adopt measures to put in execution.

"When the particulars respecting this matter shall be sent to me, I shall instantly communicate them.

"DE MERCY ARGENTEAU."

"*Charles Thompson.*

"PASSY, October 16, 1784.

"DEAR SIR,—It was intended by the commissioners to write a joint letter to congress, but I am afraid the opportunity may be missed. This may serve to inform you, that propositions of treating have been made by us to all the powers of Europe according to our instructions, and we are waiting for their answers. There are apprehensions here of a war between the emperor and Holland, but as the season is not proper for opening a campaign, I hope the winter will give time for mediators to accommodate matters. We have not yet heard that Mr. Jay has accepted the secretaryship of foreign affairs.

"B. FRANKLIN."

The same.

"PASSY, Nov. 11, 1784.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I received your kind letter of August 13th, with the papers annexed relative to the affair of Longchamps. I hope satisfaction will be given to M. Marbois. The commissioners have written a joint letter to congress. This serves to cover a few papers relative to matters with which I was particularly charged in the instructions. I shall write to you fully by the next opportunity, having now only time to add, that I am as ever, yours most affectionately. B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. I executed the instructions of October 29th, 1783, as soon as I knew the commissions for treating with the emperor, &c., were issued, which was not till July 1784.—The three letters between the emperor's minister and me are what passed on that occasion. B. F."

"*David Hartley.*

"PASSY, Jan. 3, 1785.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I received your kind letter of December 1, from Bath. I am glad to hear that your good sister is in a fair way towards recovery; my respects and best wishes attend her.

"I communicated your letter to Mr. Jefferson, to remind him of his promise to communicate to you the intelligence he might receive from America on the subjects you mention; and now having got it back, I shall endeavour to answer the other parts of it.

"What you propose to draw up of your opinions on American negociation, may be of great use, if laid, as you intend, before administration, in case they seriously intend to enter on it after the meeting of parliament: for I know your ideas all tend to a good understanding between the two countries and their common advantage; and in my mind too, all selfish projects of partial profit are the effects of short-sightedness, they never producing permanent benefits, and are at length the causes of discord and its consequences, wherein much more is spent than all the temporary gains amounted to.

"I do not know that any one is yet appointed by your court to treat with us. We sometime since acquainted your minister with our powers and disposition to treat, which he communicated to his court, and received for answer that his majesty's ministers were ready to receive any propositions we might have to make for the common benefit of both countries, but they thought it more for the honour of both, that the treaty should not be in a third place. We answered, that though we did not see much inconvenience in treating here, we would, as soon as we had finished some affairs at present on our hands, wait upon them, if they pleased, in London. We have since heard nothing.

"We have no late accounts from America of any importance. You know the congress adjourned the beginning of June till the beginning of November. And since their meeting there has been no account of their proceedings. All the stories in your papers relating to their divisions, &c., are fiction, as well as those of the people being discontented with Congressional Government. Mr. Jay writes to me, that they were at no time more happy or more satisfied with their government, &c. than at present, nor ever enjoyed more tranquillity or prosperity. In truth, the freedom of their ports to all nations has brought in a vast plenty of foreign goods, and occasioned a demand for their produce, the consequence of which is the double advantage of buying what they consume cheap, and selling what they can spare dear.

"If we should come to London, I hope it may still be with you that we are to do business. Our already understanding one another may save on many points a good deal of time in discussion. But I doubt whether any treaty is intended on your part, and I fancy we shall not press it. It may perhaps be best to give both sides time to inquire, and to *feel* for the interests they cannot *see*. With sincere and great esteem, I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*The President of Congress.*

"Passy, Feb. 8, 1785.

"Sir,—I received by the marquis de la Fayette the two letters you did me the honour of writing on the 11th and 14th of December, the one enclosing a letter from congress to the king, the other a resolve of congress respecting the convention for establishing consuls. The letter was immediately delivered, and well received. The resolve came too late to suspend signing the convention, it having been done July last, and a copy sent so long since, that we now expected the ratification. As that copy seems to have miscarried, I now send another.

'I am not informed what objection has arisen in congress to the plan sent me. Mr. Jefferson thinks it may have been to the part which restrained the consuls from all concern in commerce. The article was omitted, being thought unnecessary to be stipulated, since either party would always have the power of imposing such restraints on its own officers whenever it should think fit. I am however of opinion, that this or any other reasonable article or alteration may be obtained at the desire of congress, and established by a supplement. Permit me to congratulate you, sir, on your being called to the high honour of presiding in our national councils, and to wish you every felicity.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*John Jay, New York.*

"Passy, Feb. 8, 1785.

"Dear Sir,—I received, by the marquis de la Fayette, your kind letter of the 13th of December. It gave me pleasure on two other accounts, as it informed me of the public welfare, and that of your, I may almost say *our*, dear little family; for since I had the pleasure of their being with me in the same house, I have ever felt a tender affection for them, equal I believe to that of most fathers. I did hope to have heard by the last packet of your having accepted the secretaryship of foreign affairs, but was disappointed. I write to you now therefore only as a private friend; yet I may mention respecting public affairs, that as far as I can perceive, the good disposition of this court towards us continues. I wish I could say as much for the rest of the European courts. I think, that their desire of being connected with us by treaties is of late much abated; and this I suppose occasioned by the pains Britain takes to represent us every where as distracted with divisions, discontented with our governments, the people unwilling to pay taxes, the congress unable to collect them, and many desiring the restoration of the old government. The English papers are full of this stuff, and their ministers get it copied into the foreign papers. The moving about of the congress from place to place, has also a bad effect, in giving colour to the reports of their being afraid of the people. I hope they will soon settle somewhere, and by the steadiness and wisdom of their measures dissipate all those mists of misrepresentation raised by the remaining malice of ancient enemies, and establish our reputation for national justice and prudence as they have done for courage and perseverance.

"It grieves me that we have not been able to discharge our first year's payment of interest to this court, due the beginning of last month. I hope it will be the only failure, and that effectual measures will be taken to be exactly punctual hereafter. *The good paymaster*, says the proverb, *is lord of another man's purse.* The bad one, if he ever has again occasion to borrow, must pay dearly for his carelessness and injustice.

"You are happy in having got back safe to your country. I should be less unhappy, if I could imagine the delay of my *congé* useful to the states, or in the least degree necessary. But they have many equally capable of doing all I have to do here. The new proposed treaties are the most important things; but two can go through them as well as three, if indeed any are likely to be completed, which I begin to doubt, since the new ones make little progress, and the old ones which wanted only the fiat of congress seem now to be rather going backward; I mean those I had projected with Denmark and Portugal.

"My grandsons are sensible of the honour of your remembrance, and present their respects to you and Mrs. Jay. I add my best wishes of health and happiness to you all, being with sincere esteem and affection, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To the President of Congress.*

"PASSY, April 12, 1785.

"SIR,—M. de Chaumont, who will have the honour of presenting this line to your excellency, is a young gentleman of excellent character, whose father was one of our most early friends in this country, which he manifested by crediting us with a thousand barrels of gunpowder and other military stores in 1776, before we had provided any apparent means of payment. He has, as I understand, some demands to make on congress, the nature of which I am unacquainted with; but my regard for the family makes me wish, that they may obtain a speedy consideration, and such favourable issue as they may appear to merit. To this end I beg leave to recommend him to your countenance and protection.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Benjamin Vaughan.*

"PASSY, April 21, 1785.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I received your kind letter to the 23d past, by Mr. Perry, with the other bottle of Blackrie. I thank you much for your care in sending them. I should have been glad to be of any use to Mr. Perry; but he had placed his children before I saw him, and he staid with me only a few minutes.

"We see much in parliamentary proceedings, and in papers and pamphlets, of the injury the concessions to Ireland will do to the *manufacturers* of England, while the *people* of England seem to be forgotten, as if quite out of the question. If the *Irish can manufacture cottons* and *stuffs*, and *silks*, and *linens*, and *cutlery*, and *toys*, and *books*, &c. &c. &c., so as to sell them cheaper in England than the *manufactures* of England sell them, is not this good for the *people* of England who are not manufacturers? And will not even the manufacturers themselves share the benefit? Since if cottons are cheaper, all the other manufacturers who wear cottons will save in that article; and so of the rest. If books can be had much cheaper from Ireland, (which I believe, for I bought Blackstone there for 24*s*. when it was sold in England at four guineas) is not this an advantage, not to English booksellers indeed, but to English readers, and to learning? And of all the complainants, perhaps these booksellers are least worthy of consideration. The catalogue you last sent me amazes me by the high prices (said to be the lowest) affixed to each article. And one can scarce see a new book, without observing the excessive artifices made use of to puff up a paper of verses into a pamphlet, a pamphlet into an octavo, and an octavo into a quarto, with scab-boardings, white lines, sparse titles of chapters, and exorbitant margins, to such a degree, that the selling of paper seems now the object, and printing on it only the pretence. I enclose the copy of a page in a late comedy. Between every two lines there is a white space equal to another line. You have a law, I think, against butchers blowing of veal to make it look fatter; why not one against booksellers blowing of books to make them look bigger. All this *to yourself*; you can easily guess the reason.

"My grandson is a little indisposed, but sends you two pamphlets, *Figaro*, and *Le Roy Voyageur*. The first is a play of Beaumarchais, which has had a great run here. The other a representation of all the supposed errors of government in this country, some of which are probably exaggerated. It is not publicly sold; we shall send some more shortly.

"Please to remember me very respectfully and affectionately to good Dr. Price. I am glad that he has printed a translation of the Testament, it may do good.—I am ever, my dear friend, yours most sincerely,

"B. FRANKLIN."

[Enclosed in the foregoing letter.]

SCENE IV.

SIR JOHN *and* WILDMORE.

Sir John.

Whither so fast?

Wildmore.

To the opera.

Sir John.

It is not the ———?

Wildmore.

Yes it is.

Sir John.

Never on a Sunday.

Wildmore.

Is this Sunday?

Sir John.

Yes, sure.

Wildmore.

I remember nothing; I shall soon forget my Christian name.

"If this page was printed running on like Erasmus's Colloquies, it would not have made more than five lines."

"*Dr. Ingenhausz.*

"Passy, April 29, 1785.

"I thank you much for the postscript respecting my disorder, the stone. I have taken heretofore, and am now again taking, the remedy you mention, which is called *Blackrie's Solvent:* It is the soap lye, with lime water, and I believe it may have some effect in diminishing the symptoms, and preventing the growth of the stone, which is all I expect from it. It does not hurt my appetite, I sleep well, and enjoy my friends in cheerful conversation, as usual. But as I cannot use much exercise, I eat more sparingly than formerly, and I drink no wine.

"I admire that you should be so timid in asking leave of your good imperial master, to make a journey for visiting a friend. I am persuaded you would succeed, and I hope the proposition I have repeated to you in this letter will assist your courage, and enable you to ask and obtain. If you come hither soon, you may, when present, get your book finished, and be ready to proceed with me to America. While writing this, I have received from congress my leave to return; and I believe I shall be ready to embark by the middle of July at farthest. I shall now be free from politics for the rest of my life. Welcome again my dear philosophical amusements!

"I see by a full page of your letter, you have been possessed with strange ideas of America, that there is no justice to be obtained there, no recovery of debts, projects of insurrection to overturn the present government, &c. &c. that a Virginia colonel, nephew of the governor, had cheated a stranger of 100,000 livres, and that somebody was imprisoned for only speaking of it; and the like very improbable stories; they are all fictions or misrepresentations. If they were truths, all strangers would avoid such a country, and foreign merchants would as soon carry their goods to sell in Newgate as America. Think a little on the sums England has spent to preserve a monopoly of the trade of that people, with whom they had long been acquainted; and of the desire all Europe is now manifesting to obtain a share of that trade. Our ports are full of their ships, their merchants buying and selling in our streets continually, and returning with our products. Would this happen? Could such commerce be continued with us, if we were such a collection of scoundrels and villains as we have been represented to you! And insurrections against our rulers are not only unlikely, as the rulers are the choice of the people, but unnecessary; as if not liked they may be changed annually by the new elections. I own you have cause, great cause to complain of * * *, but you are wrong to condemn a whole country by a single sample. I have seen many countries, and I do not know a country in the world in which justice is so well administered, where protection and favour have so little power to impede its operations, and where debts are recovered with so much facility. If I thought it such a country as it has been painted to you, I should certainly never return to it. The truth, I believe, is, that more goods have been carried thither from all parts of Europe, than the consumption of the country requires, and it is natural that some of the adventurers are willing to discourage others from following them, lest the prices should still be kept down by the arrival of fresh cargoes; and it is not unlikely that some negligent or unfaithful factore sent thither, may have given such accounts to excuse their not making remittances. And the English magnify all this, and spread it abroad in their papers, to dissuade foreigners from attempting to interfere with them in their commerce with us.

"Your account of the emperor's condescending conversation with you concerning me, is pleasing. I respect very much the character of that monarch, and think that if I were one of his subjects, he would find me a good one. I am glad that his difference with your country is likely to be accommodated without bloodshed. The Courier de l'Europe, and some other papers, printed a letter on that difference, which they ascribed to me. Be assured, my friend, that I never wrote it, nor was ever presumptuous enough to meddle with an affair so much out of my way. Yours, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Count de Vergennes.*

"Passy, May 3, 1785.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint your excellency that I have at length obtained, and yesterday received, the permission of congress to return to America. As my malady makes it impracticable for me to pay my devoirs personally at Versailles, may I beg the favour of you, sir, to express respectfully for me to his majesty, the deep sense I have of all the inestimable benefits his goodness has conferred on my country; a sentiment that it will be the business of the little remainder of life now left me, to impress equally on the minds of all my countrymen. My sincere prayers are, that God may shower down his blessings on the king, the queen, their children, and all the royal family to the latest generations!

"Permit me at the same time to offer you my thankful acknowledgments for the protection and countenance you afforded me at my arrival, and your many favours during my residence here, of which I shall retain the most grateful remembrance.

"My grandson would have had the honour of waiting on you with this letter, but he has been sometime ill of a fever.

"With the greatest esteem and respect, and best wishes for the constant prosperity of yourself and all your amiable family, I am, sir, your excellency's most obedient, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

M. de Rayneval to Dr. Franklin.

"VERSAILLES, May 8, 1785.

"SIR,—I have learned with the greatest concern, that you are soon to leave us. You will carry with you the affections of all France, for nobody has been more esteemed than you. I shall call on you at Passy, to desire you to retain for me a share in your remembrance, and renew to you personally the assurances of my most profound attachment.

"DE RAYNEVAL."

"*John Jay.*

"PASSY, May 10, 1785.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your kind letter of the 8th March, enclosing the resolution of congress, permitting my return to America, for which I am very thankful, and am now preparing to depart the first good opportunity. Next to the pleasure of rejoining my own family, will be that of seeing you and yours well and happy, and embracing, once more, my little friend, whose singular attachment to me I shall always remember.

"I shall be glad to render any acceptable service to Mr. Randall. I conveyed the bayberry wax to the abbé Chalut, with your compliments, as you desired. He returns his with many thanks. Be pleased to make my respectful compliments to Mrs. Jay, and believe me ever, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"*Charles Thompson.*

"PASSY, May 10, 1785.

"DEAR SIR,—An old gentleman in Switzerland, long of the magistracy there, having written a book entitled *De Gouvernement des Moeurs*, which is thought to contain many matters that may be useful to America, desired to know of me how he could convey a number of the printed copies, to be distributed gratis among the members of congress. I advised his addressing the package to you by way of Amsterdam, where a friend of mine would forward it. It is accordingly shipt there on board the Von Berckell, captain W. Campbell. There are good things in the work, but his chapter on the liberty of the press appears to me to contain more rhetoric than reason. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Jonathan Williams.*

"PASSY, May 19, 1785.

"THE conversations you mention respecting America are suitable. Those people speak what they wish; but she was certainly never in a more happy situation. They are angry with us, and speak all manner of evil of us; but we flourish notwithstanding. They put me in mind of a violent high church-factor, resident in Boston, when I was a boy. He had bought upon speculation a Connecticut cargo of onions, which he flattered himself he might sell again to great profit, but the price fell, and they lay upon hand. He was heartily vexed with his bargain, especially when he observed they began to *grow* in the store he had filled with them. He showed them one day to a friend. Here they are, says he, and they are *growing* too! I damn them every day; but I think they are like the presbyterians—the more I curse them, the more they grow. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To George Wheatley.*

"PASSY, May 19, 1785.

"DEAR OLD FRIEND,—I received the very good letter you sent me by my grandson, together with your resemblance, which is placed in my chamber, and gives me great pleasure. There is no trade, they say, without returns, and therefore I am punctual in making those you have ordered.

"I intended this should have been a long epistle, but I am interrupted, and can only add, that I am ever yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Count de Vergennes to Dr. Franklin.

"VERSAILLES, May 22, 1785.

"SIR,—I have learnt with much concern of your retiring, and of your approaching departure for America. You cannot doubt but that the regrets which you will leave, will be proportionate to the consideration you so justly enjoy.

"I can assure you, sir, that the esteem the king entertains for you, does not leave you any thing to wish, and that his majesty will learn with real satisfaction that your fellow-citizens have rewarded in a manner worthy of you, the important services that you have rendered them.

"I beg sir, that you will preserve for me a share in your remembrance, and never doubt the sincerity of the interest I take in your happiness. It is founded on the sentiments of attachment of which I have assured you, and with which, &c.

"DE VERGENNES."

"*George Wheatley.*

"PASSY, May 23, 1785.

"DEAR OLD FRIEND,—I sent you a few lines the other day, with the medallion, when I should have written more, but was prevented by the coming in of a *bavard*, who worried me till evening. I bore with him, and now you are to bear with me: for I shall probably *bavarder* in answering your letter.

"I am not acquainted with the saying of Alphonsus, which you allude to as a sanctification of your rigidity in refusing to allow me the plea of old age, as an excuse for my want of exactness in correspondence. What was that saying? You do not it seems feel any occasion for such an excuse, though you are, as you say, rising 75. But I am rising (perhaps more properly falling) 80, and I leave the excuse with you till you arrive at that age; perhaps you may then be more sensible of its validity, and see fit to use it for yourself.

"I must agree with you, that the gout is bad, and that the stone is worse. I am happy in not having them both together, and I join in your prayer, that you may live till you die without either. But I doubt the author of the epitaph you send me was a little mistaken, when he, speaking of the world, says that

——————he ne'er cared a pin
What they said or may say of the mortal within.

"It is so natural to wish to be well spoken of, whether alive or dead, that I imagine he could not be quite exempt from that desire; and that at least he wished to be thought a wit, or he would not have given himself the trouble of writing so good an epitaph to leave behind him. Was it not as worthy of his care that the world should say he was an honest and a good man? I like better the concluding sentiment in the old song, called the *Old man's Wish*, wherein, after wishing for a warm house in a country town, an easy horse, some good authors, ingenious and cheerful companions, a pudding on Sundays, with stout ale, and a bottle of Burgundy, &c. &c., in separate stanzas, each ending with this burden,

May I govern my passions with absolute sway,
Grow wiser and better as my strength wears away,
Without gout or stone, by a gentle decay.

He adds,

With a courage undaunted may I face my last day;
And when I am gone may the better sort say;
In the morning when sober, in the evening when mellow,
He 's gone, and has not left behind him his fellow.
For he governed his passions, &c.

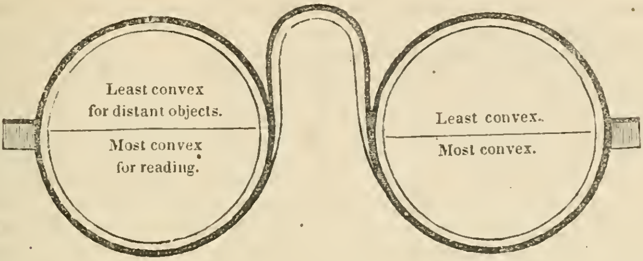
"But what signifies our wishing? Things happen, after all, as they will happen. I have sung that *wishing song* a thousand times when I was young, and now find at fourscore that the three contraries have befallen me, being subject to the gout, and the stone, and not being yet master of all my passions. Like the proud girl in my country, who wished and resolved not to marry a parson, nor a presbyterian, nor an Irishman, and at length found herself married to an Irish presbyterian parson. You see I have some reason to wish that in a future state, I may not only be *as well as I was*, but a little better. And I hope it: for I too, with your poet, *trust in God.* And when I observe that there is great frugality as well as wisdom in his works, since he has been evidently sparing both of labour and materials; for by the various wonderful inventions of propagation, he has provided for the continual peopling his world with plants and animals, without being at the trouble of repeated new creations; and by the natural reduction of compound substances to their original elements, capable of being employed in new compositions, he has prevented the necessity of creating new matter; for that the earth, water, air, and perhaps fire, which being compounded from wood, do when the wood is dissolved return, and again become air, earth, fire, and water; I say, that when I see nothing annihilated, and not even a drop of water wasted, I cannot suspect the annihilation of souls, or believe that he will suffer the daily waste of millions of minds ready made, that now exist, and put himself to the continual trouble of making new ones. Thus finding myself to exist in the world, I believe I shall in some shape or other always exist: and with all the inconveniences human life is liable to, I shall not object to a new edition of mine; hoping however that the errata of the last may be corrected.

"I return your note of children received in the foundling hospital at Paris, from 1741 to 1755 inclusive; and I have added the years succeeding down to 1770. Those since that period, I have not been able to obtain. I have noted in the margin the gradual increase, viz. from every tenth child so thrown upon the public, till it comes to every third! Fifteen years have passed since the last account, and probably it may now amount to one half. Is it right to encourage this monstrous deficiency of natural affection? A surgeon I met with here excused the women of Paris, by saying seriously that they *could not* give suck, '*Car*,' said he, '*ils n'ont point de tetons.*' He assured me it was a fact, and bade me look at them, and observe how flat they were on the breast; they have nothing more there, said he, that I have upon the back of my hand. I have since thought that there might be some truth in his observation, and that possibly, nature, finding they made no use of bubbies, has left off giving them any. Yet, since Rousseau pleaded with admirable eloquence for the rights of children to their mother's milk, the mode has changed a little; and some ladies of quality now suckle their infants and find milk enough. May the mode descend to the lower ranks, till it becomes no longer the custom to pack their infants away as soon as born, to the *enfans trouvés*, with the careless observation, that the king is better able to maintain them. I am credibly informed that nine tenths of them die there pretty soon, which is said to be a great relief to the institution, whose funds would not otherwise be sufficient to bring up the remainder. Except the few persons of quality above-mentioned, and the multitude who send to the hospital, the practice is to hire nurses, in the country, to carry out the children, and take care of them. Here is an office for examining the health of nurses, and giving them licenses. They come to town on certain days of the week in companies to receive the children, and we often meet trains of them on the road returning to the neighbouring villages, with each a child in arms. But those who are good enough to try this way of raising their children, are often not able to pay the expense, so that the prisons of Paris are crowded with wretched fathers and mothers confined *pour mois de nourrice*, though it is laudably a favourite charity to pay for them, and set such prisoners at liberty. I wish success to the new project of assisting the poor to keep their children at home, because I think there is no nurse like a mother, (or not many) and that if parents did not immediately send their infants out of their sight, they would in a few days begin to love them, and thence be spurred to greater industry for their maintenance. This is a subject you understand better than I, and therefore, having perhaps said too much, I drop it. I only add to the notes a remark from the History of the Academy of Sciences, much in favour of the foundling institution.

"The Philadelphia bank goes on, as I hear, very well. What you call the Cincinnati institution, is no institution of our government, but a private convention among the officers of our late army, and so universally disliked by the people, that it is supposed it will be dropped. It was considered as an attempt to establish something like an hereditary rank or nobility. I hold with you that it was wrong; may I add, that all descending honours are wrong and absurd; that the honours of virtuous actions appertain only to him that performs them, and is in its nature incommunicable. If it were communicable by descent, it must also be divisible among the descendants; and the more ancient the family, the less would be found existing in any one branch of it; to say nothing of the greater chance of unlucky interruptions.

"Our constitution seems not to be well understood with you. If the congress were a permanent body, there would be more reason in being jealous of giving it powers. But its members are chosen annually, cannot be chosen more than three years successively, nor more than three years in seven; and any of them may be recalled at any time, whenever their constituents shall be dissatisfied with their conduct. They are of the people, and return again to mix with the people, having no more durable pre-eminence than the different grains of sand in an hour glass. Such an assembly cannot easily become dangerous to liberty. They are the servants of the people, sent together to do the people's business, and promote the public welfare; their powers must be sufficient or their duties cannot be performed. They have no profitable appointments, but a mere payment of daily wages, such as are scarcely equivalent to their expenses; so that having no chance for great places and enormous salaries or pensions, as in some countries, there is no canvassing or bribing for elections. I wish Old England were as happy in its government, but I do not see it. Your people, however, think their constitution the best in the world, and affect to despise ours. It is comfortable to have a good opinion of one-self, and of every thing that belongs to us; to think one's own religion, king, and wife, the best of all possible wives, kings, or religions. I remember three Greenlanders, who had travelled two years in Europe, under the care of some Moravian missionaries, and had visited Germany, Denmark, Holland, and England; when I asked them at Philadelphia (where they were in their way home) whether, now they had seen how much more commodiously the white people lived by the help of the arts, they would not choose to remain among us? their answer was, that they were pleased with having had an opportunity of seeing so many fine things, *but they chose to* LIVE *in their own country*. Which country, by the way, consisted of rock only; for the Moravians were obliged to carry earth in their ship from New York, for the purpose of making a cabbage-garden.

"By Mr. Dollond's saying that my double spectacles can only serve particular eyes, I doubt he has not been rightly informed of their construction. I imagine it will be found pretty generally true, that the same convexity of glass through which a man sees clearest and best at the distance proper for reading, is not the best for greater distances. I therefore had formerly two pair of spectacles, which I shifted occasionally, as in travelling I sometimes read and often wanted to regard the prospects. Finding this change troublesome, and not always sufficiently ready, I had the glasses cut, and half of each kind associated in the same circle, thus,



By this means, as I wear my spectacles constantly, I have only to move my eyes up or down as I want to see distinctly far or near, the proper glasses being always ready. This I find more particularly convenient since my being in France, the glasses that serve me best at table to see what I eat, not being the best to see the faces of those on the other side of the table who speak to me; and when one's ears are not well accustomed to the sounds of a language, a sight of the movements in the features of him that speaks helps to explain; so that I understand French better by the help of my spectacles.

My intended translator of your piece, the only one I know who understands the *subject* as well as the two languages, (which a translator ought to do, or he cannot make so good a translation,) is at present occupied in an affair that prevents his undertaking it; but that will soon be over. I thank you for the notes. I should be glad to have another of the printed pamphlets.

"We shall always be ready to take your children if you send them to us. I only wonder, that since London draws to itself and consumes such numbers of your country people, the country should not, to supply their places, want and willingly receive the children you have to dispose of. That circumstance, together with the multitude who voluntarily part with their freedom as men, to serve for a time as lacqueys, or for life as soldiers, in consideration of small wages, seems to me proof, that your island is over-peopled. And yet it is afraid of emigrations!

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Thomas Barclay.*

"Passy, June 19, 1785.

"Sir,—With respect to my continuing to charge £2500 sterling as my salary, of which you desire some explanation, I send you in support of that charge the resolution of congress, which is in these words.

"In congress, Oct. 5, 1779. Resolved that each of the ministers plenipotentiary be allowed at the rate of two thousand five hundred pounds sterling per annum, and each of the secretaries, at the rate of one thousand pounds sterling per annum, in full for their services and expenses respectively. That the salary of each of the said officers be computed from the time of his leaving his place of abode to enter on the duties of his office, and be continued three months after notice of his recall."

"The several bills I afterwards received drawn on the congress banker, Mr. Grand, for my salary, were all calculated on that sum as my salary; and neither the banker nor myself has received notice of any change respecting me. He has accordingly, since the drawing ceased, continued to pay me at the same rate. I have indeed heard that a resolution was passed last year, that the salaries of plenipotentiaries should be no more than £2000 sterling per annum. But the resolution I suppose can relate only to such plenipotentiaries as should be afterwards appointed; for I cannot conceive that the congress, after promising a minister £2500 a year, and when he has thereby been encouraged to engage in a way of living for their honour, which only that salary can support, would think it just to diminish it a fifth, and leave him under the difficulty of reducing his expenses proportionably: a thing scarce practicable; the necessity of which he might have avoided, if he had not confided in their original promise.

"But the article of salary, with all the rest of my accounts, will be submitted to the judgment of congress, together with some other considerable articles I have not charged, but on which I shall expect from their equity some consideration; and for want of knowing precisely the intention of congress, what expenses should be deemed public, which should be defrayed by me, their banker has my order, as soon as the pleasure of congress shall be made known to him, to rectify the error, by transferring the amount to my private account, and discharging by so much that of the public. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To* * * *.

"Passy, June 20, 1785.

"Dear Sir,—I have just received the only letter from you that has given me pain. It informs me of your intention to attempt passing to England in the car of a balloon. In the present imperfect state of that invention, I think it much too soon to hazard a voyage of that distance. It is said here by some of those who have had experience, that as yet they have not found means to keep up a balloon more than two hours; for that by now and then losing air to prevent rising too high and bursting; and now and then discharging ballast to avoid descending too low; these means of regulation are exhausted. Besides this, all the circumstances of danger by disappointment, in the operation of *Soupape's*, &c. &c. seem not to be yet well known, and therefore not easily provided against. For on Wednesday last M. Pilatre de Rosier, who had studied the subject as much as any man, lost his support in the air by the bursting of his balloon, or by some other means we are yet unacquainted with, and fell with his companion from the height of one thousand toises on the rocky coast, and was found dashed to pieces. You having lived a good life do not fear death. But pardon the anxious freedom of a friend, if he tells you the continuance of your life being of importance to your family and your country, though you might laudably hazard it for their good, you have no right to risk it for a fancy. I pray God this may reach you in time, and have some effect towards changing your design:—being ever, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Baron Maseres.*

"Passy, June 26, 1785.

"Sir,—I have just received your friendly letter of the 20th instant. I agree with you perfectly in the opinion, that though the contest has been hurtful to both our countries, yet the event, a separation, is better even for yours than success. The reducing and keeping us in subjection by an armed force, would have cost you more than the dominion could be worth, and our slavery would have brought on yours. The ancient system of the British empire was a happy one, by which the colonies were allowed to govern and tax themselves. Had it been wisely continued, it is hard to imagine the degree of power and importance in the world that empire might have arrived at. All the means of growing greatness, extent of territory, agriculture, commerce, arts, population, were within its own limits, and therefore at its command. I used to consider that system as a large and beautiful porcelain vase; I lamented the measures that I saw likely to break it, and strove to prevent them; because once broken I saw no probability of its being ever repaired. My endeavours did not succeed: we are broken, and the parts must now do as well as they can for themselves. We may still do well, though separated. I have great hopes of our side, and good wishes for yours. The anarchy and confusion you mention, as supposed to prevail among us, exist only in your newspapers. I have authentic accounts, which assure me that no people were ever better governed, or more content with their respective constitutions and governments than the present thirteen states of America. A little reflection may convince any reasonable man, that a government wherein the administrators are chosen annually, by the free voice of the governed, and may also be recalled at any time if their conduct displeases their constituents, cannot be a tyrannical one, as your loyalists represent it; who at the same time, inconsistently desire to return and live under it. And among an intelligent enlightened people as ours is, there must always be too numerous and too strong a party for supporting good government and the laws, to suffer what is called anarchy. This better account of our situation must be pleasing to your humanity, and therefore I give it you.

"But we differ a little in our sentiments respecting the loyalists (as they call themselves) and the conduct of America towards them, which you think 'seems actuated by a spirit of revenge; and that it would have been more agreeable to policy as well as justice to have restored their estates, upon their taking the oaths of allegiance to the new governments.' That there should still be some resentment against them in the breasts of those who have had their houses, farms, and towns so lately destroyed, and relations scalped under the conduct of these royalists, is not wonderful; though I believe the opposition given by many to their re-establishment among us is owing to a firm persuasion, that there could be no reliance on their oaths; and that the effect of receiving those people again, would be an introduction of that very anarchy and confusion they falsely reproach us with. Even the example you propose of the English commonwealth's restoring the estates of the royalists after their being subdued, seems rather to countenance and encourage our acting differently, as probably if the power, which always accompanies property, had not been restored to the royalists; if their estates had remained confiscated, and their persons had been banished, they could not have so much contributed to the restoration of kingly power, and the new government of the republic might have been more durable. The majority of examples in your history are on the other side of the question. All the estates in England and south of Scotland, and most of those possessed by the descendants of the English in Ireland, are held from ancient confiscations made of the estates of Caledonians, and Britons, the original possessors in your island, or the native Irish, in the last century only. It is but a few months since, that your parliament has, in a few instances, given up confiscations incurred by a rebellion suppressed forty years ago. The war against us was begun by a general act of parliament declaring all our estates confiscated, and probably one great motive to the loyalty of the royalists was the hope of sharing in these confiscations. They have played a deep game, staking their estates against ours; and they have been unsuccessful. But it is a surer game, since they had promises to rely on from your government of indemnification in case of loss; and I see your parliament is about to fulfil those promises. To this I have no objection, because though still our enemies, they are men; they are in necessity; and I think even an hired assassin has a right to his pay from his employer: it seems too more reasonable that the expense of paying these should fall upon the government who encouraged the mischief done, rather than upon us who suffered it; the confiscated estates making amends but for a small part of that mischief: it is not therefore clear that our retaining them is chargeable with injustice. I have hinted above, that the name *loyalists* was improperly assumed by these people. *Royalists* they may perhaps be called. But the true *loyalists* were the people of America against whom they acted. No people were ever known more truly loyal, and universally so, to their sovereigns: the protestant succession in the house of Hanover was their idol. Not a jacobite was to be found from one end of the colonies to the other. They were affectionate to the people of England, zealous and forward to assist in her wars, by voluntarily contributions of men and money, even beyond their proportion. The king and parliament had frequently acknowledged this by public messages, resolutions, and reimbursements. But they were equally fond of what they esteemed their rights, and if they resisted when those were attacked, it was a resistance in favour of a British constitution, which every Englishman might share in enjoying who should come to live among them: it was resisting arbitrary impositions that were contrary to common right and to their fundamental constitutions, and to constant ancient usage. It was indeed a resistance in favour of the liberties of England, which might have been endangered by success in the attempt against ours; and therefore a great man in your parliament did not scruple to declare, he *rejoiced that America had resisted.* I, for the same reason, may add this very resistance to the other instances of their loyalty. I have already said that I think it just you should reward those Americans who joined your troops in the war against their own country: but if ever honesty could be inconsistent with policy, it is so in this instance.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*David Hartley.*

"Passy, July 5, 1785.

"I cannot quit the coasts of Europe without taking leave of my ever dear friend Mr. Hartley. We were long fellow-labourers in the best of all works, the work of peace. I leave you still in the field, but having finish-my day's task, I am going home *to go to bed.* Wish me a good night's rest, as I do you a pleasant evening. Adieu! and believe me ever, yours most affectionately.

"B. FRANKLIN."

In his 80th year.

"*Granville Sharp.*

"Passy, July 5, 1785.

"Dear Sir,—I received the books you were so kind as to send me by Mr. Drown. Please to accept my hearty thanks. Your writings, which always have some public good for their object, I always read with pleasure. I am perfectly of your opinion with respect to the salutary law of gavelkind, and hope it may in time be established throughout America. In six of the states already the lands of the intestates are divided equally among the children if all girls; but there is a double share given to the eldest son, for which I see no more reason than in giving such share to the eldest daughter; and think there should be no distinction. Since my being last in France, I have seen several of our eldest sons, spending idly their fortunes by residing in Europe, and neglecting their own country; these are from the southern states. The northern young men stay at home, and are industrious useful citizens; the more equal division of their fathers' fortunes not enabling them to ramble and spend their shares abroad, which is so much the better for their country.

"I like your piece on the election of bishops. There is a fact in Hollingshead's Chronicle, the latter part relating to Scotland, which shows, if my memory does not deceive me, that the first bishop in that country was elected by the clergy: I mentioned it some time past in a letter to two young men, who asked my advice about obtaining ordination, which had been denied them by the bishops in England, unless they would take the oath of allegiance to the king; and I said, I imagine that unless a bishop is soon sent over, with a power to consecrate others, so that we may have no future occasion of applying to England for ordination, we may think it right, after reading your piece, to elect also.

"The liturgy you mention was an abridgment of that made by a noble lord of my acquaintance, who requested me to assist him by taking the rest of the book, viz. the catechism and the reading and singing psalms. These I abridged by retaining of the catechism, only the two questions, *What is your duty to God? What is your duty to your neighbour?* with answers. The psalms were much contracted by leaving out the repetitions (of which I found more than I could have imagined) and the imprecations, which appeared not to suit well the Christian doctrine of forgiveness of injuries, and doing good to enemies. The book was printed for Wilkie, in St. Paul's church yard, but never much noticed. Some were given away, very few sold, and I suppose the bulk became waste paper. In the prayers so much was retrenched, that approbation could hardly be expected; but I think with you, a moderate abridgment might not only be useful, but generally acceptable.

"I am now on the point of departing for America, where I shall be glad occasionally to hear from you, and of your welfare;—being with sincere and great esteem, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

M. de Castries to Dr. Franklin.

"VERSAILLES, July 10, 1785.

"SIR,—I was not apprized till within a few hours of the arrangements which you have made for your departure. Had I been informed of it sooner, I should have proposed to the king to order a frigate to convey you to your own country, in a manner suitably to the known importance of the services you have been engaged in; to the esteem you have acquired in France, and the particular esteem his majesty entertains for you.

"I pray you, sir, to accept my regrets, and a renewed assurance of the most entire consideration with which I have the honour, &c.

"DE CASTRIES."

"*John Jay, Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 19, 1785.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you, that I left Paris the 12th of July, and agreeable to the permission of congress am returned to my country. Mr. Jefferson had recovered his health, and was much esteemed and respected there. Our joint letters have already informed you of our late proceedings, to which I have nothing to add, except that the last act I did as minister plenipotentiary for making treaties, was to sign with him two days before I came away the treaty of friendship and commerce that had been agreed on with Prussia, and which was to be carried to the Hague by Mr. Short, there to be signed by baron Thulemeyer on the part of the king, who without the least hesitation had approved and conceded to the new humane articles proposed by congress,* which articles are considered as doing that body great honour. Mr. Short was also to go to London with the treaty for the signature of Mr. Adams, who I learnt (when at Southampton) is well received at the British court.—The captain Lamb, who in a letter of yours to Mr. Adams, was said to be coming to us with instructions respecting Morocco, had not appeared, nor had we heard any thing of him; so nothing has been done by us in that treaty. I left the court of France in the same friendly disposition towards the United States that we have all along experienced, though concerned to find our credit is not better supported in the payment of the interest money due on our loans, which in case of another war must be, they think, extremely prejudicial to us, and indeed may contribute to draw on a war the sooner, by affording our enemies the encouraging confidence, that a people who take so little care to pay will not again find it easy to borrow. I received from the king at my departure the present of his picture set round with diamonds, usually given to ministers plenipotentiary who have signed any treaties with that court, and it is at the disposition of congress, to whom be pleased to present my dutiful respects.—I am, sir, with great esteem, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*General Washington.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 20, 1785

"DEAR SIR,—I am just arrived from a country where the reputation of general Washington runs very high, and where every body wishes to see him in person; but being told that it is not likely he will favour them with a visit, they hope at least for a sight of his perfect resemblance, by means of their principal statuary, Mr. Houdon, whom Mr. Jefferson and myself agreed with to come over for the purpose of taking a bust, in order to make the intended statue for the state of Virginia. He is here, but the materials and instruments he sent down the Seine from Paris not being arrived at Havre when we sailed he was obliged to leave them, and is now busied in supplying himself here. As soon as that is done, he proposes to wait on you in Virginia, as he understands there is no prospect of your coming hither, which would indeed make me very happy; as it would give me the opportunity of congratulating with you personally on the final success of your long and painful labours in the service of our country, which have laid us all under eternal obligations.

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* Against privateering.

"With the greatest and most sincere esteem and respect, I am, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. and Mrs. Jay.*

"Philadelphia, Sept. 21, 1785.

"Dear Friends,—I received your very kind letter of the 16th, congratulating me on my safe arrival with my grandsons; an event that indeed makes me very happy, being what I have long ardently wished; and considering the growing infirmities of age, began almost to despair of. I am now in the bosom of my family, and find four new little prattlers, who cling about the knees of their grandpapa, and afford me great pleasure. The affectionate welcome I met with from my fellow-citizens, is far beyond my expectation; I bore my voyage very well, and find myself rather better for it, so that I have every possible reason to be satisfied with my having undertaken and performed it. When I was at Passy, I could not bear a wheel carriage; and being discouraged in my project of descending the Seine in a boat, by the difficulties and tediousness of its navigation in so dry a season, I accepted the offer of one of the king's litters, carried by large mules, which brought me well, though in walking slowly, to Havre. Thence I went over in a packet-boat to Southampton, where I staid four days, till the ship came for me to Spithead. Several of my London friends came there to see me, particularly the good bishop of St. Asaph and family, who staid with me to the last. In short, I am now so well, as to think it possible that I may once more have the pleasure of seeing you both perhaps at New York, with my dear young friends (who I hope may not have quite forgotten me) for I imagine that on a sandy road between Burlington and Amboy I could bear an easy coach, and the rest is water.

"I rejoice to hear that you continue well, being with true and great esteem and affection, your most obedient servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Dr. Franklin.

"Mount Vernon, Sept. 26, 1785.

"Dear Sir,—I had just written, and was about to put into the hands of Mr. Taylor, (a gentleman in the department of the secretary for foreign affairs,) the enclosed letter, when I had the honour to receive your favour of the 20th instant.

"I have a grateful sense of the partiality of the French nation towards me. And I feel very sensibly for the indulgent expression of your letter, which does me great honour.

"When it suits Mr. Houdon to come hither, I will accommodate him in the best manner I am able, and shall endeavour to render his stay as agreeable as I can.

"It would give me infinite pleasure to see you. At this place I dare not look for it, although to entertain you under my own roof would be doubly gratifying. When, or whether ever, I shall have the satisfaction of seeing you at Philadelphia, is uncertain, as retirement from the walks of public life has not been so productive of that leisure and ease, as might have been expected.

"With very great esteem and respect, I am, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant, G. WASHINGTON."

"*David Hartley.*

"Philadelphia, Oct. 27, 1785.

"Dear Sir,—I received at Havre de Grace six copies of your print, which I have brought with me hither. I shall frame and keep one of them in my best room. I shall send one to Mr. Jay, and give the others among some friends, who esteem and respect you as we do.

"Your newspapers are filled with accounts of distresses and miseries that these states are plunged into since a separation from Britain. You may believe me, when I tell you there is no truth in those accounts. I find all property in lands and houses augmented vastly in value; that of houses and towns at least fourfold. The crops have been plentiful, and yet the produce sells high, to the great profit of the farmer. At the same time all imported goods sell at low rates, some cheaper than the first cost. Working people have plenty of employ and high pay for their labour. These appear to me as certain signs of public prosperity. Some traders indeed complain that trade is dead; but this pretended evil is not an affect of inability in the people to buy, pay for, and consume the usual articles of commerce, as far as they have occasion for them; it is owing merely to there being too many traders who have crowded hither from all parts of Europe, with more goods than the natural demand of the country requires. And what in Europe is called the debt of America, is chiefly the debt of these adventurers and supercargoes to their principals, with which the settled inhabitants of America, who never paid better, for what they want to buy, have nothing to do. As to the contentment of the inhabitants with the change of government, methinks a stronger proof cannot be desired, than what they have given in my reception. You know the part I had in that change, and you see in the papers the addresses from all ranks with which your friend was welcomed home, and the sentiments they contain confirmed yesterday in the choice of him for President, by the council and new assembly, which was unanimous, a single voice in seventy-seven excepted.

"I remembered you used to wish for newspapers from America. Herewith I send a few, and you shall be regularly supplied, if you can put me in a way of sending them, so as that you may not be obliged to pay postage.—With unchangeable esteem and respect I am, my dear friend, yours most affectionately.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mathon de la Cour.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 18, 1785.

"SIR,—I received duly the letter you did me the honour of writing to me the 25th of June past, together with the collection you have made *comptes des rendus de vos controleurs generaux*; and your *Discours sur les moyens d'encourager le patriotisme dans les monarchies*. The first is a valuable work, as containing a great deal of useful information; but the second I am particularly charmed with, the sentiments being delightfully just, and expressed with such force and clearness, that I am persuaded the pamphlet, though small, must have a great effect on the minds of both princes and people, and thence be productive of much good to mankind. Be pleased to accept my hearty thanks for both.

"It is right to be sowing good seed whenever we have an opportunity, since some of it may be productive. An instance of this you should be acquainted with, as it may afford you pleasure. The reading of Fortuné Ricard's Testament, has put it into the head and heart of a citizen to leave two thousand pounds sterling to two American cities, who are to lend it in small sums at five per cent. to young beginners in business; and the accumulation, after an hundred years, to be laid out in public works of benefit to those cities.

"With great esteem, I have the honour be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Bancroft, F. R. S.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 26, 1785.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your kind letter of September 5, informing me of the intention Mr. Dilly has of printing a new edition of my writings, and of his desire that I would furnish him with such additions as I may think proper. At present all my papers and manuscripts are so mixt with other things, by the confusions occasioned in sudden and various removals, during the late troubles, that I can hardly find any thing. But having nearly finished an addition to my house, which will afford me room to put all in order, I hope soon to be able to comply with such a request; but I hope Mr. Dilly will have a good understanding in the affair with Henry and Johnson, who, having risked the former impressions, may suppose they thereby acquired some right in the copy. As to the Life proposed to be written, if it be by the same hand who furnished a sketch to Dr. Lettesom, which he sent me, I am afraid it will be found too full of errors for either you or me to correct: and having been persuaded by my friends, Messrs. Vaughan and Monsieur Le Veillard, Mr. James of this place, and some others, that such a Life, written by myself, may be useful to the rising generation, I have made some progress in it, and hope to finish it this winter: so I cannot but wish that project of Mr. Dilly's biographer may be laid aside. I am nevertheless thankful to you for your friendly offer of correcting it.

"As to public affairs, it is long since I gave over all expectations of a commercial treaty between us and Britain; and I think we can do as well, or better without one than she can. Our harvests are plenty, our produce fetches a high price in hard money, and there is in every part of our country, incontestible marks of public felicity. We discover, indeed, some errors in our general and particular constitutions; which it is no wonder they should have, the time in which they were formed being considered. But these we shall soon mend. The little disorders you have heard of in some of the states, raised by a few wrong heads, are subsiding, and will probably soon be extinguished.

"My best wishes, and those of my family attend you. We shall be happy to see you here, when it suits you to visit us: being with sincere and great esteem, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To the bishop of St. Asaph.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 24, 1786.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I received lately your kind letter of November 27. My reception here, was, as you have heard, very honourable indeed; but I was betrayed by it, and by some remains of ambition, from which I had imagined myself free, to accept of the chair of government for the state of Pennsylvania, when the proper thing for me was repose and a private life. I hope however to be able to bear the fatigue for one year, and then to retire.

"I have much regretted our having so little opportunity for conversation when we last met.* You could have given me informations and counsels that I wanted, but we were scarce a minute together without being broken in upon. I am to thank you however for the pleasure I had after our parting, in reading the new book you gave me, which I think generally well written and likely to do good: though the reading time of most people is of late so taken up with newspapers, and little periodical pamphlets, that few now-a-days venture to attempt reading a quarto volume. I have admired to see that in the last century, a folio, *Burton on Melancholy*, went through six editions in about forty years. We have, I believe, more readers now, but not of such large books.

"You seem desirous of knowing what progress we make here in improving our governments. We are, I think, in the right road of improvement, for we are making experiments. I do not oppose all that seem wrong, for the multitude are more effectually set right by experience, than kept from going wrong by reasoning with them. And I think we are daily more and more enlightened; so that I have no doubt of our obtaining in a few years as much public felicity as good government is capable of affording. Your newspapers are filled with fictitious accounts of anarchy, confusion, distresses, and miseries we are supposed to be involved in, as consequences of the revolution; and the few remaining friends of the old government among us, take pains to magnify every little inconvenience a change in the course of commerce may have occasioned. To obviate the complaints they endeavour to excite, was written the enclosed little piece, from which you may form a truer idea of our situation, than your own public prints would give you. And I can assure you, that the great body of our nation find themselves happy in the change, and have not the smallest inclination to return to the domination of Britain. There could not be a stronger proof of the general approbation of the measures that promoted the change, and of the change itself, than has been given by the assembly and council of this state, in the nearly unanimous choice for their governor, of one who had been so much concerned in those measures; the assembly being themselves the unbribed choice of the people, and therefore may be truly supposed of the same sentiments. I say nearly unanimous, because of between seventy and eighty votes, there were only my own and one other in the negative.

"As to my domestic circumstances, of which you kindly desire to hear something, they are at present as happy as I could wish them. I am surrounded by my offspring, a dutiful and affectionate daughter in my house, with six grandchildren, the eldest of which you have seen, who is now at college in the next street, finishing the learned part of his education; the others promising both for parts and good dispositions. What their conduct may be when they grow up and enter the important scenes of life, I shall not live to *see*, and I cannot *foresee*. I therefore enjoy among them the present hour, and leave the future to Providence.

"He that raises a large family, does indeed, while he lives to observe them, *stand*, as Watts says, *a broader mark for sorrow;* but then he stands a broader mark for pleasure too. When we launch our little fleet of barks into the ocean, bound to different ports, we hope for each a prosperous voyage; but contrary winds, hidden shoals, storms, and enemies come in for a share in the disposition of events; and though these occasion a mixture of disappointment, yet considering the risk where we can make no insurance, we should think ourselves happy if some return with success. My son's son, (Temple Franklin) whom you have also seen, having had a fine farm of 600 acres conveyed to him by his father, when we were at Southampton, has dropped for the present his views of acting in the political line, and applies himself ardently to the study and practice of agriculture. This is much more agreeable to me, who esteem it the most useful, the most independent, and therefore the noblest of employments. His lands are on navigable water, communicating with the Delaware, and but about 16 miles from this city. He has associated to himself a very skilful English farmer, lately arrived here, who is to instruct him in the business, and partakes for a term of the profits; so that there is a great apparent probability of their success. You will kindly expect a word or two concerning myself. My health and spirits continue, thanks to God, as when you saw me. The only complaint I then had, does not grow worse, and is tolerable. I still have enjoyment in the company of my friends; and being easy in my circumstances, have many reasons to like living. But the course of nature must soon put a period to my present mode of existence. This I shall submit to with less regret, as, having seen during a long life a good deal of this world, I feel a growing curiosity to be acquainted with some other; and can cheerfully with filial confidence resign my spirit to the conduct of that great and good Parent of mankind who created it, and who has so graciously protected and prospered me from my birth to the present hour. Wherever I am, I always hope to retain the pleasing remembrance of your friendship, being with sincere and great esteem, my dear friend, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

"We all join in respects to Mrs. Shipley."

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*At Southampton, previous to Dr. Franklin's embarking for the United States

† Paley's Moral Philosophy.

"*M. Veillard.*

"Philadelphia, March 6, 1786.

"My dear Friend,—I received and read with great pleasure your kind letter of October 9. It informed me of your welfare, and that of the best of good women, and of her amiable daughter, who I think will tread in her steps. My effects came all in the same ship, in good order; and we are now drinking every day *les eaux epurées de Passy*, with great satisfaction, as they kept well, and seem to be rendered more agreeable by the long voyage. I am here in the bosom of my family, and am not only happy myself, but have the felicity of seeing my country so. Be assured that all the stories spread in the English papers of our distresses, and confusions, and discontents with our new governments, are as chimerical as the history of my being in chains at Algiers. They exist only in the wishes of our enemies. America never was in higher prosperity, her produce abundant and bearing a good price, her working people all employed and well paid, and all property in lands and houses of more than treble the value it bore before the war; and our commerce being no longer the monopoly of British merchants, we are furnished with all the foreign commodities we need, at much more reasonable rates than heretofore. So that we have no doubt of being able to discharge more speedily the debt incurred by the war, than at first was apprehended. Our modes of collecting taxes are indeed as yet imperfect, and we have need of more skill in financiering; but we improve in that kind of knowledge daily by experience. That our people are contented with the revolution, with their new constitutions, and their foreign connexions, nothing can afford a stronger proof, than the universally cordial and joyous reception with which they welcomed the return of one that was supposed to have had a considerable share in promoting them. All this is in answer to that part of your letter, in which you seem to have been too much impressed with some ideas, which those lying English papers endeavour to inculcate concerning us.

"I am astonished by what you write concerning the *prince Evêque*.* If the charges against him are made good, it will be another instance of the truth of those proverbs which teach us, that *prodigality begets necessity*, that *without economy no revenue is sufficient*, and that *it is hard for an empty sack to stand upright*.

"I am glad to hear of the marriage of Miss Brillon; for every thing that may contribute to the happiness of that beloved family, gives me pleasure. Be pleased to offer them my felicitations, and assure them of my best wishes.

"Will you also be so good as to present my respectful compliments to madame la duchesse d'Enville, and to M. le duc de la Rochefoucault? you may communicate the political part of this letter to that excellent man. His good heart will rejoice to hear of the welfare of America.

"I made no progress when at sea in the history you mention:* but I was not idle there, having written three pieces, each of some length: one on nautical matters; another on Chimnies; and the third a description of my Vase for consuming Smoke, with directions for using it.† These are all now printing in the Transactions of our Philosophical Society, of which I hope soon to send you a copy.

"My grandsons present their compliments. The eldest is very busy in preparing for a country life, being to enter upon his farm the 25th instant. It consists of about 600 acres, bounding on navigable water, sixteen miles from Philadelphia. The youngest is at college, very diligent in his studies. You know my situation, involved in public cares, but they cannot make me forget that you and I love one another, and that I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mrs. Hewson, London.*

"Philadelphia, May 6, 1786.

"My dear Friend,—A long winter has passed, and I have not had the pleasure of a line from you, acquainting me with your and your children's welfare, since I left England. I suppose you have been in Yorkshire, out of the way and knowledge of opportunities; for I will not think you have forgotten me. To make me some amends, I received a few days past a large packet from Mr. Williams, dated September, 1776, near ten years since, containing three letters from you, one of December 12, 1775. This packet had been received by Mr. Bache, after my departure for France, lay dormant among his papers during all my absence, and has just now broke out upon me *like words*, that had been as somebody says, *congealed in Northern air*. Therein I find all the pleasing little family history of your children; how William had begun to spell, overcoming by strength of memory all the difficulty occasioned by the common wretched alphabet; while you were convinced of the utility of our new one. How Tom, genius-like, struck out new paths, and relinquishing the old names of the letters, called U *bell* and P *bottle*. How Eliza began to grow jolly, that is fat and handsome, resembling aunt Rooke, whom I used to call *my lovely*. Together with all the *then* news

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The cardinal de Rohan.

* Dr. Franklin's 'Memoirs of his Life."

† See "Letters and Papers on Philosophical Subjects."

of lady Blunt's having produced at length a boy; of Dolly's being well, and of poor good Catherine's decease. Of your affairs with Muir and Atkinson, and of their contract for feeding the fish in the channel. Of the Vinys, and their jaunt to Cambridge in the long carriages. Of Dolly's journey to Wales with Mr. Scot. Of the Wilkes's, the Pearces, Elphinston, &c. &c. Concluding with a kind of promise, that as soon as the ministry and congress agreed to make peace, I should have you with me in America. That peace has been some time made, but alas! the promise is not yet fulfilled.—And why is it not fulfilled?

"I have found my family here in health, good circumstances, and well respected by their fellow-citizens. The companions of my youth are indeed almost all departed, but I find an agreeable society among their children and grandchildren. I have public business enough to preserve me from *ennui*, and private amusement besides, in conversation, books, my garden, *and cribbage*. Considering our well furnished plentiful market as the best of gardens, I am turning mine, in the midst of which my house stands, into grass plats, and gravel walks with trees and flowering shrubs. Cards we sometimes play here in long winter evenings, but it is as they play at chess, not for money but for honour, or the pleasure of beating one another. This will not be quite a novelty to you; as you may remember we played together in that manner during the winter you helped me to pass so agreeably at Passy. I have indeed now and then a little compunction in reflecting that I spend time so idly; but another reflection comes to relieve me, [*whispering*] 'You know the soul is immortal; why then should you be such a niggard of a little time, when you have a whole eternity before you?' So being easily convinced, and, like other reasonable creatures, satisfied with a small reason, when it is in favour of doing what I have a mind to do, I shuffle the cards again and begin another game.

"As to public amusements, we have neither plays nor operas, but we had yesterday a kind of oratorio, as you will see by the enclosed paper; and we have assemblies, balls, and concerts, besides little parties at one another's houses, in which there is sometimes dancing, and frequently good music; so that we jog on in life as pleasantly as you do in England, any where but in London; for there you have plays performed by good actors. That however is, I think, the only advantage London has over Philadelphia.

"Temple has turned his thoughts to agriculture, which he pursues ardently, being in possession of a fine farm that his father lately conveyed to him. Ben is finishing his studies at college, and continues to behave as well as when you knew him, so that I still think he will make you a good son. His younger brothers and sisters are also all promising, appearing to have good tempers and dispositions, as well as good constitutions. As to myself, I think my general health and spirits rather better than when you saw me, and the particular malady I then complained of, continues tolerable.—With sincere and very great esteem, I am ever my dear friend, yours most affectionately B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. My children and grandchildren join with me in best wishes for you and yours. My love to my godson, to Eliza, and to honest Tom. They will all find agreeable companions here. Love to Dolly,* and tell her she will do well to come with you.

"*Mrs. Partridge, Boston.*

"PHILADELPHIA, June 3, 1786.

"MY DEAR CHILD,—I have just received your kind letter of the 14th past, which gave me great pleasure, as it informed me of your welfare. You complain with reason of my being a bad correspondent. I confess I have long deserved that character. If you keep my old letters, as I once think you told me you did, you will find in one of July 17, 1767, the best apology I could then make for that fault, and I cannot now make a better. I must therefore refer you to it, only requesting that you would ascribe my neglect of writing to any cause rather than to a diminution of that tender, affectionate regard I always had, and still retain for you.

"I hoped for repose when I solicited my recall from France, but I have not met with it, being as much engaged in business as ever. I enjoy, however, a good share of health, (the stone excepted) as does all this family, who join with me in best wishes of happiness to you and yours.—I am ever, my dear niece, your affectionate uncle,

"B. FRANKLIN."

In his 81st year.

"*Noah Webster.*

"PHILADELPHIA, June 18, 1786.

"SIR,—I received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me the 24th past, with the scheme enclosed of your reformed Alphabet. I think the reformation not only necessary but practicable; but have so much to say to you on the subject, that I wish to see and confer with you upon it, as that would save much time and writing. Sounds, 'till such an alphabet is fixed, not being easily explained or discoursed of clearly upon paper. I have formerly considered this matter pretty fully, and contrived some of the means of carrying it into execution, so as gradually to render the reformation general. Our ideas are nearly similar, that I make no doubt of our easily agreeing on the plan, and you may depend on the best support I may be able to give it, as a part of your institute, of which I wish you would bring with you a complete copy, having as yet seen only a part of it: I shall then be better able to recommend it as you desire.

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* Mrs. Dorothy Blunt.

"Hoping to have soon the pleasure of seeing you, I do not enlarge, but am with sincere esteem, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. Grand.*

"PHILADELPHIA, July 11, 1786.

"SIR,—I send you enclosed some letters that have passed between the secretary of congress and me, respecting three millions of livres, acknowledged to have been received before the treaty of Feb. 1778, as *don gratuit* from the king, of which only two millions are found in your accounts; unless the million from the farmers general be one of the three. I have been assured that all the money received from the king, whether as loan or gift, went through your hands; and as I always looked on the million we had of the farmers general to be distinct from what we had of the crown, I wonder how I came to sign the contract, acknowledging three millions of gift when in reality there were only two, exclusive of that from the farmers; and as both you and I examined the project of the contract before I signed it, I am surprised that neither of us took notice of the error.

"It is possible that the million furnished ostensibly by the farmers, was in fact a gift of the crown. in which case, as Mr. Thompson observes, they owe us for the two ship-loads of tobacco, which they received on account of it. I must earnestly request of you to get this matter explained, that it may stand clear before I die, lest some enemy should afterwards accuse me of having received a million not accounted for. B. FRANKLIN."

"*William Cook.*

"PHILADELPHIA, August 13, 1786.

"SIR,—I received yesterday the letter you did me the honour of writing to me on the 15th of June past. I had never before been acquainted that the name of your intended new State, had any relation with my name, having understood that it was called *Frank Land.* It is a very great honour indeed, that its inhabitants have done me, and I should be happy if it were in my power to show how sensible I am of it, by something more essential than my wishes for their prosperity.

"Having resided some years past in Europe, and being but lately arrived thence, I have not had an opportunity of being well informed of the points in dispute between you and the state of North Carolina. I can therefore only say, that I think you are perfectly right in resolving to submit them to the discretion of congress, and to abide by their determination. It is a wise and impartial tribunal, which can have no sinister views to warp its judgment. 'Tis happy for us all, that we have now in our own country such a council to apply to, for composing our differences, without being obliged, as formerly, to carry them across the ocean to be decided, at an immense expense, by a council which knew little of our affairs, would hardly take any pains to understand them, and which often treated our applications with contempt, and rejected them with injurious language. Let us therefore cherish and respcet our own tribunal, for the more generally it is held in high regard, the more able it will be to answer effectually the ends of its institution, the quieting of our contentions, and thereby promoting our common peace and happiness.

"I do not hear any talk of an adjournment of congress, concerning which you inquire; and I rather think it likely they may continue to sit out their year, as it is but lately they have been able to make a quorum for business, which must therefore probably be in arrear. If you proceed in your intended journey, I shall be glad to see you as you pass through Philadelphia.

"B. FRANKLIN."

M. Durival to Mr. Grand.

"VERSAILLES, Sept. 5, 1786.

"SIR,—I laid before the count de Vergennes the two letters which you did me the honour to write, touching the three millions, the free gifts of which the king has confirmed in favour of the United States of America. The minister, sir, observed, that the gift has nothing to do with the million which the congress may have received from the farmers general in 1777; consequently he thinks, that the receipt, which you desire may be communicated to you, cannot satisfy the object of your view, and that it would be useless to give you the copy which you desire.

"DURIVAL."

Mr. Grand to Dr. Franklin.

"PARIS, Sept. 9, 1786.

"MY DEAR SIR,—The letter you honoured me with, covered the copies of three letters which Mr. Thompson wrote to you to obtain an explanation of a million which is not found in my accounts. I should have been very much embarrassed in satisfying and proving to him that I had not put that million in my pocket, had I not applied to M. Durival, who, as you will see by the answer enclosed, informs me that there was a million paid by the royal treasury on the 10th June 1776. This is the very million about which Mr. Thompson inquires, as I have kept an account of the other two millions, which were also furnished by the royal treasury, viz. the one million in January and April 1777, the other in July and October of the same year, as well as that furnished by the farmers general in June 1777.

Here then are the three millions exactly, which were given by the king before the treaty of 1778, and that furnished by the farmers general. Nothing then remains to be known, but who received the first million in June 1776. It could not be myself, as I was not charged with the business of congress until January 1777. I therefore requested of M. Durival a copy of the receipt for the one million. You have the answer which he returned to me. I wrote to him again, renewing my request; but as the courier is just setting off, I cannot wait to give you his answer, but you will receive it in my next, if I obtain one. Meanwhile, &c. "GRAND."

M. Durival to Mr. Grand.

"Versailles, Sept. 10, 1786.

"Sir,—I have laid before the count de Vergennes, as you seemed to desire, the letter which you did me the honour to write yesterday. The minister persists in the opinion, that the receipt, the copy of which you request, has no relation to the business with which you were intrusted on behalf of congress, and that this piece would be useless in the new point of view in which you have placed it. Indeed, sir, it is easy for you to prove, that the money in question was not delivered by the royal treasury into your hands, as you did not begin to be charged with the business of congress until Jan. 1777, and the receipt for that money is of the 10th of June 1776. DURIVAL."

Mr. Grand to Dr. Franklin.

"Paris, Sept. 12, 1786.

"Sir,—I hazard a letter in hopes it may be able to join that of the 9th at L'Orient, in order to forward to you the answer I have just received from M. Durival. You will there see, that notwithstanding my entreaty, the minister himself refuses to give me a copy of the receipt which I asked for. I cannot conceive the reason for this reserve, more especially since, if there has been a million paid, he who has received it has kept the account, and it must in time be known. I shall hear with pleasure that you have been more fortunate in this respect in America than I have been in France; and I repeat to you the assurance of regard, &c. "GRAND."

M. Durival to Mr. Grand.

"Versailles, Sept. 30, 1786.

"Sir,—I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write on the 28th of this month, touching the advance of a million, which you said was made by the farmers general to the United States of America the 3d June 1777. I have no knowledge of that advance. What I have verified is, that the king, by the contract of the 25th Feb. 1783, has confirmed the gratuitous gift, which his majesty had previously made of the three millions hereafter mentioned, viz. one million delivered by the royal treasury the 10th June 1776, and two other millions advanced also by the royal treasury in 1777, on four receipts of the deputies of congress of the 17th January, 3d of April, 10th of June, and 15th of October of the same year. This explanation, sir, will, I hope, resolve your doubt touching the advance of the 3d June 1777. I further recommend to you, sir, to confer on this subject with M. Gojard, who ought to be better informed than me, who had no knowledge of any advances but those made by the royal treasury. "DURIVAL."

"*Colonel Hunter.*

"Philadelphia, Nov. 24, 1786.

"My dear old Friend,—It rejoiced me much to learn, by your kind letter of February last, which I received about ten days since, that you are still in the land of the living; and that you are snug at Bath; the very place that I think gives you the best chance of passing the evening of life agreeably. I too am got into my *niche*, after being kept out of it 24 years by foreign employments. 'Tis a very good house that I built so long ago to retire into, without being able till now to enjoy it. I am again surrounded by my friends, with a fine family of grandchildren about my knees, and an affectionate good daughter and son-in-law to take care of me. And after fifty years public service, I have the pleasure to find the esteem of my country with regard to me undiminished; the late re-election of me to the presidentship, notwithstanding the different parties we are split into, being absolutely unanimous. This I tell to you, not merely to indulge my own vanity, but because I know you love me, and will be pleased to hear of whatever happens that is agreeable to your friend.

"I find Mr. Anstey, whom you recommend

to me, a very agreeable, sensible man, and shall render him any service that may lie in my power. I thank you for the New Bath Guide: I had read it formerly, but it has afforded me fresh pleasure.

"Your newspapers, to please honest *John Bull*, paint our situation here in frightful colours, as if we were miserable since we broke our connexion with him. But I will give you some marks by which you may form your own judgment. Our husbandmen, who are the bulk of the nation, have had plentiful crops; their produce sells at high prices, and for ready hard money: wheat for instance at 8*s.* and 8*s.* 6*d.* per bushel. Our working people are all employed and get high wages, are well fed and well clad. Our estates in houses are trebled in value by the rising of rents since the revolution. Buildings in Philadelphia increase amazingly, besides small towns arising in every quarter of the country. The laws govern, justice is well administered, and property as secure as in any country on the globe. Our wilderness lands are daily buying up by new settlers, and our settlements extend rapidly to the westward. European goods were never so cheaply afforded us, as since Britain has no longer the monopoly of supplying us. In short, all among us may be happy—who have happy dispositions,—such being necessary to happiness even in paradise.

"I speak these things of Pennsylvania, with which I am most acquainted: as to the other states, when I read in all the papers of the extravagant rejoicings every 4th of July, the day on which was signed the Declaration of Independence, I am convinced that none of them are discontented with the revolution.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Charles Thompson.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 27, 1787.

"DEAR FRIEND,—You may remember that in the correspondence between us in last June, on the subject of a million *free gift* of the king of France, acknowledged in our contract to have been received, but which did not appear to be accounted for in our banker's accounts, unless it should be the same with the million said to be received from the farmer general, I mentioned that an explanation might doubtless be easily obtained by writing to Mr. Grand or Mr. Jefferson. I know not whether you have accordingly written to either of them, but being desirous that the matter should speedily be cleared up, I wrote myself to Mr. Grand a letter upon it, of which I now enclose a copy, with his answer, and several letters from M. Durival, who is *chef du bureau des fonds des affaires etrangeres,* and has under his care the finance.

"You will see by those letters, that the million in question was delivered to somebody on the 10th of June, 1776, but it does not appear to whom. It is clear, however, that it could not be to Mr. Grand, nor to the commissioners from congress; for we did not meet in France till the end of December, 1776, or the beginning of January 1777, and that banker was not charged before with our affairs.

"By the minister's reserve in refusing him a copy of the receipt, I conjecture it must be money advanced for our use to M. de Beaumarchais, and that it is a *mystere du cabinet*, which perhaps should not be further inquired into, unless necessary to guard against more demands than may be just from that agent; for it may well be supposed, that if the court furnished him with the means of supplying us, they may not be willing to furnish authentic proofs of such a transaction, so early in our dispute with Britain. Pray tell me has he dropt his demands, or does he still continue to worry you with them.

"I should like to have their original letters returned to me, but you may if you please keep copies of them. It is true the million in question makes no difference in your accounts with the king of France, it not being mentioned or charged as so much lent and to be repaid, but stated as freely given. Yet if it was paid into the hands of any of your agents, or ministers, they ought certainly to account for it. I do not recollect whether Mr. Deane had arrived in France before the 10th June 1776; [he did not arrive till the first week in July] but from his great want of money when I joined him a few months after, I hardly think it could have been paid to him. Possibly Mr. Jefferson may obtain the information, though Mr. Grand could not, and I wish he may be directed to make the inquiry, as I know he would do it directly; I mean if by Borlatez & Co's further demands, or for any other reason, such an inquiry should be thought necessary.

B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. Small.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 19, 1787.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I received your favour of June last, and thank you for the kind congratulations contained in it. What you have heard of my malady is true, 'that it does not grow worse.' Thanks be to God, I still enjoy pleasure in the society of my friends and books, and much more in the prosperity of my country, concerning which your people are continually deceiving themselves.

"I am glad the improvement of the Book of Common Prayer has met with your approbation, and that of good Mrs. Baldwin. It is not yet, that I know of, received in public practice any where; but as it is said that good motions never die, perhaps in time it may be found useful.

"I read with pleasure the account you give of the flourishing state of your commerce and manufactures, and of the plenty you have of resources to carry the nation through all its difficulties. You have one of the finest countries in the world, and if you can be cured of the folly of making war for trade, (in which wars more has been always expended than the profits of any trade can compensate) you may make it one of the happiest. Make the best of your own natural advantages, instead of endeavouring to diminish those of other nations, and there is no doubt but you may yet prosper and flourish. Your beginning to consider France no longer as a natural enemy, is a mark of progress in the good sense of the nation, of which posterity will find the benefit; in the rarity of wars, the diminution of taxes, and increase of riches.

"As to the refugees, whom you think we were so impolitic in rejecting, I do not find that they are missed here, or that any body regrets their absence. And certainly they must be *happier where they are, under the government they admire;* and be better received among a people whose cause they espoused and fought for, than among those who cannot so soon have forgotten the destruction of their habitations, and the spilt blood of their dearest friends and near relations.

"I often think with great pleasure on the happy days I passed in England with my and your learned and ingenious friends, who have left us to join the majority in the world of spirits. Every one of them now knows more than all of us they have left behind. It is to me a comfortable reflection, that since we must live for ever in a future state, there is a sufficient stock of amusement in reserve for us, to be found in constantly learning something new to eternity, the present quantity of human ignorance infinitely exceeding human knowledge. B. FRANKLIN."

In his 82d year.

"*To M. Veillard.*

"PHILADELPHIA, April 15, 1787.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I am quite of your opinion, that our independence is not quite complete, till we have discharged our public debt. This state is not behind hand in its proportion, and those who are in arrear, are actually employed in contriving means to discharge their respective balances, but they are not all equally diligent in the business, nor equally successful; the whole will however be paid, I am persuaded, in a few years.

"The English have not yet delivered up the posts on our frontier, agreeable to treaty; the pretence is, that our merchants here have not paid their debts. I was a little provoked when I first heard this, and I wrote some remarks upon it, which I send you: they have been written near a year, but I have not yet published them, being unwilling to encourage any of our people who may be able to pay, in their neglect of that duty. The paper is therefore only for your amusement, and that of our excellent friend the duke de la Rochefoucauld.

"As to my malady concerning which you so kindly inquire, I have never had the least doubt of its being the stone; and I am sensible that it has increased; but on the whole it does not give me more pain than when at Passy. People who live long, who will drink of the cup of life to the very bottom, must expect to meet with some of the usual dregs: and when I reflect on the number of terrible maladies human nature is subject to, I think myself favoured in having to my share only the stone and gout.

"You were right in conjecturing that I wrote the remarks on the '*thoughts concerning executive justice.*' I have no copy of those remarks at hand, and forget how the saying was introduced, that it is better a thousand guilty persons should escape, than one innocent suffer. Your criticisms thereon appear to be just, and I imagine you may have misapprehended my intention in mentioning it. I always thought with you, that the prejudice in Europe, which supposes a family dishonoured by the punishment of one its members, was very absurd, it being on the contrary my opinion, that a rogue hanged out of a family does it more honour than ten that live in it. B. FRANKLIN."

"*The duke de la Rochefoucauld.*

"PHILADELPHIA, April 15, 1787.

"I HAVE been happy in receiving three very kind letters from my greatly respected and esteemed friend, since my being in America. They are dated November 30, '85, February 8, '86, January 14, '87. In mine of this date to M. le Veillard, I have made the best apology I could for my being so bad a correspondent. I will not trouble you with a repetition of it, as I know you often see him. I will only confess my fault, and trust to your candour and goodness for my pardon.

"Your friendly congratulations on my arrival and reception here were very obliging. The latter was, as you have heard, extremely flattering. The two parties in the assembly and council, the constitutionists and anti-constitutionists, joined in requesting my service as counsellor, and afterwards in electing me as president. Of seventy-four members in council and assembly, who voted by ballot, there was in my first election but one negative beside my own; and in the second, after a year's service, only my own. And I experience from all the principal people in the government, every attention and assistance that can be desired towards making the task as little burdensome to me as possible. So I am going on very comfortable hitherto with my second year, and I do not at present see any likelihood of a change: but future events are always uncertain, being governed by Providence, or subject to chances; and popular favour is very precarious, being sometimes *lost* as well *gained* by good actions, so I do not depend on a continuance of my present happiness, and therefore shall not be surprised if before my time of service expires, something should happen to diminish it.

"These states in general enjoy peace and plenty. There have been some disorders in the Massachusetts and Rhode Island governments; those in the former are quelled for the present: those of the latter, being contentions for and against paper money, will probably continue some time. Maryland too is divided on the same subject, the assembly being for it and the senate against it. Each is now employed in endeavouring to gain the people to its party, against the next elections, and 'tis probable the assembly may prevail. Paper money in moderate quantities has been found beneficial; when more than the occasions of commerce require, it depreciated and was mischievous; and the populace are apt to demand more than is necessary. In this state we have some, and it is useful, and I do not hear any clamour for more.

"There seems to be but little thought at present in the particular states, of mending their particular constitutions; but the grand federal constitution is generally blamed, as not having given sufficient powers to congress, the federal head. A convention is therefore appointed to revise that constitution, and propose a better. You will see by the enclosed paper that your friend is to be one in that business, though he doubts his malady may not permit his giving constant attendance. I am glad to see that you are named as one of a general assembly to be convened in France. I flatter myself that great good may accrue to that dear nation from the deliberations of such an assembly. I pray God to give it his blessing.

"I sympathise with you and the family most sincerely, in the great loss sustained by the decease of that excellent woman.* It must be indeed a heavy one. My best wishes attend those that remain, and that the happiness of your sweet domestic society may long continue without such another interruption.

"I send herewith a volume of the Transactions of our Philosophical Society for you, another for M. de Condorcet, and a third for the Academy. The war had interrupted our attempts to improve ourselves in scientific matters, but we now begin to resume them.

"The bearer of this is Mr. Paine, the author of a famous piece entitled *Common Sense*, published here, with great effect on the minds of the people at the beginning of the revolution. He is an ingenious, honest man, and as such I beg leave to recommend him to your civilities. He carries with him the model of a bridge of a new construction, his own invention, concerning which I intended to have recommended him to Mr. Peyronnet, but I hear he is no more. You can easily procure Mr. Paine a sight of the models and drawings of the collection appertaining to the *Ponts et Chaussées*; they must afford him useful lights on the subject. We want a bridge over our river Schuylkill, and have no artist here regularly bred to that kind of architecture.

"My grandsons are very sensible of the honour of your remembrance, and desire me to present their respects.—With the most sincere and perfect esteem and attachment, I am ever, my dear friend, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*The Abbés Chalut and Arnaud.*

"PHILADELPHIA, April 17, 1787

"DEAR FRIENDS,—Your reflections, on our situation compared with that of many nations of Europe, are very sensible and just. Let me add, that only a virtuous people are capable of freedom. As nations become corrupt and vicious, they have more need of masters.

"Our affairs go on as well as can reasonably be expected after so great an overturning. We have had some disorders in different parts of the country, but we arrange them as they arise, and are daily mending and improving; so that I have no doubt but all will come right in time.—Yours, B. FRANKLIN."

"*To M. de la Fayette.*

"PHILADELPHIA, April 17, 1787.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I received the kind letter you did me the honour of writing in February, 1786. The indolence of old age, and the perpetual teasing of too much business, have made me so bad a correspondent, that I have hardly written a letter to any friend in Europe during the last twelvemonth: but as I have always a pleasure in hearing from them, which I cannot expect will be continued if I do not write to them, I again take up my pen, and begin with those whose correspondence is of the greatest value; among which I reckon that of the marquis de la Fayette.

"I was glad to hear of your safe return to Paris, after so long and fatiguing a journey.

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* The duchess D'Anville, mother of the duke de la Rochefoucauld.

That is the place where your enlightened zeal for the welfare of our country can employ itself most to our advantage, and I know it is always at work, and indefatigable. Our enemies are, as you observe, very industrious in depreciating our national character. Their abuse sometimes provokes me, and I am almost ready to retaliate; but I have held my hand, though there is abundant room for recrimination; because I would do nothing that might hasten another quarrel, by exasperating those who are still sore from their late disgraces. Perhaps it may be best that they should please themselves with fancying us weak, and poor, and divided, and friendless; they may then not be jealous of our growing strength, (which since the peace, does really make rapid progress) and may be less intent on interrupting it.

"I do not wonder that the Germans, who know little of free constitutions, should be ready to suppose that such cannot support themselves. We think they may, and we hope to prove it. That there should be faults in our first sketches or plans of government is not surprising; rather, considering the times, and the circumstances under which they were formed, it is surprising that the faults are so few. Those in the general confederating articles, are now about to be considered in a convention called for that express purpose; these will indeed be the most difficult to rectify. Those of particular states will undoubtedly be rectified, as their inconveniences shall by experience be made manifest. And whatever difference of sentiment there may be among us respecting particular regulations, the enthusiastic rejoicings with which the day of declared independence is annually celebrated, demonstrate the universal satisfaction of the people with the revolution and its grand principles.

"I enclose the vocabulary you sent me, with the words of the Shawanese and Delaware languages, which colonel Harmar has procured for me. He is promised one more complete, which I shall send you as soon as it comes to my hands.

"My grandson, whom you so kindly inquire after, is at his estate in the Jerseys, and amuses himself with cultivating his lands. I wish he would seriously make a business of it, and renounce all thoughts of public employment, for I think agriculture the most honourable, because the most independent of all professions. But I believe he hankers a little after Paris, or some other of the polished cities of Europe, thinking the society there preferable to what he meets with in the woods of Ancocas; as it certainly is. If he was now here, he would undoubtedly join with me and the rest of my family (who are much flattered by your remembrance of them) in the best wishes for your health and prosperity, and that of your whole amiable fireside. You will allow an old friend of fourscore to say he *loves* your wife, when he adds and children, and prays God to bless them all.

"B. FRANKLIN."

'*Marquis de Chastelleux.*

"PHILADELPHIA, April 17, 1787.

"DEAR SIR,—Your most pleasing letter accompanied by the invaluable present of your journal, and translation of colonel Humphrey's poem, came to hand but lately, though dated in June last. I believe they have been in the West Indies. They have given me a great deal of pleasure in the perusal, as every thing of yours always did. The portrait you have made of our country and people, is what in painting is called *a handsome likeness*, for which we are much obliged to you. We shall be the better for it if we endeavour to merit what you kindly say in our favour, and to correct what you justly censure. I am told the journal is translated into English, and printed in one of the states, I know not which, not having seen the translation.

"The newspapers tell us, that you are about to have an assembly of Notables, to consult on improvements of your government. It is somewhat singular, that we should be engaged in the same project here at the same time, but so it is, and a convention for the purpose of revising and amending our federal constitution is to meet at this place next month. I hope both assemblies will be blessed with success, and that their deliberations and councils may promote the happiness of both nations.

"In the state of Pennsylvania, government, notwithstanding our parties, goes on at present very smoothly; so that I have much less trouble in my station than was expected. Massachusetts has lately been disturbed by some disorderly people; but they are now quelled. The rest of the states go on pretty well, except some dissensions in Rhode Island and Maryland respecting paper money. Mr. Paine, whom you know, and who undertakes to deliver this letter to you, can give you full information of our affairs, and therefore I need not enlarge upon them. I beg leave to recommend him to your civilities. I have fulfilled all your commissions to the ladies here, who are much flattered by your kind remembrance of them.—My family join in every sentiment of esteem and respect with, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*The Abbé Morellet, Paris.*

"PHILADELPHIA, April 22, 1787.

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—I received, though long after they were written, your very agreeable favours of October, 30, '85, and February 9, '86, with the pieces enclosed, productions of the Auteuil Academy of *belles lettres.* Your kind and friendly wishes and congratulations are extremely obliging. It gives me an infinite pleasure to find that I still retain a favourable place in the remembrance of the worthy and the good, whose delightful and instructive society I had the happiness of enjoying while I resided in France.

But though I could not leave that dear nation without regret, I certainly did right in coming home. I am here in my *niche* in my own house in the bosom of my family, my daughter and grandchildren all about me, among my old friends or the sons of my friends, who equally respect me; and who all speak and understand the same language with me; and you know that if a man desires to be useful by the exercise of his mental faculties, he loses half their force when in a foreign country, where he can only express himself in a language with which he is not well acquainted. In short, I enjoy here every opportunity of doing good, and every thing else I could wish for, except repose; and that I may soon expect, either by the cessation of my office, which cannot last more than three years, or by ceasing to live.

"I am of the same opinion with you respecting the freedom of commerce, in countries especially where direct taxes are practicable. This will be our case in time, when our wide extended country fills up with inhabitants. But at present they are so widely settled, often five or six miles distant from one another in the back country, that the collection of a direct tax is almost impossible, the trouble of the collector's going from house to house amounting to more than the value of the tax. Nothing can be better expressed than your sentiments are on this point, where you prefer liberty of trading, cultivating, manufacturing, &c., even to civil liberty, this being affected but rarely, the other every hour. Our debt occasioned by the war being heavy, we are under the necessity of using imposts and every method we can think of to assist in raising a revenue to discharge it; but in sentiment we are well disposed to abolish duties on importation as soon as we possibly can afford to do so.

"Whatever may be reported by the English in Europe, you may be assured that our people are almost unanimous in being satisfied with the revolution. Their unbounded respect for all who were principally concerned in it, whether as warriors or statesmen, and the enthusiastic joy with which the day of the declaration of independence is every where annually celebrated, are indubitable proof of this truth. In one or two of the states there have been some discontents on partial and local subjects; these may have been fomented, as the accounts of them are exaggerated, by our ancient enemies; but they are now nearly suppressed, and the rest of the states enjoy peace and good order, and flourish amazingly. The crops have been good for several years past, the price of country produce high, from foreign demand, and it fetches ready money; rents are high in our towns, which increase fast by new buildings; labourers and artizans have high wages well paid, and vast tracts of new land are continually clearing and rendered fit for cultivation.—I am, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. Jordain.*

"PHILADELPHIA, May 18, 1787.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your very kind letter of February 27, together with the cask of porter you have been so good as to send me. We have here at present what the French call *une assemblée des notables*, a convention composed of some of the principal people from the several states of our confederation. They did me the honour of dining with me last Wednesday, when the cask was broached, and its contents met with the most cordial reception and universal approbation. In short the company agreed unanimously, that it was the best porter they had ever tasted. Accept my thanks, a poor return, but all I can make at present.

"Your letter reminds me of many happy days we have passed together, and the dear friends with whom we passed them; some of whom, alas! have left us, and we must regret their loss, although our Hawkesworth* is become an adventurer in more happy regions; and our Stanley† gone, 'where only his own *harmony* can be exceeded.' You give me joy in telling me that you are 'on the pinnacle of *content.*' Without it no situation can be happy; with it, any. One means of becoming content with one's situation, is the comparing it with a worse. Thus when I consider how many terrible diseases the human body is liable to, I comfort myself that only three incurable ones have fallen to my share, viz. the gout, the stone, and old age; and that these have not yet deprived me of my natural cheerfulness, my delight in books, and enjoyment of social conversation.

"I am glad to hear that Mr. Fitzmaurice is married, and has an amiable lady and children. It is a better plan than that he once proposed, of getting Mrs. Wright to make him a wax-work wife to sit at the head of his table. For after all, wedlock is the natural state of man. A bachelor is not a complete human being. He is like the odd half of a pair of scissors, which has not yet found its fellow, and therefore is not even half so useful as they might be together.

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* John Hawkesworth, L.L. D. author of the Adventurer, and compiler of the account of the Discoveries made in the South Seas, by captain Cook.

† John Stanley, an eminent musician and composer, though he became blind at the age of two years.

"I hardly know which to admire most; the wonderful discoveries made by Herschel, or the indefatigable ingenuity by which he has been enabled to make them. Let us hope, my friend, that when free from these bodily embarrassments, we may roam together through some of the systems he has explored, conducted by some of our old companions already acquainted with them. Hawkesworth will enliven our progress with his cheerful, sensible converse, and Stanley accompany the music of the spheres.

"Mr. Watraaugh tells me, for I immediately inquired after her. that your daughter is alive and well. I remember her a most promising and beautiful child, and therefore do not wonder that she is grown, as he says, a fine woman.

"God bless her and you, my dear friend, and every thing that pertains to you, is the sincere prayer of yours, most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

In his 82d year.

"*To George Wheatley.*

"PHILADELPHIA, May 18, 1787.

"I RECEIVED duly my good old friend's letter of the 19th of February. I thank you much for your notes on banks, they are just and solid, as far as I can judge of them. Our bank here has met with great opposition, partly from envy, and partly from those who wish an emission of more paper money, which they think the bank influence prevents. But it has stood all attacks, and went on well, notwithstanding the assembly repealed its charter. A new assembly has restored it; and the management is so prudent, that I have no doubt of its continuing to go on well: the dividend has never been less than six per cent., nor will that be augmented for some time, as the surplus profit is reserved to face accidents. The dividend of eleven per cent., which was once made, was from a circumstance scarce unavoidable. A new company was proposed; and prevented only by admitting a number of new partners. As many of the first set were averse to this, and chose to withdraw, it was necessary to settle their accounts; so all were adjusted, the profits shared that had been accumulated, and the new and old proprietors jointly began on a new and equal footing. Their notes are always instantly paid on demand, and pass on all occasions as readily as silver, because they will always produce silver.

"Your medallion is in good company, it is placed with those of lord Chatham, lord Camden, marquis of Rockingham, sir George Saville, and some others who honoured me with a show of friendly regard when in England. I believe I have thanked you for it, but I thank you again.

"I believe with you, that if our plenipo. is desirous of concluding a treaty of commerce, he may need patience. If I were in his place, and not otherwise instructed, I should be apt to say 'take your own time, gentlemen.' If the treaty cannot be made as much to your advantage as to ours, don't make it. I am sure the want of it is not more to our disadvantage than to yours. Let the merchants on both sides treat with one another. *Laissez les faire.*

"I have never considered attentively the congress's scheme for coining, and I have it not now at hand, so that at present I can say nothing to it. The chief uses of coining seem to be the ascertaining the fineness of the metals. and saving the time that would otherwise be spent in weighing to ascertain the quantity. But the convenience of fixed values to pieces is so great as to force the currency of some whose stamp is worn off, that should have assured their fineness, and which are evidently not of half their due weight: the case at present with the sixpences in England, which one with another do not weigh three pence.

"You are now 78, and I am 82; you tread fast upon my heels: but though you have more strength and spirit. you cannot come up with me till I stop, which must now be soon; for I am grown so old as to have buried most of the friends of my youth, and I now often hear persons, whom I knew when children, called *old* Mr. such-a-one, to distinguish them from their sons, now men grown and in business; so that by living twelve years beyond David's period, I seem to have intruded myself into the company of posterity, when I ought to have been a-bed and asleep. Yet had I gone at seventy, it would have cut off twelve of the most active years of my life, employed too in matters of the greatest importance; but whether I have been doing good or mischief is for time to discover. I only know that I intended well. and I hope all will end well.

"Be so good as to present my affectionate respects to Dr. Riley. I am under great obligations to him, and shall write to him shortly. It will be a pleasure to him to know, that my malady does not grow sensibly worse. and that is a great point: for it has always been so tolerable, as not to prevent my enjoying the pleasures of society, and being cheerful in conversation; I owe this in a great measure to his good counsels.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To count Buffon, Paris.*

"PHILADELPHIA. Nov. 19, 1787.

"DEAR SIR,— I am honoured by your letter, desiring to know by what means I am relieved in a disorder, with which you are so unfortunately afflicted. I have tried all the noted prescriptions for *diminishing* the stone, without perceiving any good effect. But observing temperance in eating, avoiding wine and cider, and using daily the dumb bell, which exercises the upper part of the body without much moving the parts in contact with the stone, I think I have prevented its *increase*. As the roughness of the stone lacerates a little the neck of the bladder, I find that when the urine happens to be sharp, I have much pain in making water, and frequent urgencies. For relief under this circumstance, I take, going to bed, the bigness of a pigeon's egg of jelly of blackberries: the receipt for making it is enclosed. While I continue to do this every night, I am generally easy the day following, making water pretty freely, and with long intervals. I wish most sincerely that this simple remedy may have the same happy effect with you. Perhaps currant jelly, or the jelly of apples, or of raspberries, may be equally serviceable; for I suspect the virtue of the jelly may lie principally in the boiled sugar, which is in some degree candied by the boiling of the jelly.

Wishing you for your own sake much more ease, and for the sake of mankind many more years, I remain, with the greatest esteem and respect, dear sir, your most obedient and affectionate servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*To Mr. Small.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 28, 1787.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your kind letter of June 6, '86, and I answered it, though long after the receipt. I do not perceive by your second favour of July, '87, that my answer had then come to hand, but hope it may since that time.

"I have not lost any of the principles of public economy you once knew me possessed of; but to get the bad customs of a country changed, and new ones, though better, introduced, it is necessary first to remove the prejudices of the people, enlighten their ignorance, and convince them that their interest will be promoted by the proposed changes: and this is not the work of a day. Our legislators are all landholders; and they are not yet persuaded that all taxes are finally paid by the land. Besides, our country is so sparcely settled, the habitations, particularly in the back countries, being perhaps five or six miles distant from each other, that the time and labour of the collector, in going from house to house, and being obliged to call often before he can recover the tax, amounts to more than the tax is worth, and therefore we have been forced into the mode of indirect taxes, *i. e.* duties on importation of goods, and excises.

"I have made no attempt to introduce the form of prayer here, which you and good Mrs. Baldwin do me the honour to approve. The things of *this* world take up too much of my time, of which indeed I have too little left to undertake any thing like a reformation in matters of religion. When we can sow good seed, we should however do it, and wait, when we can do no better, with patience, nature's time for their sprouting. Some lie many years in the ground, and at length certain favourable seasons or circumstances bring them forth with vigourous shoots and plentiful productions.

"Had I been at home, as you wish, soon after the peace, I might possibly have mitigated some of the severities against the royalists, believing as I do, that fear and error, rather than malice, occasioned their desertion of their country's cause, and adoption of the king's. The public resentment against them is now so far abated, that none who ask leave to return are refused, and many of them now live among us much at their ease. As to the restoration of confiscated estates, it is an operation that none of our politicians have as yet ventured to propose. They are a sort of people that love to fortify themselves in their projects by precedent. Perhaps they wait to see your government restore the forfeited estates in Scotland to the Scotch, those in Ireland to the Irish, and those in England to the Welch.

"I am glad that the distressed exiles who remain with you have received, or are likely to receive, some compensation for their losses, for I commiserate their situation. It was clearly incumbent on the king to indemnify those he had seduced by his proclamations: but it seems not so clearly consistent with the wisdom of parliament to resolve doing it for him. If some mad king should think fit in a freak to make war upon his subjects of Scotland, or upon those of England, by the help of Scotland and Ireland (as the Stuarts did,) may he not encourage followers by the precedent of those parliamentary gratuities, and thus set his subjects to cutting one another's throats, first with the hope of sharing in confiscations, and then with that of compensation in case of disappointment? The council of brutes, without a fable, were aware of this. Lest that fable may perhaps not have fallen in your way, I enclose a copy of it.

"Your commercial treaty with France seems to show a growing improvement in the sentiments of both nations in the economical science. All Europe might be a great deal happier with a little more understanding. We in America have lately had a convention for framing a new constitution. Enclosed I send you the result of their deliberations. Whether it will be generally acceptable, and carried into execution, is yet to be seen; but present appearances are in its favour.

"I am always glad to hear from you, and of your welfare. I remember with pleasure the happy days we have spent together.—Adieu, and believe me ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To* * * * *.

"PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 15, 1787.

"I HOPE the disorders in Brabant and Holland may be rectified without bloodshed. But I fear the impending war with the Turks, if not prevented by prudent negociation, may in its consequences involve great part of Europe. I confide, however, that France and England will preserve their present peace with each other, notwithstanding some contrary appearances: for I think that they have both of them *too much sense* to go to war without an important cause, as well as too *little money* at present.

"As to the projected conquest from Turkey, I apprehend, that if the emperor and empress would make some use of arithmetic, and calculate what annual revenues may be expected from the country they want, should they acquire it, and then offer the grand signior a hundred times that annual revenue, to be paid down for an amicable purchase of it, it would be his interest to accept the offer, as well as theirs to make it, rather than a war for it should take place; since a war to acquire that territory and to retain it, will cost both parties much more, perhaps ten times more, than such sum of purchase money. But the hope of glory and the ambition of princes are not subject to arithmetical calculation.—My best wishes attend you; being with great esteem, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

"*To M. Veillard, Passy.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 17, 1788.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I received your kind letter of June 23, by Mr. Saugrain, and it is the last of yours that is come to my hands. As you have so much leisure, and love writing, I cannot think you have been so long silent; you who are so good as to love me, and who know how much pleasure your letters always afford me. I therefore rather suspect you may probably have written something too freely concerning public affairs, and that your letters may be arrested in your post office, and yourself lodged in the bastile. You see I imagine, any thing however extravagant, rather than suppose, (as your letters too often do) that my friends forget me.

"I find Mr. Saugrain to answer well the good character you give of him, and shall with pleasure render him any services in my power. He is now gone down the Ohio, to reconnoitre that country.

"I should have proceeded in the history you mention, if I could well have avoided accepting the chair of president for this third and last year: to which I was again elected by the *unanimous* voice of council and general assembly in November. If I live to see this year expire I may enjoy some leisure, which I promise you to employ in the work you do me the honour to urge so earnestly.

"I sent you with my last a copy of the new constitution proposed for the United States by the late general convention. I sent one also to our excellent friend the duke de la Rochefoucauld. I attended the business of the convention faithfully for four months. Enclosed you have the last speech I made in it. Six states have already adopted the constitution, and there is now little doubt of its being accepted by a sufficient number to carry it into execution, if not immediately by the whole. It has however met with great opposition in some states, for we are at present a nation of politicians. And though there is a general dread of giving too much *power* to our *governors*, I think we are more in danger from too little obedience in the *governed*.

"We shall, as you suppose, have imposts on trade, and custom-houses, not because other nations have them, but because we cannot at present do without them. We want to discharge our public debt occasioned by the late war. Direct taxes are not so easily levied on the scantily settled inhabitants of our wide extended country; and what is paid in the price of merchandise is less felt by the consumer, and less the cause of complaint. When we are out of debt we may leave our trade free, for our ordinary charges of government will not be great.

"Where there is a free government, and the people make their own laws by their representatives, I see no injustice in their obliging one another to take their own paper money. It is no more so than compelling a man by law to take his own note. But it is unjust to pay strangers with such money against their will. The making of paper money, with such a sanction, is however a folly, since although you may by law oblige a citizen to take it for his goods, you cannot fix his prices; and his liberty of rating them as he pleases, which is the same thing as setting what value he pleases on your money, defeats your sanction.

"I have been concerned to hear of the troubles in the internal government of the country I love; and hope some good may come out of them; and that they may end without mischief.

"In your letter to my grandson, you asked some questions that had an appearance as if you meditated a visit to us. Nothing in this world would give me greater pleasure, than to receive and embrace here the whole family. But it is too great a happiness to be expected. This family all join with me in best wishes of every felicity to you and yours; and I remain with an unalterable and great esteem and affection, my dear friend, yours most sincerely, B. FRANKLIN."

"*To the Editors of the Pennsylvania Gazette.*

"MESSRS. HALL AND SELLERS,—I lately heard a remark, that on examination of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for fifty years from its commencement, it appeared that during that long period, scarce one libellous piece had ever appeared in it. This generally chaste conduct of your paper is much to its reputation; for it has long been the opinion of sober, judicious people, that nothing is more likely to endanger the liberty of the press, than the abuse of that liberty, by employing it in personal accusation, detraction, and calumny. The excesses some of our papers have been guilty of in this particular, have set this state in a bad light abroad, as appears by the following letter, which I wish you to publish, not merely to show your own disapprobation of the practice, but as a caution to others of the profession throughout the United States. For I have seen an European newspaper, in which the editor, who had been charged with frequently calumniating the Americans, justifies himself by saying, 'that he had published nothing disgraceful to us, which he had not taken from our own printed papers.'—I am, &c.

"A. B."

* * * *

"NEW YORK, March 30, 1788.

"DEAR FRIEND,—My gout has at length left me, after five months' painful confinement. It afforded me however the leisure to read, or hear read, all the packets of your newspapers which you so kindly sent for my amusement.

"Mrs. W. has partaken of it; she likes to read the advertisements; but she remarks some kind of *inconsistency* in the announcing so many diversions for almost every evening in the week, and such quantities to be sold of expensive superfluities, fineries, and luxuries *just imported*, in a country that at the same time fills its papers with complaints of *hard times* and want of money. I tell her that such complaints are common to all times and all countries, and were made even in Solomon's time; when, as we are told, silver was as plenty in Jerusalem as the stones in the street, and yet even then, there were people that grumbled, so as to incur this censure from that knowing prince. *Say not thou that the former times were better than these; for thou dost not inquire rightly concerning that matter.*

"But the *inconsistence* that strikes me the most is that between the name of your city, *Philadelphia, brotherly love*, and the spirit of rancour, malice, and *hatred* that breathes in its newspapers. For I learn from those papers, that your state is divided into parties, that each ascribes all the public operations of the other to vicious motives; that they do not even suspect one another of the smallest degree of honesty; that the anti-federalists are such, merely from the fear of losing power, places, or emoluments which they have in possession or in expectation; that the federalists are a set of *conspirators*, who aim at establishing a tyranny over the persons and property of their countrymen, and to live in splendour on the plunder of the people. I learn too that your justices of the peace, though chosen by their neighbours, make a villanous trade of their office, and promote discord to augment fees, and fleece their electors; and that this would not be mended by placing the choice in the executive council, who with interested or party views are continually making as improper appointments; witness a '*petty fiddler, sycophant, and scoundrel*' appointed judge of the Admiralty; '*an old woman and fomenter of sedition*' to be another of the judges, and '*a Jeffries*' chief justice, &c. &c.; with '*two harpies*' the comptroller and naval officers to prey upon the merchants and deprive them of their property by force of arms, &c. I am informed also by these papers, that your general assembly, though the annual choice of the people shows no regard to their rights, but from sinister views or ignorance, makes laws in direct violation of the constitution, to divest the inhabitants of their property, and give it to strangers and intruders; and that the council, either fearing the resentment of their constituents, or plotting to enslave them, had projected to disarm them, and given orders for that purpose; and finally, that your president, the unanimous joint choice of the council and assembly, is '*an old rogue*,' who gave his assent to the federal constitution, merely to avoid refunding money he had purloined from the United States. There is indeed a good deal of manifest *inconsistency* in all this, and yet a stranger seeing it in your own prints, though he does not believe it all, may probably believe enough of it to conclude that Pennsylvania is peopled by a set of the most unprincipled, wicked, rascally, and quarrelsome scoundrels upon the face of the globe. I have sometimes indeed suspected, that those papers are the manufacture of foreign enemies among you, who write with a view of disgracing your country, and making you appear contemptible and detestable all the world over: but then I wonder at the indiscretion of your printers in publishing such writings! There is however one of your *inconsistencies* that consoles me a little, which is, that though *living* you give one another the characters of devils; *dead* you are all angels! It is delightful when any of you die, to read what good husbands, good fathers, good friends, good citizens, and good Christians you were, concluding with a scrap of poetry that places you, with certainty, every one in heaven. So that I think Pennsylvania a good country *to die in*, though a very bad one to live in."

"*M. Veillard.*

"Philadelphia, April 22, 1788.

"My dear Friend,—I received but a few days since your favour of November 30, 1787, in which you continue to urge me to finish the Memoirs. My three years of service will expire in October, when a new president must be chosen; and I had the project of retiring then to my grandson's villa in New Jersey, where I might be free from the interruption of visits, in order to complete that work for your satisfaction; for in this city my time is so cut to pieces by friends and strangers, that I have sometimes envied the prisoners in the bastile: but considering now the little remnant of life I have left, the accidents that may happen between this and October, and your earnest desire, I have come to a resolution to proceed in that work to-morrow, and continue it daily till finished, which if my health permits, may be in the course of the ensuing summer. As it goes on I will have a copy made for you, and you may expect to receive a part by the next packet.

"It is very possible, as you suppose, that all the articles of the proposed new government will not remain unchanged after the first meeting of the congress. I am of opinion with you, that the *two* chambers were not necessary, and I disliked some other articles that are in, and wished for some that are not in the proposed plan; I nevertheless hope it may be adopted, though I should have nothing to do with the execution of it, being determined to quit all public business with my present employment. At 83 one certainly has a right to *ambition* repose.

"We are not ignorant, that the duties paid at the custom-house on the importation of foreign goods are finally reimbursed by the consumer, but we impose them as the easiest way of levying a tax from those consumers. If our new country was as closely inhabited as your old one, we might without much difficulty collect a land-tax, that would be sufficient for all purposes: but where farms are at five or six miles distant from each other, as they are in a great part of our country, the going of the collectors from house to house to demand the taxes, and being obliged to call more than once for the same tax, makes the trouble of collecting, in many cases, exceed the value of the sum collected. Things that are practicable in one country are not always so in another, where circumstances differ. Our duties are however generally so small as to give little temptation to smuggling.

"Believe me ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN."

"*M. Dupont de Nemours, at Paris.*

"Philadelphia, June 9, 1788.

"Sir,—I have received your favour of December 31, with the extract of a letter which you wish to have translated and published here. But seven states having, before it arrived, ratified the new constitution, and others being daily expected to do the same, after the fullest discussion in convention, and in all the public papers, till every body was tired of the argument, it seemed too late to propose delay, and especially the delay that must be occasioned by a revision and correction of all the separate constitutions. For it would take at least a year to convince thirteen states that the constitutions they have practised ever since the revolution, without observing any imperfections in them, so great as to be worth the trouble of amendment, are nevertheless so ill formed as to be unfit for continuation, or to be parts of a federal government. And when they should be so convinced, it would probably take some years more to make the connexions. An eighth state has since acceded, and when a ninth is added, which is now daily expected, the constitution will be carried into execution. It is probable, however, that at the first meeting of the new congress, various amendments will be proposed and discussed, when I hope your *Ouvrage sur les principes et le bien des republiques en general*, &c. &c., may be ready to put into their hands; and such a work from your hand, I am confident, though it may not be entirely followed, will afford useful hints, and produce advantages of importance. But we must not expect that a new government may be formed, as a game of chess may be played, by a skilful hand, without a fault. The players of our game are so many, their ideas so different, their prejudices so strong and so various, and their particular interests, independent of the general, seeming so opposite, that not a move can be made that is not contested; the numerous objections confound the understanding; the wisest must agree to some unreasonable things, that reasonable ones of more consequence may be obtained, and thus chance has its share in many of the determinations, so that the play is more like *tric-trac* with a box of dice.

"We are much pleased with the disposition of your government to favour our commerce, manifested in the late *réglement*. You appear to be possessed of a *truth*, which few governments are possessed of, that A must take some of B's produce, otherwise B will not be able to pay for what he would take of A. But there is one thing wanting to facilitate and augment our intercourse. It is a dictionary, explaining the names of different articles of manufacture, in the two languages. When I was in Paris, I received a large order for a great variety of goods, particularly of the kind called hardwares, *i. e.* wares of iron and steel: and when I showed the invoice to your manufacturers, they did not understand what kinds of goods or instruments were meant by the names: nor could any English and French dictionary be found to explain them. So I sent to England for one of each sort, which might serve both as explanation and as a model, the latter being of importance likewise, since people are prejudiced in favour of *forms* they have been used to, though perhaps not the best. They cost me twenty-five guineas, but were lost by the way, and the peace coming on the scheme dropped. It would however, as I imagine, be well worth receiving. For our merchants say we still send to England for such goods as we want, because there they understand our orders, and can execute them precisely.—With great esteem, I am, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN.'

"*Madame Lavoisier.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 23, 1788.

"I HAVE a long time been disabled from writing to my dear friend, by a severe fit of the gout, or I should sooner have returned my thanks for her very kind present of the portrait, which she has herself done me the honour to make of me. It is allowed by those who have seen it to have great merit as a picture in every respect; but what particularly endears it to me is the hand that drew it. Our English enemies, when they were in possession of this city and my house, made a prisoner of my portrait, and carried it off with them, leaving that of its companion, my wife, by itself, a kind of widow. You have replaced the husband, and the lady seems to smile as well pleased.

"It is true, as you observe, that I enjoy here every thing that a reasonable mind can desire, a sufficiency of income, a comfortable habitation of my own building, having all the conveniences I could imagine; a dutiful affectionate daughter to nurse and take care of me, a number of promising grandchildren, some old friends still remaining to converse with, and more respect, distinction, and public honours than I can possibly merit; these are the blessings of God, and depend on his continued goodness: yet all do not make me forget Paris and the nine years' happiness I enjoyed there, in the sweet society of people whose conversation is instructive, whose manners are highly pleasing, and who, above all the nations in the world, have in the greatest perfection the art of making themselves beloved by strangers. And now, even in my sleep, I find, that the scenes of all my pleasant dreams are laid in that city, or in its neighbourhood.

"I like much young M. Dupont. He appears a very sensible and valuable man, and I think his father will have a great deal of satisfaction in him.

"Please present my thanks to M. Lavoisier for the *Nomenclature Chimique* he has been so good as to send me, (it must be a useful book) and assure him of my great and sincere esteem and attachment. My best wishes attend you both, and I think I cannot wish you and him greater happiness than a long continuance of the connexion.—With great regard and affection, I have the honour to be, my dear friend, your most obliged and most obedient humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Dr. Ingenhauz.

"October 24, 1788.

"You have always been kind enough to interest yourself in what relates to my health: I ought therefore to acquaint you with what appears to me something curious respecting it: you may remember the cutaneous malady, I formerly complained of, and for which you and Dr. Pringle favoured me with prescriptions and advice. It vexed me near fourteen years, and was, the beginning of this year, as bad as ever, covering almost my whole body except my face and hands: when a fit of the gout came on, without very much pain, but a swelling in both feet, which at last appeared also in both knees; and then in my hands. As these swellings increased and extended, the other malady diminished, and at length disappeared entirely. Those swellings have some time since begun to fall, and are now almost gone; perhaps the cutaneous may return, or perhaps it is worn out. I may hereafter let you know what happens. I am on the whole much weaker than when it began to leave me. But possibly that may be the effect of age, for I am now near 83, the age of commencing decrepitude.

"I grieve at the wars Europe is engaged in, and wish they were ended; for I fear even the victors will be the losers.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"P. S. Our public affairs are drawing towards a settlement. I have served out the three years term of my presidentship, limited by the constitution; and being determined to engage no more in public business, I hope, if health permits, to be a better correspondent. We have no philosophical news here at present, except that a boat moved by a steam engine, rows itself against tide in our river, and it is apprehended the construction may be so simplified and improved as to become generally useful."

" *B. Vaughan.*

"October 24, 1788.

"Having now finished my term in the presidentship, and resolving to engage no more in public affairs, I hope to be a better correspondent for the little time I have to live. I am recovering from a long continued gout, and am diligently employed in writing the History of my Life, to the doing of which the persuasions contained in your letter of January 31, 1783, have not a little contributed. I am now in the year 1756, just before I was sent to England. To shorten the work, as well as for other reasons, I omit all facts and transactions that may not have a tendency to benefit the young reader, by showing him from my example, and my success in emerging from poverty, and acquiring some degree of wealth, power, and reputation, the advantages of certain modes of conduct which I observed, and of avoiding the errors which were prejudicial to me. If a writer can judge properly of his own work, I fancy on reading over what is already done, that the book may be found entertaining, interesting, and useful, more so than I expected when I began it. If my present state of health continues, I hope to finish it this winter: when done, you shall have a manuscript copy of it, that I may obtain from your judgment and friendship such remarks as may contribute to its improvement.

"The violence of our party debates about the new constitution seems much abated, indeed almost extinct, and we are getting fast into good order. I kept out of those disputes pretty well, having wrote only one piece, which I send you enclosed.

"I regret the immense quantity of misery brought upon mankind by this Turkish war; and I am afraid the king of Sweden may burn his fingers by attacking Russia. When will princes learn arithmetic enough to calculate, if they want pieces of one another's territory, how much cheaper it would be to buy them than to make war for them, even though they were to give an hundred years' purchase; but if glory cannot be valued, and therefore the wars for it cannot be subject to arithmetical calculation, so as to show their advantages or disadvantage; at least wars for trade, which have gain for their object, may be proper subjects for such computation; and a trading nation as well as a single trader ought to calculate the probabilities of profit and loss, before engaging in any considerable adventure. This, however, nations seldom do, and we have had frequent instances of their spending more money in wars for acquiring or securing branches of commerce, than an hundred years' profit or the full enjoyment of them can compensate.

"Remember me affectionately to good Dr. Price and to the honest heretic Dr. Priestley. I do not call him *honest* by way of distinction; for I think all the heretics I have known have been virtuous men. They have the virtue of fortitude, or they would not venture to own their heresy; and they cannot afford to be deficient in any of the other virtues, as that would give advantage to their many enemies; and they have not like orthodox sinners, such a number of friends to excuse or justify them. Do not, however, mistake me. It is not to my good friend's heresy that I impute his honesty. On the contrary, 'tis his honesty that has brought upon him the character of heretic. B. FRANKLIN."

" *Mrs. Partridge.*

"Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1788.

"My dear Child,—I received your kind letter of the 12th instant, enclosing one for Mr. Philip Vanhorn, physician in Philadelphia, which you desired me to deliver, and to solicit the forgiveness of his daughter. I immediately made inquiry for him, as to be instrumental in so charitable a work, and in concurrence with you, would have given me great pleasure: but I am assured by our oldest inhabitants, who have had most acquaintance and best opportunities of knowing their fellow-citizens, particularly some of our physicians, that no physician or other person of that name has ever been a resident here: so that there must have been some mistake in the information that has been given you, if indeed the whole story is not an imposition.

"You kindly inquire after my health; I have not of late much reason to boast of it. People that will live a long life and drink to the bottom of the cup must expect to meet with some of the dregs. However, when I consider how many more terrible maladies the human body is liable to, I think myself well off that I have only three incurable ones, the gout, the stone, and old age. And those notwithstanding, I enjoy many comfortable intervals, in which I forget all my ills, and amuse myself in reading or writing, or in conversation with friends, joking, laughing, and telling merry stories, as when you first knew me, a young man about fifty.

"My children and grandchildren, the Baches, are all well and pleased with your remembrance of them. They are my family living in my house, and we have lately the addition of a little good-natured girl, whom I begin to love as well as the rest.

"You tell me our poor friend Ben Kent is gone, I hope to the regions of the blessed; or at least to some place where souls are prepared for those regions! I found my hope on this, that though not so orthodox as you and I, he was an honest man, and had his virtues. If he had any hypocrisy, it was of that inverted kind, with which a man is not so bad as he seems to be. And with regard to future bliss, I cannot help imagining that multitudes of the zealously orthodox of different sects, who at the last day may flock together, in hopes of seeing each other damned, will be disappointed, and obliged to rest content with their own salvation.

"You have no occasion to apologize for your former letter. It was, as all yours are, very well written. That which is enclosed for your cousin came too late, he being sailed.

"By one of the accidents which war occasions, all my books containing copies of my letters were lost. There were eight volumes, and I have been able to recover only two. Those are of later date than the transaction you mention, and therefore can contain nothing relating to it. If the letter you want a copy of, was one in which I consoled my brother's friends, by a comparison drawn from a party of pleasure intended into the country, where we were all to meet, though the chair of one being soonest ready, he set out before the rest: I say if this was the letter, I fancy you may possibly find it in Boston, as I remember Dr. Billis once wrote me that many copies had been taken of it.

"I too should have been glad to have seen that again, among others I have written to him and you. But you inform me they were devoured by the mice, poor little innocent creatures, I am very sorry they had no better food. But since they like my letters, here is another treat for them.—Adieu. *ma chere enfant*, and believe me ever, your affectionate uncle, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mrs. Mecom, Boston.*[*]

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 26. 1788.

"I NEVER see any Boston newspapers. You mention there being often something in them to do me honour. I am obliged to them. On the other hand, some of our papers here are endeavouring to disgrace me. I have long been accustomed to receive more blame as well as more praise than I have deserved. 'Tis the lot of every public man. And I leave one account to balance the other.

"As you observe, there was no *d——n your souls* in the story of the poker when I told it. The late dresser of it was probably the same, or perhaps of kin to him, who in relating a dispute that happened between queen Anne and the archbishop of Canterbury concerning a vacant mitre, which the queen was for bestowing on a person the archbishop thought unworthy, made both the queen and the archbishop swear three or four thumping oaths in every sentence of the discussion; and the archbishop at last gained his point. One present at the tale being surprised, said, But did the queen and the archbishop swear so at one another? O! no, no, said the relator; that is only my way of telling the story.—Yours, &c. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To the President of Congress.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 29, 1788.

"SIR,—When I had the honour of being the minister of the United States at the court of France, Mr. Barclay arriving there, brought me the following resolution of congress:

> 'Resolved, that a commissioner be appointed by congress with full power and authority to liquidate and *finally to settle* the accounts of all the servants of the United States, who have been intrusted with the expenditure of public money in Europe, and to commence and prosecute such suits, causes, and actions as may be necessary for that purpose, or for the recovery of any property of the said United States in the hands of any person or persons whatsoever.
>
> 'That the said commissioner be authorized to appoint one or more clerks, with such allowance as he may think reasonable.
>
> 'That the said commissioner and clerks respectively take an oath, before some person duly authorized to administer an oath, faithfully to execute the trust reposed in them respectively.
>
> 'Congress proceeded to the election of a commissioner, and ballots being taken, Mr. T. Barclay was elected.'

"In pursuance of this resolution, and as soon as Mr. Barclay was at leisure from more pressing business, I rendered to him all my accounts, which he examined and stated methodically. By his statements he found a balance due to me on the 4th May 1785, of 7533 livres, 19 sols, 3 deniers, which I accordingly received of the congress banker; the difference between my statement and his being only seven sols, which by mistake I had overcharged, about three pence halfpenny sterling.

"At my request, however, the accounts were left open for the consideration of congress, and not finally settled, there being some articles on which I desired their judgment, and having some equitable demands, as I thought them, for extra services, which he had not conceived himself impowered to allow, and therefore I did not put them in my account. He transmitted the accounts to congress, and had advice of their being received. On my arrival at Philadelphia, one of the first things I did was to despatch my grandson W. T. Franklin to New York, to obtain a final settlement of those accounts, he having long acted as my secretary, and being well acquainted with the transactions, was able to give an explanation of the articles, that might seem to require explaining, if any such there were. He returned without effecting the settlement, being told that it would not be made till the arrival of some documents expected from France. What those documents were I have not been informed, nor can I readily conceive, as all the vouchers existing there had been examined by Mr. Barclay. And I having been immediately after my arrival engaged in public business of this state, I waited in expectation of hearing from congress, in case any part of my accounts had been objected to.

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[*] Dr. Franklin's sister Jane

"It is now more than three years that those accounts have been before that honourable body, and to this day no notice of any such objection has been communicated to me. But reports have for some time past been circulated here, and propagated in newspapers, that I am greatly indebted to the United States, for large sums, that had been put into my hands, and that I avoid a settlement.

"This, together with the little time one of my age may expect to live, makes it necessary for me to request earnestly, which I hereby do, that the congress would be pleased, without further delay, to examine those accounts, and if they find therein any article or articles, which they do not understand or approve, that they would cause me to be acquainted with the same, that I may have an opportunity of offering such explanations or reasons in support of them as may be in my power, and then that the account may be finally closed.

"I hope the congress will soon be able to attend to this business for the satisfaction of the public, as well as in condescension to my request. In the meantime, if there be no impropriety in it, I would desire that this letter, together with another on the same subject, the copy of which is hereto annexed, may be put upon their minutes.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*To the Printer of the Evening Herald.*

"Sir,—The British news-writers are very assiduous in their endeavours to blacken America. Should we not be careful not to afford them any assistance by censures of one another, especially by censures not well founded.

"I lately observed in one of your papers, the conduct of the state of Massachusetts reflected on, as being inconsistent and absurd, as well as wicked, for attempting to raise a tax by a stamp act, and for carrying on the slave trade.

"The writer of those reflections might have considered, that their principal objection to the stamp tax, was, its being imposed by a British parliament, which had no right to tax them; for otherwise a tax by stamps is perhaps to be levied with as little inconvenience as any other that can be invented. Ireland has a stamp act of its own; but should Britain pretend to impose such a tax on the Irish people they would probably give a general opposition to it, and ought not for that to be charged with inconsistence.

"One or two merchants in Boston, employing ships in the abominable African trade, may deservedly be condemned, though they do not bring their slaves home, but sell them in the West Indies. The state as such, has never, that I have heard of, given encouragement to the diabolical commerce; and there has always been fewer slaves in the New England governments, than in any other British colonies. National reflections are seldom just, and a whole people should not be decried for the crimes of a few individuals.

"Your inserting this may make that brave people some amends, and will oblige one of your customers, who is

"A PENNSYLVANIAN."

"*Mr. Small.*

"Philadelphia, Feb. 17, 1789.

"Dear Friend,—I have just received your kind letter of Nov. 29, and am much obliged by your friendly attention in sending me a receipt, which on occasion I may make trial of; but the stone I have being a large one, as I find by the weight it falls with when I turn in bed, I have no hope of its being dissoluble by any medicine; and having been for some time past pretty free from pain, I am afraid of tampering. I congratulate you on the escape you had by voiding the one you mention, that was as big as a kidney bean; had it been retained it might soon have become too large to pass, and proved the cause of much pain at times, as mine has been to me.

"Having served my time of three years as president, I have now renounced all public business, and enjoy the *otium cum dignitate.* My friends indulge me with their frequent visits, which I have now leisure to receive and enjoy. The Philosophical Society, and the Society for Political Inquiries meet at my house, which I have enlarged by an additional building, that affords me a large room for those meetings, another over it for my library, now very considerable, and over all some lodging rooms. I have seven promising grandchildren by my daughter, who play with and amuse me, and she is a kind attentive nurse to me, when I am any time indisposed; so that I pass my time as agreeably as at my age (83) a man may well expect, and have little to wish for, except a more easy exit than my malady seems to threaten.

"The deafness you complain of gives me concern, as if great it must diminish considerably your pleasure in conversation. If moderate you may remedy it easily and readily by putting your thumb and fingers behind your ear, pressing it outwards, and enlarging it as it were with the hollow of your hand. By an exact experiment I found that I could hear the tick of a watch at forty-five feet distance by this means, which was barely audible at twenty feet without it. The experiment was made at midnight when the house was still.

"I am glad you have sent those directions respecting ventilation to the Edinburgh Society. I hope you have added an account of the experience you had of it at Minorca. If they do not print your paper, send it to me, and it shall be in the third volume, which we are about to publish, of our Transactions.

"Mrs. Hewson joins with us in best wishes for your health and happiness. Her eldest son has gone through his studies at our college, and takes his degree. The youngest is still there, and will be graduated this summer.

"My grandson presents his respects; and I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN."

"You never mention the receipt of any letters from me. I wish to know if they come to hand, particularly my last enclosing the *apologue*. You mention some of my old friends being dead, but not their names."

"*Mrs. Green.*

"PHILADELPHIA, March 2, 1789.

"DEAR FRIEND,—Having now done with public affairs, which have hitherto taken up so much of my time, I shall endeavour to enjoy during the small remainder of life that is left to me some of the pleasures of conversing with my old friends by writing, since their distance prevents my hope of seeing them again.

"I received one of the bags of sweet corn you was so good as to send me a long time since, but the other never came to hand; even the letter mentioning it, though dated December 10, 1787, has been above a year on its way, for I received it but about two weeks since from Baltimore in Maryland. The corn I did receive was excellent, and gave me great pleasure. Accept my hearty thanks.

"I am, as you suppose, in the above mentioned old letter, much pleased to hear that my young friend Ray is 'smart in the farming way,' and makes such substantial fences. I think agriculture the most honourable of all employments, being the most independent. The farmer has no need of popular favour, nor the favour of the great. The success of his crops depending only on the blessing of God upon his honest industry. I congratulate your good spouse, that he as well as myself is now free from public cares, and that he can bend his whole attention to his farming, which will afford him both profit and pleasure; a business which nobody knows better how to manage with advantage. I am too old to follow printing again myself, but loving the business, I have brought up my grandson Benjamin to it, and have built and furnished a printing-house for him, which he now manages under my eye. I have great pleasure in the rest of my grandchildren, who are now in number eight, and all promising, the youngest only six months old, but shows signs of great good nature. My friends here are numerous, and I enjoy as much of their conversation as I can reasonably wish; and I have as much health and cheerfulness as can well be expected at my age, now eighty-three. Hitherto this long life has been tolerably happy, so that if I were allowed to live it over again, I should make no objection, only wishing for leave to do, what authors do in a second edition of their works, correct some of my errata. Among the felicities of my life I reckon your friendship, which I shall remember with pleasure as long as that life lasts, being ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Miss Catherine Louisa Shipley.*

"PHILADELPHIA, April 27, 1789.

"IT is only a few days, since the kind letter of my dear young friend, dated December 24, came to my hands. I had before in the public papers met with the afflicting news that letter contained. That excellent man has then left us!—his departure is a loss not to his family and friends only, but to his nation, and to the world: for he was intent on doing good, had wisdom to devise the means, and talents to promote them. His sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and '*his speech intended to be spoken*,' are proofs of his ability as well as his humanity. Had his counsels in those pieces been attended to by the ministers, how much bloodshed might have been prevented, and how much expense and disgrace to the nation avoided?

"Your reflections on the constant calmness and composure attending his death are very sensible. Such instances seem to show, that the good sometimes enjoy in dying a foretaste of the happy state they are about to enter.

"According to the course of years, I should have quitted this world long before him: I shall however not be long in following. I am now in my eighty-fourth year, and the last year has considerably enfeebled me; so that I hardly expect to remain another. You will then, my dear friend, consider this as probably the last line to be received from me, and as a taking leave.

"Present my best and most sincere respects to your good mother, and love to the rest of the family, to whom I wish all happiness; and believe me to be, while I *do* live, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Price.*

"PHILADELPHIA, May 31, 1789.

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—I lately received your kind letter, enclosing one from Miss Kitty Shipley, informing me of the good bishop's decease, which afflicted me greatly. My friends drop off one after another, when my age and infirmities prevent my making new ones, and if I still retained the necessary activity and ability, I hardly see among the existing generation where I could make them of equal goodness. So that the longer I live I must expect to be the more wretched. As we draw nearer the conclusion of life, nature furnishes with more helps to wean us from it, among which one of the most powerful is the loss of such dear friends.

"I send you with this the two volumes of our Transactions, as I forget whether you had the first before. If you had, you will please to give this to the French ambassador, requesting his conveyance of it to the good duke de la Rochefoucauld.—My best wishes attend you, being ever with sincere and great esteem, my dear friend, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN."

"*B. Vaughan.*

"PHILADELPHIA, June 3, 1789.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND,—I received your kind letter of March 4, and wish I may be able to complete what you so earnestly desire, the Memoirs of my Life. But of late I am so interrupted by extreme pain, which obliges me to have recourse to opium, that between the effects of both, I have but little time in which I can write any thing. My grandson, however, is copying what is done, which will be sent to you for your opinion by the next vessel; and not merely for your opinion but for your advice; for I find it a difficult task to speak decently and properly of one's own conduct and I feel the want of a judicious friend to encourage me in scratching out.

"I have condoled sincerely with the bishop of St. Asaph's family. He was an excellent man. Loosing our friends thus one by one, is the tax we pay for long living; and it is indeed a heavy one!

"I have not seen the king of Prussia's posthumous works; what you mention makes me desirous to have them. Please to mention it to your brother William, and that I request he would add them to the books I have desired him to buy for me.

"Our new government is now in train, and seems to promise well. But events are in the hand of God! I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Mr. Wright, London.

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 4, 1789.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I received your kind letter of July the 31st, which gave me great pleasure, as it informed me of the welfare both of yourself and your good lady, to whom please to present my respects. I thank you for the epistle of your yearly meeting, and for the card (a specimen of printing) which was enclosed.

"We have now had one session of congress, which was conducted under our new constitution, and with as much general satisfaction as could reasonably be expected. I wish the struggle in France may end as happily for that nation. We are now in the full enjoyment of our new government for *eleven* of the states, and it is generally thought that North Carolina is about to join it. Rhode Island will probably take longer time for consideration.—We have had a most plentiful year for the fruits of the earth, and our people seem to be recovering fast from the extravagance and idle habits which the war had introduced; and to engage seriously in the contrary habits, of temperance, frugality, and industry, which give the most pleasing prospect of future national felicity. Your merchants, however, are I think imprudent in crowding in upon us such quantities of goods for sale here, which are not written for by ours, and are beyond the faculties of this country to consume in any reasonable time. This surplus of goods is therefore, to raise present money, sent to vendues, or auction houses, of which we have six or seven in and near this city; where they are sold frequently for less than prime cost, to the great loss of the indiscreet adventurers. Our newspapers are doubtless to be seen at your coffee-houses near the exchange: in their advertisements you may observe the constancy and quantity of these kind of sales; as well as the quantity of goods imported by our regular traders. I see in your English newspapers frequent mention of our being out of credit with you; to us it appears that we have abundantly too much, and that your exporting merchants are rather out of their senses.

"I wish success to your endeavours for obtaining an abolition of the slave trade. The epistle from your yearly meeting for the year 1758, was not the *first sowing* of the good seed you mention; for I find by an old pamphlet in my possession, that George Keith, near a hundred years since, wrote a paper against the practice, said to be 'given forth by the appointment of the meeting held by him, at Philip James's house in the city of Philadelphia, about the year 1693; wherein a strict charge was given to friends, that they should set their negroes at liberty after some reasonable time of service, &c. &c."

And about the year 1728, or '29, I myself printed a book for Ralph Sandyford, another of your friends of this city, against keeping negroes in slavery; two editions of which he distributed gratis. And about the year 1736 I printed another book on the same subject for Benjamin Lay, who also professed being one of your friends, and he distributed the books chiefly among them. By these instances it appears that the seed was indeed sown in the good ground of your profession, (though much earlier than the time you mention) and its springing up to effect at last, though so late, is some confirmation of lord Bacon's observation, that *a good motion never dies;* and may encourage us in making such; though hopeless of their taking immediate effect.

"I doubt whether I shall be able to finish my Memoirs, and if I finish them, whether they will be proper for publication: you seem to have too high an opinion of them, and to expect too much from them.

"I think you are right in preferring a mixed form of government for your country, under its present circumstances; and if it were possible for you to reduce the enormous salaries and emoluments of great offices (which are at bottom the source of all your violent factions) that form might be conducted more quietly and happily: but I am afraid that none of your factions, when they get uppermost, will ever have virtue enough to reduce those salaries and emoluments, but will rather choose to enjoy them.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Dr. Rush.*

"PHILADELPHIA.

[without date, but supposed to be in 1789.]

MY DEAR FRIEND,—During our long acquaintance you have shown many instances of your regard for me, yet I must now desire you to add one more to the number, which is, that if you publish your ingenious discourse on the *moral sense*, you will totally omit and suppress that most extravagant encomium on your friend Franklin, which hurt me exceedingly in the unexpected hearing, and will mortify me beyond conception, if it should appear from the press.

"Confiding in your compliance with this earnest request, I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Samuel More.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 5, 1789.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your favour of July 25, but had no opportunity of showing any civility to the bearer whom you mention as coming under the auspices of William Franklin, Esq., as he did not show himself to me.

"I am obliged by your kind inquiries after my health, which is still tolerably good, the stone excepted; my constitution being such as, if it were not for that malady, might have held out yet some years longer.

"I hope the fire of liberty which you mention as spreading itself over Europe, will act upon the inestimable rights of man, as common fire does upon gold, purify without destroying them; so that a lover of liberty may find *a country* in any part of Christendom!

"I see with pleasure in the public prints, that our society* is still kept up and flourishes. I was an early member; for when Mr. Shipley sent me a list of the subscribers, they were but seventy; and though I had no expectation then of ever going to England, and acting with them, I sent a contribution of twenty guineas; in consideration of which the society were afterwards pleased to consider me a member.

"I wish to the exertions of your manufacturers, who are generally excellent; and to the spirit and enterprise of your merchants, who are famed for fair and honourable dealing, all the success they merit in promoting the prosperity of your country.

"I am glad our friend Small enjoys so much health, and his faculties so perfectly, as I perceive he does by his letters. I know not whether he is yet returned from his visit to Scotland, and therefore give you the trouble of the enclosed.

"My best wishes attend you, being ever dear sir, your most obedient servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. Small.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 5, 1789.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your several favours of April 23, May 9, and June 2, together with the manuscript concerning ventilation, which will be inserted in our next volume.

"I have long been of your opinion, that your legal provision for the poor is a very great evil, operating as it does to the encouragement of idleness. We have followed your example, and begin now to see our error; and I hope shall reform it.—I find by your letters that every man has patience enough to bear calmly and coolly the injuries done to other people: you have perfectly forgiven the royalists, and you seem to wonder that we should still retain any resentment against them for their joining with the savages to burn our houses, and murder and scalp our friends, our wives, and our children

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* The London Society for promoting Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, of which Mr. More was secretary.

I forget who it was that said, 'we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but we are no where commanded to forgive our friends;' certain it is, however, that atrocious injuries done to us by our friends are naturally more deeply resented than the same done by enemies. They have left us to live under the government of their king in England and Nova Scotia. We do not miss them, nor wish their return; nor do we envy them their present happiness.—The accounts you give me of the great prospects you have respecting your manufactures, agriculture, and commerce, are pleasing to me, for I still love England, and wish it prosperity.

"You tell me that the government of France is abundantly punished for its treachery to England in assisting us; you might also have remarked, that the government of England had been punished for its treachery to France, in assisting the Corsicans, and in seizing her ships in time of full peace, without any previous declaration of war. I believe governments are pretty near equal in honesty, and cannot with much propriety praise their own in preference to that of their neighbours.

"You do me too much honour in naming me with *Timoleon*. I am like him only inretiring from my public labours, which indeed my stone, and other infirmities of age, have made indispensably necessary.

"I hope you are by this time returned from your visit to your native country, and that the journey has given a firmer consistence to your health.

"Mr. Penn's property in this country, which you inquire about, is still immensely great; and I understand he has received ample compensation in England for the part he lost.

"I think you have made a happy choice of rural amusements; the protection of the bees, and the destruction of the hop insect. I wish success to your experiments, and shall be glad to hear the result. Your theory of insects appears the most ingenious and plausible of any that have hitherto been proposed by philosophers.

"Our new constitution is now established with *eleven* states, and the accession of a twelfth is soon expected. We have had one session of congress under it, which was conducted with remarkable prudence, and a good deal of unanimity. Our late harvests were plentiful, and our produce still fetches a good price, through an abundant foreign demand, and the flourishing state of our commerce.—I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mr. Le Roy, Paris.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 13, 1789.

"'TIS now more than a year since I have heard from my dear friend Le Roy. What can be the reason? Are you still living? or have the mob of Paris mistaken the head of a monopolizer of knowledge, for a monopolizer of corn, and paraded it about the streets upon a pole?

"Great part of the news we have had from Paris, for near a year past, has been very afflicting. I sincerely wish and pray it may all end well and happily both for the king and the nation. The voice of *Philosophy*, I apprehend, can hardly be heard among those tumults. If any thing material in that way had occurred, I am persuaded you would have acquainted me with it. However, pray let me hear from you a little oftener; for though the distance is great, and the means of conveying letters not very regular, a year's silence between friends must needs give uneasiness.

"Our new constitution is now established, and has an appearance that promises permanency; but in this world nothing can be said to be certain, except death and taxes!

"My health continues much as it has been for some time, except that I grow thinner and weaker, so that I cannot expect to hold out much longer.

"My respects to your good brother, and to our friends of the academy, which always has my best wishes for its prosperity and glory.—Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever, yours most affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*David Hartley.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 4, 1789.

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—I received your favour of August last. Your kind condolences, on the painful state of my health, are very obliging. I am thankful to God, however, that among the numerous ills human life is subject to, one only of any importance is fallen to my lot; and that so late as almost to insure that it can be but of short duration.

"The convulsions in France are attended with some disagreeable circumstances; but if by the struggle she obtains and secures for the nation its future liberty, and a good constitution, a few years enjoyment of those blessings will amply repair all the damages their acquisition may have occasioned. God grant that not only the love of liberty, but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man, may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot any where on its surface, and say, this is my country! Your wishes for a cordial and perpetual friendship between Britain and her ancient colonies, are manifested continually in every one of your letters to me; something of my disposition on the same subject may appear to you in casting your eye over the enclosed paper. I do not by this opportunity send you any of our Gazettes; because the postage from Liverpool would be more than they are worth. I can only add my best wishes of every kind of felicity for the three Hartleys, to whom I have the honour of being an affectionate friend and most obedient humble servant,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Mrs. Mecom, Boston.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 17, 1789.

"DEAR SISTER,—You tell me you are desired by an acquaintance to ask my opinion, whether the general circumstances, mentioned in the history of Baron Trenck, are founded in fact; to which I can only answer, that of the greatest part of those circumstances, the scene being laid in Germany, I must consequently be very ignorant; but of what he says, as having passed in France, between the ministers of that country, himself, and me, I can speak positively that it is *founded in falsehood*, and that the fact can only serve to *con*found, as I never saw him in that country, nor ever knew or heard of him any where, till I met with the abovementioned history in print, in the German language, in which he ventured to relate it as a fact, that I had, with those ministers, solicited him to enter into the American service. A translation of that book into French has since been printed, but the translator has omitted that pretended fact, probably from an apprehension that its being in that country known not to be true, might hurt the credit and sale of the translation.

"I thank you for the sermon on sacred music; I have read it with pleasure. I think it a very ingenious composition. You will say this is natural enough, if you read what I have formerly written on the same subject, in one of my printed letters, wherein you will find a perfect agreement of sentiment respecting the complex music; of late, in my opinion, too much in vogue; it being only pleasing to learned ears who can be delighted with the difficulty of execution instead of harmony and melody.—Your affectionate brother,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"*Noah Webster.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 26, 1789.

"DEAR SIR,—I received some time since your '*Dissertations on the English Language.*' The book was not accompanied by any letter or message, informing me to whom I am obliged for it, but I suppose it is to yourself. It is an excellent work, and will be greatly useful in turning the thoughts of our countrymen to correct writing. Please to accept my thanks for the great honour you have done me in its dedication. I ought to have made this acknowledgment sooner, but much indisposition prevented me.

"I cannot but applaud your zeal for preserving the purity of our language, both in its expressions and pronunciation, and in correcting the popular errors several of our states are continually falling into with respect to both. Give me leave to mention some of them, though possibly they may have already occurred to you. I wish however in some future publication of yours you would set a discountenancing mark upon them. The first I remember is the word *improved.* When I left New England in the year 1723, this word had never been used among us, as far as I know, but in the sense of *ameliorated*, or made better, except once in a very old book of Dr. Mather's, entitled '*Remarkable Providences.*' As that eminent man wrote a very obscure hand, I remember that when I read that word in his book, used instead of the word *imployed*, I conjectured it was an error of the printer, who had mistaken a too short *l* in the writing for an *r*, and a *y*, with too short a tail for a *v*; whereby *employed* was converted into *improved.* But when I returned to Boston, in 1733, I found this change had obtained favour, and was then become common; for I met with it often in perusing the newspapers, where it frequently made an appearance rather ridiculous. Such for instance as the advertisement of a country house to be sold, which had been many years *improved* as a tavern; and in the character of a deceased country-gentleman, that he had been for more than thirty years *improved* as a justice of the peace. This use of the word *improved* is peculiar to New England, and not to be met with among any other speakers of English, either on this or the other side of the water.

"During my late absence in France, I find that several other new words have been introduced into our parliamentary language; for example, I find a verb formed from the substantive *notice: I should not have* NOTICED *this, were it not that the gentleman*, &c. Also another verb from the substantive *advocate, the gentleman who* ADVOCATES *or has* ADVOCATED *that motion*, &c.* Another from the substantive *progress*, the most awkward and abominable of the three, *the committee having* PROGRESSED, *resolved to adjourn.* The word *opposed*, though not a new word, I find used in a new manner, as, *the gentleman who are* OPPOSED *to this measure;—to which I have also myself always been* OPPOSED. If you should happen to be of my opinion with respect to these innovations, you will use your authority in reprobating them.

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* Both these verbs are now in general use, and by the best writers; they perfectly accord with the genius of the language.

"The Latin language, long the vehicle used in distributing knowledge among the different nations of Europe, is daily more and more neglected; and one of the modern tongues, viz. the French, seems in point of universality to have supplied its place; it is spoken in all the courts of Europe; and most of the literati, those even who do not speak it, have acquired knowledge enough of it to enable them easily to read the books that are written in it. This gives a considerable advantage to that nation; it enables its authors to inculcate and spread throughout other nations such sentiments and opinions on important points as are most conducive to its interests, or which may contribute to its reputation, by promoting the common interests of mankind. It is perhaps owing to its being written in French, that Voltaire's Treatise on Toleration has had so sudden and so great an effect on the bigotry of Europe, as almost entirely to disarm it. The general use of the French language, has likewise a very advantageous effect on the profits of the bookselling branch of commerce, it being well known, that the more copies can be sold that are struck off from one composition of types, the profits increase in a much greater proportion than they do in making a great number of pieces in any other kind of manufacture. And at present there is no capital town in Europe without a French bookseller's shop corresponding with Paris. Our English bids fair to obtain the second place. The great body of excellent printed sermons in our language and the freedom of our writings on political subjects, have induced a number of divines of different sects and nations, as well as gentlemen concerned in public affairs, to study it; so far at least as to read it. And if we were to endeavour the facilitating its progress, the study of our tongue might become much more general. Those who have employed some parts of their time in learning a new language, have frequently observed, that while their acquaintance with it was imperfect, difficulties small in themselves operated as great ones in obstructing their progress. A book, for example, ill printed, or a pronunciation in speaking, not well articulated, would render a sentence unintelligible; which from a clear print or a distinct speaker would have been immediately comprehended. If therefore we would have the benefit of seeing our language more known among mankind, we should endeavour to remove all the difficulties, however small, that discourage the learning it. But I am sorry to observe, that of late years those difficulties, instead of being diminished, have been augmented. In examining the English books that were printed between the restoration and the accession of George the second, we may observe, that all *substantives* were begun with a capital, in which we imitated our mother tongue the German; this was more particularly useful to those who were not well acquainted with the English; there being such a prodigious number of our words that are both *verbs* and *substantives*, and spelt in the same manner, though often accented differently in the pronunciation. This method has, by the fancy of printers, of late years been laid aside, from an idea that suppressing the capitals shows the character to greater advantage; those letters prominent above the line disturbing its even, regular appearance. The effect of this change is so considerable, that a learned man of France who used to read our books, though not perfectly acquainted with our language, in conversation with me on the subject of our authors, attributed the greater obscurity he found in our modern books, compared with those of the period abovementioned, to change of style for the worse in our writers; of which mistake I convinced him by marking for him each *substantive* with a capital in a paragraph, which he then easily understood, though before he could not comprehend it. This shows the inconvenience of that pretended improvement. From the same fondness for an even and uniform appearance of characters in the line, the printers have of late banished also the Italic types, in which words of importance to be attended to in the sense of the sentence, and words on which an emphasis should be put in reading, used to be printed. And lately another fancy has induced some printers to use the short round *s* instead of the long one, which formerly served well to distinguish a word readily by its varied appearance. Certainly the omitting this prominent letter makes the line appear more even; but renders it less immediately legible, as the paring all men's noses might smooth and level their faces, but would render their physiognomies less distinguishable. Add to all these improvements *backwards*, another modern fancy that gray printing is more beautiful than black; hence the English new books are printed in so dim a character as to be read with difficulty by old eyes, unless in a very strong light and with good glasses. Whoever compares a volume of the Gentleman's Magazine, printed between the years 1731 and 1740, with one of those printed in the last ten years, will be convinced of the much greater degree of perspicuity given by black ink than by gray. Lord Chesterfield pleasantly remarked this difference to Faulkner, the printer of the Dublin Journal, who was vainly making encomiums on his own paper, as the most complete of any in the world,—'but Mr. Faulkner,' said my lord, 'don't you think it might be still farther improved by using paper and ink not quite so near of a colour?' For all these reasons I cannot but wish that our American printers would in their editions avoid these fancied improvements, and thereby render their works more agreeable to foreigners in Europe, to the great advantage of our bookselling commerce.

"Further, to be more sensible of the advantage of clear and distinct printing, let us consider the assistance it affords in reading well aloud to an auditory. In so doing the eye generally slides forward three or four words before the voice. If the sight clearly distinguishes what the coming words are, it gives time to order the modulation of the voice to express them properly. But if they are obscurely printed or disguised by omitting the capitals and long s's or otherwise, the reader is apt to modulate wrong, and finding he has done so he is obliged to go back and begin the sentence again, which lessens the pleasure of the hearers. This leads me to mention an old error in our mode of printing. We are sensible that when a question is met with in reading, there is a proper variation to be used in the management of the voice. We have therefore a point called an interrogation, affixed to the question in order to distinguish it. But this is absurdly placed at its end; so that the reader does not discover it, till he finds he has wrongly modulated his voice, and is therefore obliged to begin again the sentence. To prevent this, the Spanish printers, more sensibly, place an interrogation at the beginning as well as at the end of a question. We have another error of the same kind in printing plays, where something often occurs that is marked as spoken *aside*. But the word *aside* is placed at the end of the speech, when it ought to precede it as a direction to the reader, that he may govern his voice accordingly. The practice of our ladies in meeting five or six together to form a little busy party, where each is employed in some useful work while one reads to them, is so commendable in itself that it deserves the attention of authors and printers to make it as pleasing as possible, both to the reader and hearers.

"After these general observations, permit me to make one, that I imagine may regard your interests. It is that *your* spelling book is miserably printed here, so as in many places to be scarcely legible, and on wretched paper. If this is not attended to, and the new one lately advertised as coming out, should be preferable in these respects, it may hurt the future sale of yours.

"I congratulate you on your marriage, of which the newspapers inform me.—My best wishes attend you, being with sincere esteem, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN."

Dr. Stiles to Dr. Franklin.

"YALE COLLEGE, Jan. 28, 1790.

"SIR,—We have lately received governor Yale's portrait from his family in London, and deposited it in the college library, where is also deposited one of governor Saltonstall's. I have also long wished that we might be honoured also with that of Dr. Franklin. In the course of your long life, you may probably have become possessed of several portraits of yourself. Shall I take too great a liberty, in humbly asking a donation of one of them to Yale College? You obliged me with a mezzotinto picture of yourself many years ago, which I often view with pleasure. But the canvass is more permanent. We wish to be possessed of the durable resemblance of the American patriot and philosopher. You have merited and received all the honours of the republic of letters; and are going to a world, where all sublunary glories will be lost in the glories of immortality. Should you shine throughout the intellectual and stellary universe, with the eminence and distinguished lustre with which you have appeared in this little detached part of the creation, you would be what I most fervently wish to you, sir, whatever may be my fate in eternity. The grand climacteric in which I now am, reminds me of the interesting scenes of futurity. You know, sir, that I am a Christian, and would to heaven all others were such as I am, except my imperfections and deficiencies of moral character. As much as I know of Dr. Franklin, I have not an idea of his religious sentiments. I wish to know the opinion of my venerable friend concerning JESUS *of Nazareth.* He will not impute this to *impertinence*, or improper curiosity, in one, who for so many years has continued to love, estimate, and reverence his abilities and literary character, with an ardour and affection bordering on adoration. If I have said too much let the request be blotted out, and be no more; and yet I shall never cease to wish you that happy immortality, which I believe Jesus alone has purchased for the virtuous and truly good of every religious denomination in Christendom, and for those of every age, nation, and mythology, who reverence the Deity, are filled with integrity, righteousness, and benevolence.

"EZRA STILES."

"*President Stiles.*

"PHILADELPHIA, March 9, 1790.

"REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—I received your kind letter of January 28, and am glad you have at length received the portrait of governor Yale from his family, and deposited it in the college library. He was a great and good man, and had the merit of doing infinite service to your country by his munificence to that institution. The honour you propose doing me, by placing mine in the same room with his, is much too great for my deserts; but you always had a partiality for me, and to that it must be ascribed. I am however too much obliged to Yale College, the first learned society that took notice of me, and adorned me with its honours, to refuse a request that comes from it through so esteemed a friend. But I do not think any one of the portraits you mention as in my possession worthy of the situation and company you propose to place it in. You have an excellent artist lately arrived. If he will undertake to make one for you, I shall cheerfully pay the expense· but he must not delay setting about it, or I may slip through his fingers, for I am now in my 85th year, and very infirm.

"I send with this a very learned work as it seems to me, on the ancient Samaritan Coins, lately printed in Spain, and at least curious for the beauty of the impression. Please to accept it for your college library. I have subscribed for the Encyclopedia now printing here, with the intention of presenting it to the college. I shall probably depart before the work is finished, but shall leave directions for its continuance to the end. With this you will receive some of the first numbers.

"You desire to know something of my religion. It is the first time I have been questioned upon it. But cannot take your curiosity amiss, and shall endeavour in a few words to gratify it. Here is my creed: I believe in one God, the creator of the universe. That he governs it by his Providence. That he ought to be worshipped. That the most acceptable service we render to him is doing good to his other children. That the soul of man is immortal, and will be treated with justice in another life respecting its conduct in this. These I take to be the fundamental points in all sound religion, and I regard them as you do in whatever sect I meet with them. As to Jesus of Nazareth, my opinion of whom you particularly desire, I think the system of morals and his religion, as he left them to us, the best the world ever saw or is like to see; but I apprehend, it has received various corrupting changes, and I have, with most of the present dissenters in England, some doubts as to his divinity; though it is a question I do not dogmatize upon, having never studied it, and think it needless to busy myself with it now, when I expect soon an opportunity of knowing the truth with less trouble. I see no harm, however, in its being believed, if that belief has the good consequence, as probably it has, of making his doctrines more respected and more observed, especially as I do not perceive that the Supreme takes it amiss by distinguishing the believers in his government of the world with any peculiar marks of his displeasure. I shall only add respecting myself, that having experienced the goodness of that Being in conducting me prosperously through a long life, I have no doubt of its continuance in the next, though without the smallest conceit of meriting such goodness. My sentiments on this head you will see in the copy of an old letter enclosed,* which I wrote in answer to one from an old religionist whom I had relieved in a paralytic case, by electricity, and who being afraid I should grow proud upon it, sent me his serious, though rather impertinent caution. I send you the copy of another letter,† which will show something of my disposition relating to religion.

"With great and sincere esteem and affection, I am, &c.

"P. S. Had not your college some present of books from the king of France. Please to let me know if you had an expectation given you of more, and the nature of that expectation? I have a reason for the inquiry.

"I confide that you will not expose me to criticisms and censures by publishing any part of this communication to you? I have ever let others enjoy their religious sentiments, without reflecting on them for those that appeared to me unsupportable or even absurd. All sects here, and we have a great variety, have experienced my good-will in assisting them with subscriptions for the building their new places of worship, and as I have never opposed any of their doctrines, I hope to go out of the world in peace with them all."

To * * *.

(Without date.)

"Dear Sir,—I have read your manuscript with some attention. By the argument it contains against a particular Providence, though you allow a general Providence, you strike at the foundations of all religion. For without the belief of a providence that takes cognizance of, guards and guides, and may favour particular persons, there is no motive to worship a Deity, to fear its displeasure, or to pray for its protection. I will not enter into any discussion of your principles, though you seem to desire it. At present I shall only give you my opinion, that though your reasonings are subtle, and may prevail with some readers, you will not succeed so as to change the general sentiments of mankind on that subject, and the consequence of printing this piece will be, a great deal of odium drawn upon yourself, mischief to you, and no benefit to others. He that spits against the wind, spits in his own face. But were you to succeed, do you imagine any good would be done by it? You yourself may find it easy to live a virtuous life without the assistance afforded by religion; you having a clear perception of the advantages of virtue, and the disadvantages of vice, and possessing a strength of resolution sufficient to enable you to resist common temptations. But think how great a portion of mankind consists of weak and ignorant men and women, and of inexperienced, inconsiderate youth of both sexes, who have need of the motives of religion to restrain them from vice, to support their virtue, and retain them in the practice of it till it becomes *habitual*, which is the great point for its security. And perhaps you are indebted to her originally, that is to your religious education, for the habits of virtue upon which you now justly value yourself. You might easily display your excellent talents of reasoning upon a less hazardous subject, and thereby obtain a rank with our most distinguished authors. For among us it is not necessary as among the Hottentots, that a youth to be raised into the company of men should prove his manhood by beating his mother. I would advise you therefore not to attempt unchaining the tiger, but to burn this piece before it is seen by any other person, whereby you will save yourself a great deal of mortification from the enemies it may raise against you, and perhaps a good deal of regret and repentance. If men are so wicked *with religion*, what would they be if *without it?* I intend this letter itself as a *proof* of my friendship, and therefore add no *professions* to it; but subscribe simply yours,

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* Supposed to be a letter to George Whitfield, dated June 6, 1753.

† Uncertain; perhaps the following one.

"B. FRANKLIN."

END OF VOLUME I.

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